

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

CALL NO. 292/Coo

ACC. NO. 38779

• 38779

~~1975~~

Vol. I



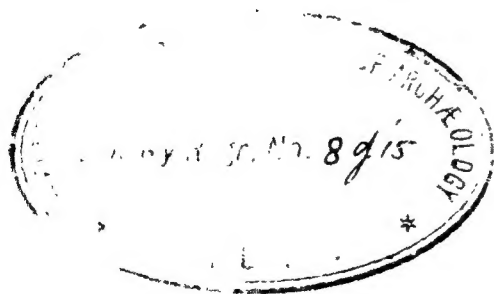
~~1975.80~~





# ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIG



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

C. F. CLAY, MANAGER

London: FETTLER LANE, E.C.

Edinburgh: 100, PRINCES STREET



Berlin: A. ASHLER AND CO.

Leipzig: L. A. BROCKHAUS

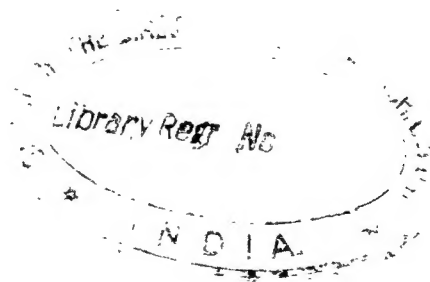
New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Toronto: J. M. DENN AND SONS, LTD.

Tokyo: THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA

*All rights reserved*





Zeus from a Pompeian wall-painting.

*See page 34 II*





# ZEUS

## A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK

FELLOW AND LECTURER OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE  
READER IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY TO THE UNIVERSITY  
OF CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME I

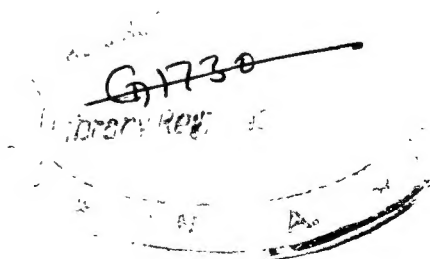
ZEUS GOD OF THE BRIGHT SKY

χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43



292  
200



Cambridge:

at the University Press

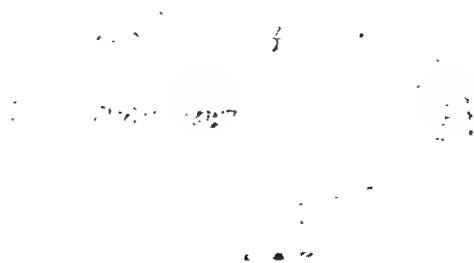
1914



Cambridge :

PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

ALAC 1000  
Aug. 1962 38779  
Date..... 12.12.62 ✓  
Call No.... 292/600.....





TO  
MY WIFE



## PREFACE

MORE than eighty years have elapsed since the last comprehensive monograph on Zeus was written, a couple of octavo volumes by T. B. Éméric-David issued at Paris in 1833. In the interval much water has gone under the classical mill. Indeed the stream flows from remoter ranges and some of its springs rise from greater depths than our grandfathers guessed. Nowadays we dare not claim to understand the religions of Greece and Rome without an adequate knowledge of contiguous countries and at least an inkling of prehistoric antecedents. In both directions pioneer work of inestimable value has been accomplished. The discoveries of Rawlinson and Layard in Babylonia, of Lepsius and Mariette in Egypt, of Humann and Winckler in Asia Minor—to mention but a few of many honoured names—have enormously increased our area of interest. Again, Schliemann and Dr Dorpfeld, Prof. Halbherr and Sir Arthur Evans, Piette and the Abbé Breuil, have opened to us vista beyond vista into the long-forgotten past. We realise now that Mycenaean and ‘Minoan’ and even Magdalenian culture has many a lesson for the student of historical times. But above all a new spirit has little by little taken possession of archaeological research. Under the universal sway of modern science accuracy of observation and strictness of method are expected not only of the philological scholar but of any and every investigator in the classical field.

Changed conditions have brought with them a great influx of material, much of which bears directly on the main topic of this book. Important sites where Zeus was worshipped have been identified and examined. His caves on Mount Dikte and Mount Ide, his precinct on the summit of Mount Lykaion, his magnificent altar on the Pergamene Akropolis, his temples at Olympia and Athens and many another cult-centre, have been planned and published with the minutest care. Inscriptions too are discovered almost daily, and not a few of them commemorate local varieties of

this ubiquitous deity—now thirty or forty questions scratched on slips of lead and addressed to his oracle at Dodona, now a contract for the building of his temple at Lebadeia, now again a list of his priests at Korykos, odd details of his rites at Iasos, a hymn sung in his service at Palaikastro, and votive offerings to him from half the towns of Greece. Such information, fresh and relevant accumulates apace. Moreover, those who can neither dig nor travel carry on the quest at home. Year in, year out, the universities of Europe and America pour forth a never-ending flood of dissertations and programmes, pamphlets and articles, devoted to the solution of particular problems in ancient religion; and a large proportion of these is more or less intimately concerned with Zeus.

To cope with an output so vast and so varied would be beyond the strength of any man, were it not for the fact that intensive study follows hard upon the heels of discovery. On many aspects of what K. Schenkl called *die Zeusreligion* standard books have long since been penned by well-qualified hands. And more than one admirable summary of results is already before the public. Greek and Latin literature has been ransacked by writers galore, who have sketched the conceptions of Zeus to be found more especially in the poets and the philosophers: it would be tedious to enumerate names. Others again have dealt with the worship of Zeus as it affected a particular area: recent examples are Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* (Doberan 1901) and E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* (Berlin 1906). Yet others have written on some specialised form of Zeus: C. J. Schmitthenner *De Jove Hammone* (Weilburg 1840), H. D. Müller *Ueber den Zeus Lykaïos* (Göttingen 1851), and A. H. Kan *De Iovis Delicheni cultu* (Groningen 1901) will serve as specimens of the class. Notable attempts have been made to cover parts of the subject on more general lines. Inscriptions about Zeus are grouped together by W. Dittenberger *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* (ed. 2 Leipzig 1898, 1900, 1901), C. Michel *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1900, 1912), and H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* (Berlin 1892, 1902, 1906, 1914). Descriptions of Zeus in Greek and Latin poetry are analysed by C. F. H. Bruchmann *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur* (Leipzig 1893) and J. B. Carter *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur* (Leipzig 1902). The festivals of Zeus in Athens and elsewhere are discussed by A. Mommsen *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig 1898) and, with greater circumspection, by M. P. Nilsson *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* (Leipzig 1906).

The monuments too have received their fair share of attention. Statues and statuettes, reliefs, vase-paintings, coins, and gems are collected and considered *in primis* by J. Overbeck *Griechische Kunstmythologie* (Besonderer Theil i. 1 Zeus Leipzig 1871 with Atlas 1872, 1873)—a book that is a model of archaeological erudition. Further, every worker on this or kindred themes must be indebted to the *Répertoires* of S. Reinach, whose labours have now reduced chaos to cosmos, not merely in the reproduction of previously known sculptures and vases, but also in the publication of much unpublished material. For surveys of the whole subject we turn to the handbooks. And here again good work has been done. C. Robert's revision of L. Preller *Griechische Mythologie* (Theogonie und Goetter Berlin 1894) deals with Zeus in a clear conspectus of 45 pages. O. Gruppe, the greatest mythologist of modern times, compresses the Father of gods and men into 22 of his well-packed pages (*Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* Munchen 1897, 1906). Probably English readers will derive most benefit from the lucid chapters of Dr L. R. Farnell, who in his *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896, 1896, 1907, 1907, 1909) spends 144 pages in discussing 'Zeus,' 'The Cult-monuments of Zeus,' and 'The Ideal Type of Zeus' with a wealth of learning and aesthetic appreciation that leaves little to seek. Other treatments of the topic are no doubt already being designed for two at least of the three huge dictionaries now approaching completion. The *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* edited by C. Daremberg and E. Saglio (Paris 1877— ) has given some account of Zeus in its article on 'Jupiter' (vol. iii pp. 691—708 by E. P[ottier], pp. 708—713 by P. Perdrizet). But W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1884— ), though it includes an excellent article on 'Juppiter' by Aust (vol. ii pp. 618—762), is not likely to reach 'Zeus' for some years to come. And the great syndicate of scholars who are re-writing Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1894— ) have not yet got as far as 'Juppiter,' let alone 'Zeus.'

The present volume is the first of two in which I have endeavoured to trace the development and influence of Zeus. It would seem that the Greeks, starting from a sense of frank childish wonder, not unmixed with fear, at the sight of the animate sky, mounted by slow degrees of enlightenment to a recognition of the physical, intellectual, and moral supremacy of the sky-god. Dion



Chrysostomos in a memorable sentence declared Zeus to be 'the giver of all good things, the Father, the Saviour, the Keeper of mankind.' On the lower levels and slopes of this splendid spiritual ascent the Greeks found themselves at one with the beliefs of many surrounding peoples, so that a fusion of the Hellenic Zeus with this or that barbaric counterpart often came about. On the higher ground of philosophy and poetry they joined hands with a later age and pressed on towards our own conceptions of Deity. I have therefore felt bound to take into account not only the numerous adaptations of Levantine syncretism but also sundry points of contact between Hellenism and Christianity. It is obvious that the limits of such an enquiry are to a certain extent arbitrary. I shall expect to be told by some that I have gone too far afield, by others that I have failed to note many side-lights from adjacent regions. Very possibly both criticisms are true.

Indeed, given the subject, it is not altogether easy to determine the best method of handling it. As a matter of fact I have tried more ways than one. In the *Classical Review* for 1903 and 1904 I published a series of six papers on 'Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak,' which aimed at summarising the Greek and Roman evidence that might be adduced in support of Sir James G. Frazer's Arician hypothesis. Satisfied that the evidence was much stronger than I had at first supposed, I next attempted, rashly enough, to pursue the same theme into the Celtic, the Germanic, and the Letto-Slavonic areas. With that intent I wrote another series of eight articles on 'The European Sky-God,' which appeared in *Folk-Lore* between the years 1904 and 1907. Of these articles the first three restated, with some modifications, the results obtained on Graeco-Italic ground; and the remaining five were devoted to a survey of analogous phenomena among the Insular Celts. I had meant to go further along the same road. But at this point Dr Farnell in the friendliest fashion put a spoke in my wheel by convincing me that the unity of an ancient god consisted less in his nature than in his name. Thereupon I decided to abandon my search for 'The European Sky-God'; and I did so the more readily because I had felt with increasing pressure the difficulty of discussing customs and myths without a real knowledge of the languages in which they were recorded. After some hesitation I resolved to start afresh on narrower lines, restricting enquiry to the single case of Zeus and marking out my province as explained in the previous paragraph. Even so the subject has proved to be almost too wide.

I incline to think that a full treatment of any of the greater Greek divinities, such a treatment as must ultimately be accorded to them all, properly demands the co-ordinated efforts of several workers.

Be that as it may, in this instalment of my book I have traced the evolution of Zeus from Sky to Sky-god and have sought to determine the relations in which he stood to the solar, lunar, and stellar cults of the Mediterranean basin. I need not here anticipate my conclusions, since the volume opens with a Table of Contents and closes with a summary of results. But I would warn my readers that the story runs on from Volume I to Volume II, and that the second half of it is, for the history of religion in general, the more important. Zeus god of the Bright Sky is also Zeus god of the Dark Sky; and it is in this capacity, as lord of the drenching rain-storm, that he fertilises his consort the earth-goddess and becomes the Father of a divine Son, whose worship with its rites of regeneration and its promise of immortality taught that men might in mystic union be identified with their god, and thus in thousands of wistful hearts throughout the Hellenic world awakened longings that could be satisfied only by the coming of the very Christ.

To some it may be a surprise that I have not made more use of ethnology as a master-key wherewith to unlock the complex chambers of Greek religion. I am far from underestimating the value of that great science, and I can well imagine that the mythology of the future may be based on ethnological data. But, if so, it will be based on the data of future ethnology. For at present ethnologists are still at sixes and sevens with regard to the racial stratification of ancient Greece. Such a survey as K. Penka's *Die vorhellenische Bevölkerung Griechenlands* (Hildburghausen 1911) shows that progress is being made; but it also shows the danger of premature constructions. Hypotheses that stand to-day may be upset to-morrow; and to build an edifice on foundations so insecure would be seriously to imperil its stability. I shall therefore be content if certain ethnological conclusions can be drawn, as I believe they can, from the materials here collected, materials that have been arranged on other principles. Again, I may be taxed with an undue neglect of anthropological parallels. In defence I might plead both lack of knowledge and lack of space. But, to be honest, I am not always satisfied that similarity of performance implies similarity of purpose, and I hold that analogies taken from a contiguous area are much more likely to be helpful than analogies

gathered, sometimes on doubtful authority, from the ends of the habitable earth.

Mention must here be made of sundry minor points in method and arrangement. I have as far as possible refrained from mottling my text with Greek and Latin words, and have relegated the necessary quotations to foot-notes, which can be 'skipped' by the expeditious. The perennial problem of orthography I have solved along arbitrary, but I trust consistent, lines. My plan is to transliterate all Greek names (Aischylos, Phoinike, etc.) except those that have been so far Englished as to possess forms differing not only from the Greek but also from the Latin (Homer and Aristotle, the Achaeans and Thessaly). Greek words and phrases cited in the text are further italicised and accentuated. References in the foot-notes have the author's name transliterated, but the title of his work given in Latin to suit prevailing custom, unless that title includes the name of a Greek deity (e.g. Aisch. *Pr.*, Plout. *v. Aem. Paul.*, but Kallim. *h. Zeus*, Orph. *h. Dem. Eleus.*). To facilitate occasional usage I have provided two Indexes at the end of Volume I, the first dealing in detail with Persons, Places, and Festivals, the second more summarily with Subjects and Authorities. On the other hand, considerations of space have led me to reserve the Appendixes to the end of Volume II. I may add that the manuscript of that volume is already far advanced: its publication will not, I hope, be unduly delayed.

There remains the pleasant task of thanking those that have in a variety of ways helped towards the making of this book. It was Sir James G. Frazer who first advised me to put together in permanent form the materials that I had collected: he has seen about a third of the present volume, and, though well aware that I differ from him on certain vital issues, he has with characteristic generosity more than once encouraged me to persist in my undertaking. I am conscious that I owe much also, both directly and indirectly, to Dr O. Gruppe, who in his *Handbuch* and elsewhere has set up a standard of thoroughness that must for many a long day be kept in view by all writers on the subject of classical religion. Prof. G. Murray, with proofs of his own on hand, has yet given time to reading mine and has sent me a flight of pencilled *marginalia*, which I have been glad here and there to incorporate. Most of this book has been perused, either in manuscript or in slip, by Miss J. E. Harrison, to whose wide range and quick synthetic powers I am indebted for several valuable suggestions: I am the

more anxious to acknowledge this debt because on matters of the deepest import we do not see eye to eye. Other helpful criticisms have reached me from my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris, whose studies of 'Dioscurism' have obvious bearings on certain aspects of Zeus, and from Mr F. M. Cornford, especially in connexion with Dionysiac drama, a subject which he has made peculiarly his own.

Life in Cambridge has indeed afforded me, not merely ready access to a great Library, but—what is better still—ready access to many personal friends both able and willing to enlighten ignorance. On questions of etymology I have time after time trespassed on the scanty leisure of Dr P. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, or all too rarely had the benefit of a flying visit from the Rev. Dr J. H. Moulton, Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek and Indo-European Philology in the Manchester University. Prof. E. J. Rapson has answered various queries with regard to Sanskrit myths and has furnished me with a detailed note on the Vedic Dyaus. One who deals with the syncretistic worships of the nearer East must perforce make excursions into the religions of Egypt, Babylonia, Syria and Asia Minor. In things Egyptian I have consulted Mr F. W. Green, Mr H. R. Hall, and Mrs C. H. W. Johns. For Mesopotamian cult and custom I have gone to my friend and former colleague Dr C. H. W. Johns, Master of St Catharines College. Semitic puzzles have been made plain to me, partly in long-suffering talks and partly on learned post-cards (that boon of modern University life, by the Rev. Prof. R. H. Kennett of Queens' College, by Profs. A. A. Bevan and F. C. Burkitt of Trinity College, by Mr N. McLean of Christ's College, and by Mr S. A. Cook of Gonville and Caius College: to each and all of them I tender my cordial thanks.

In a book of this character, with its constant appeal to the monuments, textual illustration is not a luxury but a necessity. And here again many friends have laid me under lasting obligations. Photographs of unpublished scenes or objects have been sent to me by Mr K. Kourouniotes, Dr C. G. Seligmann, Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, Mr P. N. Ure, Mr A. J. B. Wace, and by my brother Dr A. R. Cook. Mr A. H. Smith, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, has allowed me to have photographs and drawings made of numerous art-treasures in gold and silver, bronze, marble, and terra cotta: not a few of them are figured here for the first time. I am specially indebted to Mr H. B. Walters, Assistant-Keeper of the same collection, who

has compared the drawings of vases with the vases themselves, and to Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke, who has verified illustrations and references for me in the Reading Room. In the Department of Coins and Medals Mr G. F. Hill and the late Mr W. Wroth likewise gave me valuable help, partly by discussing various numismatic problems, and partly by supplying me with scores of casts taken from the coins under their charge. Mr F. H. Marshall, formerly of the British Museum has sent me impressions of gems in the Gold Room, and Monsieur E. Babelon has furnished me with the cast of an unpublished coin in the Paris cabinet. Permission to have drawings made from objects in their possession was granted to me by Mr R. M. Dawkins, Mr F. W. Green, and Dr W. H. D. Rouse; permission to reproduce blocks, by Messrs F. Bruckmann and Co., Monsieur l'Abbé H. Breuil, and Sir William M. Ramsay. Mr J. R. McClean, who was always eager to put his magnificent collection of Greek coins at the service of classical scholarship, generously allowed me to anticipate his *Catalogue* by figuring several of his most interesting specimens, and but a few weeks before his death contributed a large sum towards the better illustration of this work. Another liberal donation to the same object, enhanced by a letter of rare kindness, has reached me from my friend and fellow-lecturer the Rev. Dr A. Wright, Vice-President of Queens' College.

Of the subjects represented in my first volume thirteen coins and one relief were drawn for me by the late Mr F. Anderson, official draughtsman to the British Museum. But the main bulk of the drawings has been made by an equally gifted artist, Miss E. N. Talbot of Saint Rhadegund's House, Cambridge. To her scrupulous exactitude and unremitting industry I am indebted for no fewer than three hundred and twenty-five of my cuts, including the two coloured designs and the restorations attempted in plates vi, xv, xxiii, and xl. Nor must I omit to thank another craftsman of first rate ability, Mr W. H. Hayles of the Cavendish Laboratory, who visited more than one museum on my behalf and, though working against time and not always in ideal conditions, produced a series of exceptionally good photographs.

The Syndics of the University Press by undertaking financial responsibility for the whole work have shouldered a heavy burden with little or no hope of ultimate remuneration. Apart from their timely assistance this book would have remained a pile of musty manuscript. Moreover, at every stage of its production I have

met with unwearied courtesy and consideration from the Manager and Staff of the Pitt Press. In particular I wish to express my obligation to Mr N. Mason, whose resourceful skill has frequently surmounted obstacles in the way of satisfactory illustration, and to Mr W. H. Swift, whose vigilance and accuracy in proof-reading have been to me a perpetual marvel.

Finally, my wife has devoted many hours to the monotonous work of Index-making. I am glad to think that in consequence of her labours this volume will be decidedly more useful than it could otherwise have been.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.

22 *July* 1914.



# CONTENTS OF VOLUME I

## CHAPTER I

### ZEUS AS GOD OF THE BRIGHT SKY

	PAGES
§ 1. Zeus and the Daylight . . . . .	1—25
(a) Zeus the Sky . . . . .	1
(b) The Transition from Sky to Sky-god . . . . .	9
(c) Zeus <i>Amários</i> . . . . .	14
(d) Zeus <i>Panámaros</i> , <i>Panemeros</i> , <i>Panemérios</i> . . . . .	18
§ 2. Zeus and the Burning Sky . . . . .	25—62
(a) <i>Aithér</i> as the abode of Zeus . . . . .	25
(b) Zeus <i>Aithéros</i> , Zeus <i>Aithrios</i> . . . . .	26
(c) Zeus identified with <i>Auther</i> (sometimes with <i>Aer</i> ) in Philosophy and Poetry . . . . .	27
(d) Zeus as god of the Blue Sky in Hellenistic Art . . . . .	33
i. The Blue <i>Nimbus</i> . . . . .	34
ii. The Blue Globe . . . . .	41
iii. The Blue Mantle . . . . .	56
§ 3. Zeus <i>Lýkaios</i> . . . . .	63—99
(a) Wolf-god or Light-god? . . . . .	63
(b) Peloponnesian coin-types of Zeus <i>Lýkaios</i> . . . . .	68
(c) Human sacrifice to Zeus <i>Lýkaios</i> . . . . .	70
(d) The Precinct of Zeus <i>Lýkaios</i> . . . . .	81
(e) The Cult of Zeus <i>Lýkaios</i> at Kyrene . . . . .	89
(f) Zeus <i>Lýkaios</i> on a Spartan ('Cyrenaic') <i>kýlix</i> . . . . .	92
(g) Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb . . . . .	96
§ 4. Zeus and Olympos . . . . .	100—117
(a) The Cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos . . . . .	100
(b) Dionysiac traits in the Cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos . . . . .	104
(c) Development in the meaning of <i>Ólympos</i> . Zeus <i>Ólýmpios</i> . . . . .	113
§ 5. The Mountain-cults of Zeus . . . . .	117—186
(a) Chronological Development of the Mountain-cults . . . . .	117
(b) The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus . . . . .	124
(c) The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus . . . . .	148
(d) The Mountain as the Marriage-place of Zeus . . . . .	154
(e) The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus . . . . .	157
(f) Zeus as a Mountain-god superseded by Saint Elías . . . . .	163



	PAGES
§ 6. Zeus in relation to the Sun . . . . .	186-730
(a) Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun . . . . .	186
(b) Cult-epithets of Zeus that may be solar . . . . .	195
(c) The Sun as the Eye of Zeus . . . . .	196
(d) The Sun as a Wheel . . . . .	197
i. The Solar Wheel in Greece . . . . .	197
(a) Ixion . . . . .	198
(β) Triptolemos . . . . .	211
(γ) Kirke . . . . .	238
(δ) Medeia . . . . .	244
(ε) Iynx . . . . .	253
ζ) Isis, Nemesis, Tyche, Fortuna . . . . .	265
ii. Zeus and the Solar Wheel . . . . .	288
iii. Zeus and the Solar Disk . . . . .	291
iv. The Lycian Symbol . . . . .	299
v. The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops . . . . .	302
vi. The Kyklops of the East and the Kyklops of the West . . . . .	309
vii. The Kyklops and Zeus . . . . .	317
viii. The Blinding of the Kyklops' Eye . . . . .	321
ix. Prometheus' Theft of Fire . . . . .	323
x. The Fire-drill in relation to Prometheus, the Kyklops, and Zeus . . . . .	325
xi. The Solar Wheel combined with Animals . . . . .	330
xii. The Solar Chariot . . . . .	333
xiii. The Solar Wreath . . . . .	338
(e) The Sun as the Bird of Zeus . . . . .	341
(f) The Sun and the Ram . . . . .	346
1. The Ram and the Sun in Egypt. <i>Zeus Ammon</i> . . . . .	346
a. Khnemu and Amen . . . . .	346
β. Amen and Zeus <i>Thebaïcus</i> . . . . .	347
(γ) Amen and Zeus <i>Ammon</i> . . . . .	348
δ. Ba'al-hammān and Zeus <i>Ammon</i> . . . . .	353
ε. Zeus <i>Ammon</i> and the Snake . . . . .	358
ζ. Zeus of the Oasis a Graeco-Libyan god . . . . .	361
η. The youthful <i>Ammon</i> . . . . .	371
θ. The Oasis of Siwah . . . . .	376
ii. The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia. <i>Zeus Sabaïos</i> . . . . .	390
iii. The Golden or Purple Ram of the Etruscans and Italians . . . . .	403
iv. The Golden or Purple Lamb of Atreus . . . . .	405
v. The Cattle of the Sun . . . . .	409
vi. The Golden Lamb in a folk-tale from Epeiros . . . . .	412
vii. The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos . . . . .	414
viii. Zeus <i>Aktaios</i> or <i>Akraïos</i> and his Fleeces . . . . .	420
ix. Zeus <i>Medichios</i> , Zeus <i>Ktésios</i> , and the Fleece of Zeus . . . . .	422
x. The Significance of the Ram in the Cults of Zeus . . . . .	428

# Contents

xxi

	PAGES
(g) The Sun and the Bull . . . . .	430
i. The Bull and the Sun in Egypt . . . . .	430
ii. Zeus, Io, and Epaphos . . . . .	437
iii. Priests and Priestesses with Animal Names . . . . .	441
iv. Hera and the Cow . . . . .	444
v. Kleobis and Biton . . . . .	447
vi. Trophonios and Agamedes . . . . .	450
vii. The Proitides . . . . .	451
viii. Hera and Io . . . . .	453
ix. Zeus and Argos . . . . .	457
x. The Myth of Pasiphae . . . . .	464
xi. The Bull and the Sun in Crete . . . . .	467
xii. The Cow and the Moon in Crete . . . . .	469
xiii. The Sacred Cattle of Gortyna . . . . .	471
xiv. The Labyrinth at Knossos . . . . .	472
xv. The Minotaur . . . . .	490
xvi. 'Minoan' Bull-fights . . . . .	497
xvii. Ritual Horns . . . . .	506
xviii. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete . . . . .	521
xix. Zeus and the Bovine Figures of Cretan Mythology . . . . .	543
xx. The Bull and the Sun in Syria . . . . .	549
(a) Zeus <i>Adados</i> and Iupiter <i>Heliopolitanus</i> . . . . .	549
(β) Iupiter <i>Heliopolitanus</i> and the Bull . . . . .	567
(γ) Adad or Ramman and the Bull . . . . .	576
(δ) Zeus (Adad) and Hera (Atargatis) at Hierapolis . . . . .	582
(ε) Zeus (Adad) at Dion, Rhosos, etc. . . . .	590
(ζ) Characteristics of the Syrian Zeus (Adad) . . . . .	591
(η) Ba'al-tars and Zeus <i>Térsios</i> . . . . .	593
(θ) Zeus <i>Dolichaios</i> and Iupiter <i>Dolichenus</i> . . . . .	604
xxi. The Significance of the Bull in the Cults of Zeus . . . . .	633
(a) The Bull as a Fertilising Power . . . . .	633
(β) The Influence of Apis . . . . .	635
(γ) Spread of the Hittite Bull-cult . . . . .	639
(δ) The Cretan Zeus and Zagreus . . . . .	644
(ε) The Cretan Zeus and Human Omophagy . . . . .	651
(ζ) The Cretan Zeus and Bovine Omophagy . . . . .	659
(η) The Origin of Tragedy . . . . .	665
(θ) The Attic Festivals of Dionysos . . . . .	680
(ι) The Satyric Drama . . . . .	695
(κ) Zeus, Dionysos, and the Goat . . . . .	706
xvii. Animals sacrificed to Zeus . . . . .	716
(h) The Sun as a Bronze Man . . . . .	719
i. Talos in Crete . . . . .	719
ii. Talos in Sardinia . . . . .	721
iii. Talos and the Bronze-founder's Art . . . . .	723
iv. Talos at Athens . . . . .	724
v. Talos identified with Zeus . . . . .	728

	PAGES
§ 7. Zeus in relation to the Moon . . . . .	730—740
(a) Direct identifications of Zeus with the Moon . . . . .	730
(b) Zeus paired with Selene <i>Pandia</i> ? . . . . .	732
(c) Zeus paired with Io, Pasiphae, Europe . . . . .	733
(d) Zeus paired with Antiope . . . . .	734
(e) Zeus and his Lunar Consorts . . . . .	739
§ 8. Zeus in relation to the Stars . . . . .	740—775
(a) Zeus <i>Astérios</i> , Zeus <i>Scárin</i> , Zeus <i>Oromerides</i> . . . . .	740
(b) Zeus as god of the Starry Sky . . . . .	751
(c) Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology . . . . .	754
(d) Zeus transformed into a Star . . . . .	760
e. The Dioskouroi as Stars . . . . .	760
i. The dedication of Stars after the battles of Salamis and Aigos Potamos . . . . .	761
ii. The Dioskouroi as Stars in Hellenic Literature . . . . .	763
iii. The Dioskouroi with Stars in Hellenistic Art . . . . .	764
iv. The Dioskouroi identified with the Heavenly Twins in Hellenistic Literature . . . . .	770
v. The Dioskouroi identified with various Stars by modern writers . . . . .	771
vi. The Dioskouroi identified with Saint Elmo's Fire in Hellenistic Literature . . . . .	771
vii. The Stars of the Dioskouroi and of Helene as a good or bad omen . . . . .	772
viii. Saint Elmo's Fire . . . . .	774
§ 9. General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as god of the Bright Sky . . . . .	776—780
APPENDA . . . . .	781—786
INDEX I (PERSONS, PLACES, FESTIVALS . . . . .	787—859
INDEX II (SUBJECTS, AUTHORITIES . . . . .	860—885

# LIST OF PLATES IN VOLUME I

FRONTISPICE and PLATE		to face page
I	Wall-painting from Pompeii: Zeus enthroned with pillar behind him . . . . .	34
II	Well-mouth at Naples: Zeus enthroned with pillar beside him . . . . .	34
III	<i>Amphora</i> from Ruvo: pillar-cult of Zeus . . . . .	36 f.
IV 1, 2	<i>Krater</i> from Apulia: pillar-cults of Zeus . . . . .	39
V	<i>Krater</i> from Lecce: pillar-cult of Zeus . . . . .	39
VI	Wall-painting from Pompeii: Zeus enthroned with globe beside him . . . . .	42
VII	Relief on the so-called <i>ara Capitolina</i> : Zeus enthroned with globe beside him . . . . .	42
VIII	View of the summit of Mount Lykaton, showing bases of eagle-columns . . . . .	83
IX. 1	View of Mount Olympos as seen from the port of Litokhoron	
2	Diagram of the same view, showing Mount Olympos as it rises through <i>aer</i> into <i>aithér</i> . . . . .	100
X	Restored view of Pergamon, showing the great altar of Zeus	119
XI	<i>Hydria</i> from Ruvo: Zeus and the judgment of Paris . . . . .	125
XII	<i>Pelike</i> from Ruvo: Zeus and the defeat of Marsyas . . . . .	129
XIII	Relief signed by Archelaos of Priene: Zeus and the apotheosis of Homer . . . . .	129
XIV	View of Mount Taygeton as seen from Sparta . . . . .	155
XV	Upper half of colossal figure from Eleusis: <i>kistophóros</i> known as Saint Demetra . . . . .	172
XVI	<i>Amphora</i> from Cumae: Ixion on his wheel . . . . .	203
XVII	Etruscan mirror: Ixion on his wheel . . . . .	204
XVIII	<i>Krater</i> from Agrigentum: Triptolemos . . . . .	219
XIX	<i>Amphora</i> from Ruvo: Triptolemos . . . . .	223
XX	<i>Krater</i> from Cumae: Triptolemos . . . . .	223
XXI	Coin of Gaza <i>Μινώα</i> ? : the Hebrew Godhead as a solar Zeus . . . . .	232
XXII	<i>Krater</i> from Canosa: the vengeance of Medea . . . . .	252
XXIII, 1	Restoration of the cult-statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous	
1 <sup>a</sup> , 1 <sup>b</sup>	Front and side of extant fragment of the head	
2 <sup>a</sup> , 2 <sup>b</sup>	Coin of Kypros: obv. Zeus enthroned, rev. Nemesis standing . . . . .	274 f.
XXIV, 1	Silver-gilt plaque from Elis: Helios rising	
2	Bronze crescent from Elis: hily-work etc . . . . .	336

PLATE		<i>to face</i>
XXV	May-garland of flowers and corn from Eleusis . . . . .	338
XXVI, 1	Terra-cotta statuette from Kypros Ba'al-hamman enthroned . . . . .	
2	Lead plate from Caesarea Iol. heads of Ba'al-hamman . . . . .	
3	Silver diadem from Batna Ba'al-hamman, Tanit, etc . . . . .	354 f.
XXVII	Bronze relief at Copenhagen Zeus <i>sarabatos</i> . . . . .	392
XXVIII	Corn-maiden from Lesbos . . . . .	396
XXIX	Mosaic in the <i>orchestra</i> of the theatre at Athens: <i>sarakkha</i> -pattern . . . . .	480
XXX	<i>Hydría</i> from the Canino collection: a Minotaur-dance? . . . . .	497
XXXI	Bell- <i>kratér</i> in the Hope collection: Herakles in Olympus taking fruit from the <i>cornu opum</i> of Zeus . . . . .	502
XXXII	White-ground <i>kylix</i> from Argina: Zeus and Europe . . . . .	526 f.
XXXIII	Marble <i>stèle</i> from Marseille: Jupiter <i>Hekapeutannus</i> . . . . .	575
XXXIV	Bronze plate from Heddernheim: Jupiter <i>Dodekannus</i> . . . . .	620
XXXV	Bronze <i>symphonon</i> from the Idaean Cave in Crete: Zeus and the Kouretes . . . . .	644
XXXVI	<i>Hydría</i> from Kamenos: Zagreus devoured by the Titans . . . . .	654 f.
XXXVII	Terra-cotta mask from Anthedon: a Satyric <i>chorutês</i> . . . . .	696
XXXVIII	<i>Kratêr</i> from Altamura: the decking of Pandora: <i>ê</i> a Satyric chorus . . . . .	700 f.
XXXIX, 1	Bell- <i>kratêr</i> in the Hope collection: preparations for a Satyr-play . . . . .	
2	Bell- <i>kratêr</i> in the Hope collection: preparations for a Satyr-play . . . . .	702
XL, 1—4	Reliefs decorating the stage of Phaidros in the theatre at Athens: 1 the infancy of Dionysos; 2 the advent of Dionysos; 3 the marriage of Dionysos; 4 the enthronement of Dionysos [A restoration of these reliefs is printed on a transparent overleaf] <i>in pocket at end of Volume I</i>	
XLI	<i>Kratêr</i> from Ruvo: the death of Talos . . . . .	720 f.
XLII	<i>Kylix</i> at Taranto: Zeus <i>Ixykaios</i> . . . . .	782

## ABBREVIATIONS

This List of Abbreviations has been drawn up in accordance with two principles. On the one hand, the names of Authors have not been shortened, save by the omission of their initials. On the other hand, the titles of Books and Periodicals have been cut down, but not—it is hoped—beyond the limits of recognizability.

The customary abbreviations of classical writers and their works (for which see *supra* p. xiv) are not here included.

- Arch. Bayer. Akad. Philos., philol. Classe* = *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften München* 1835— .
- Arch. d. Berl. Akad. Phil.-hist. Classe* = *Abhandlungen der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Classe Berlin* 1804— .
- Arch. d. Gott. Gesellsch. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Classe* = *Abhandlungen der vomnischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Historisch-philologische Klasse Göttingen* 1838— .
- Arch. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe = *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Leipzig* 1850— .
- Amelung Schrift. Vatic.* = W. Amelung *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* 1 u. Berlin 1903, 1908.
- Am. Journ. Arch.* = *American Journal of Archaeology* Baltimore 1885— , Second Series Norwood, Mass. 1897— .
- Ann. Arch. Anthr.* = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* Liverpool 1908— .
- Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* = *Annuaire of the British School at Athens* London 1894-5— .
- Ann. d. Inst.* = *Annuaire dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* Roma 1829—1885.
- Anson Num. Gr.* = L. Anson *Nymismata Graeca* Plates and Index London 1910, Text 1— v London 1911—1914.
- Ant. Denkm.* = *Antike Denkmäler* herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut Berlin 1886— .
- Ant. du Bosph.* *Cimn.* = *Antiquites du Bosphore Cimmérien conservées au Musé Impérial de l'Ermitage* 1 u. St.-Petersbourg 1854 with Atlas of pls.
- Ant. Münz. Berlin* = *Königl.ches Museum zu Berlin. Beschreibung der antiken Münzen* 1— in Berlin 1888—1894.
- Ant. Sculpt. Berlin* = *Königl.ches Museum zu Berlin. Beschreibung der antiken Sculpturen mit Ausschluss der gesammten Fundstücke* Berlin 1891.
- Arch. Anz.* See *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.*
- Archaeogr. Mitth.* = *Archaeographische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* Wien 1877—1897 Register Wien 1902.
- Arch. Zeit.* = *Archaeologische Zeitung* herausgegeben vom Archaeologischen Institut des Deutschen Reichs Berlin 1843—1885.
- Arch. Eph.* See *Eph. Arch.*
- Archaeogr. Rel.* = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* Leipzig 1898— .
- Ath. Mitth.* = *Mittheilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, athenische Mittheilung* Athen 1876— .

- Babelon *Cat. Camées de la Bibl. Nat.* = E. Babelon *Catalogue des Camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1897.
- Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* = E. Babelon *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* I Théorie et doctrine i Paris 1901. II Description historique i in Paris 1907, 1910 with Atlas of pls.
- Babelon *Monn. rep. rom.* = E. Babelon *Description historique et chronologique de monnaies de la République romaine et spécialement d'après les monnaies originales* i in Paris 1885, 1886.
- Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronz. de la Bibl. Nat.* = E. Babelon et J. A. Blanchet *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1895.
- Bartoli—Belloni *Adm. Rom. ant.* = *Adrianae Reinsmann antiquarium a Petri Belloni futurae testis*, a Petri Sancti Bartoli delineata mersa. Notis Jo. Petri Belloni illustrata. Romae 1693.
- Baumeister *Denkm.* = A. Baumeister *Denkmäler der vorchristlichen Alterthümer der Etrusker und der Griechen und Römer in Etrurien, Kampanien und Sicilien* i—iii München und Leipzig 1885—1888.
- Bekker *anecd.* = I. Bekker *Anecdota Graeca* i—iii Berlin 1814—1821.
- Ber. schol. Gesell. d. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Berliner Anzeiger der Verhandlungen der königlich-sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Philologisch-historische Classe Leipzig 1848—.
- Berl. philol. Wöch. = *Berliner philologische Wochenchrift* Berlin 1855—.
- Boetticher *Baumhüt.* = C. Boetticher *Die Baumhütten der Hellenen nach den seit den letzten Jahren gewonnenen und näher erhaltenen Nachrichten* des H. L. Berlin 1856.
- Bolsaey *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* = L. Borsaey *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* Indes dans le rapport avec les autres langues indo-européennes Heidelberg et Paris 1907—.
- Boussnade *anecd.* = J. F. Boussnade *Anecdota Graeca* i—v Paris 1829—1833.
- Bonner Jahrbuch = *Bonner Jahrbuch* Continuation of the *Jahrbuch der Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* Bonn 1895—.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Br. no. = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the British, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* London 1899.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Byz. Coins = W. Wroth *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* i in London 1908.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* London 1873—.
- Italy* 1873 by R. S. Poole; *Sicily* 1876 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner, R. S. Poole; *The Tunic Chariton of Samatrua, Paria, Meria, Thracia, &c.* 1877 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner; *Selucid King of Syria* 1878 by P. Gardner; *Macaronia, Etr.* 1879 by B. V. Head; *The Ptolemies, King of Egypt* 1883 by R. S. Poole; *The city of Abdera* 1883 by P. Gardner; *Central Greece* 1884 by B. V. Head; *Greece and Syria, Kings of Bactria and India* 1886 by P. Gardner; *Crete and the Aegean Island* 1886 by W. Wroth; *Protophormus* 1887 by P. Gardner; *Attica—Megara—Argina* 1888 by B. V. Head; *Corinth, Celonia of Corinth, Et.* 1889 by B. V. Head; *Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bithynia* 1889 by W. Wroth; *Thessaly and the Nemea* 1892 by R. S. Poole; *Ionia* 1892 by B. V. Head; *Mysia* 1892 by W. Wroth; *Fracia, Aeolis, and Lesbos* 1894 by W. Wroth; *Caria, Co., Rhodes, &c.* 1897 by B. V. Head; *Lycia, Pamphylia, and Prussia* 1897 by G. E. Hill; *Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* 1899 by W. Wroth; *Lycadonia, Samaria, and Cilicia* 1900 by G. E. Hill; *Lycaonia* 1901 by B. V. Head; *Parthia* 1903 by W. Wroth; *Cyprus* 1904 by G. E. Hill; *Phrygia* 1906 by B. V. Head; *Paeonia* 1910 by G. E. Hill; *Perusia* 1914 by G. E. Hill.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins = A. H. Smith *A Catalogue of Imperial Coins in the British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities)* London 1888.

- Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* = F. H. Marshall *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* London 1911.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* = H. A. Grueber *Roman Medallions in the British Museum* London 1874.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coin.* = H. A. Grueber *Coin of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* 1—iii London 1910.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculptur.* = A. H. Smith *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* 1—iii London 1892—1904.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* London 1903.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Vase.* = *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* London 1893—  
 1, 2 *Cypriote, Italian, and Etruscan Pottery* 1912 by H. B. Walters; 3 *Black-figured Vases* 1893 by H. B. Walters; 4 *Vases of the Finest Period* 1896 by C. H. Smith; 5 *Vases of the Latest Period* 1896 by H. B. Walters.
- Brit. Mus. Guid. Gr. Rom. Life* = *British Museum. Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. A Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life.* London 1908.
- Brit. Mus. Marbles* = *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum: with engravings* Parts 1—xi London 1812—1861.
- Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* = C. F. H. Bruchmann *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur* Lipsiae 1893.
- Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und rom. Sculpt.* = *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* unter Leitung von H. Brunn herausgegeben von F. Bruckmann 1. Serie (Tafeln 1—500) München 1888—1900; Brunn—Bruckmann's *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* fortgesetzt und mit erläuternden Texten versehen von P. Amdt 1 (Tafeln 501—550) München 1902, 2 (Tafeln 551—600) München 1906, 3 (Tafeln 601—650) München 1912, 4 (Tafeln 651— ) München —.
- Bull. Arch. Nap.* = *Bullettino archeologico Napoletano* 1—vi Napoli 1843—1848, Nuova Serie 1—viii Napoli 1853—1863.
- Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* = *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Municipale Roma* 1872—1876 continued as *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* Roma 1877—.
- Bull. Corr. Hell.* = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* Paris 1877—.
- Bull. d. Inst.* = *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Roma 1829—1885.
- Carelli *Nom. It. vet.* = Francisci Carelli *Nunorum Italiae veteris tabulas CCII*, edidit Celestinus Cavedomus. Accesserunt Francisci Carelli numorum quos ipse collegit descriptio F. M. Avellani in eam annotationes. Lipsiae 1850.
- Carter *Epith. deor.* = J. B. Carter *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur* Lipsiae 1902.
- Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* = *Musée de Sculpture antique et moderne* par le C<sup>te</sup> F. de Clarac Texte 1—vi Paris 1841—1853 Planches 1—vi Paris 1826—1853.
- Class. Philol.* = *Classical Philology* Chicago 1906—.
- Class. Quart.* = *The Classical Quarterly* London 1907—.
- Class. Rev.* = *The Classical Review* London 1887—.
- Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.* = H. Cohen *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain communément appelées médailles impériales* Deuxième édition 1—viii Paris 1880—1892.
- Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* = M. Collignon *Histoire de la sculpture grecque* 1 ii Paris 1892, 1897.
- Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vase. d'Athènes* = M. Collignon et L. Couve *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes* Paris 1902, Index 1903, Table de Concordance 1904, Planches 1904.
- Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* = *Sammlung der griechischen Dial.-Inscripten* von



- F. Bechtel, A. Bezzenberger, F. Blass, H. Collitz, W. Deecke, A. Fick, G. Hinrichs, R. Meister. Herausgegeben von H. Collitz. Göttingen 1884— .
- Com. Rom. frag.* = *Comitorum Romanorum fragmenta Paulum et Sura quae feruntur sententias Fragmenta tertius curis recognovit Otto Ribbeck Lipsiae 1898.*
- Comptes-rendus St. Pet.* = *Comptes-rendus de la commission internationale archéologique* avec un Atlas St. Pétersbourg 1850—1881.
- Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* = *Académie de Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie* Paris 1859— .
- Corp. inscr. Att.* = *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*
- i. Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno vetustiores ed. A. Kirchhoff [*Inscriptiones Graecae* i] Berolini 1873.
  - ii. Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora ed. U. Koehler [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ii] 1—3 Berolini 1877, 1883, 1888. 4 Indices comp. J. Kirchner Berolini 1893.
  - iii. Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iii] 1—2 Berolini 1878, 1882.
  - iv. 1. 1—3 Supplementa voluminis primi comp. A. Kirchhoff [*Inscriptiones Graecae* i Supplementa] Berolini 1877, 1887, 1891.
  - iv. 2. Supplementa voluminis alterius comp. U. Koehler, Indices conf. J. Kirchner [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ii. 2] Berolini 1895.
- Appendix continens delexionum tabellas in Attica regione repertas, ed. R. Wuenesch [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iii. 3] Berolini 1897.
- Corp. inscr. Gr.* = A. Boeckh *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* 1—iv Berolini 1828, 1843, 1853, 1856. Indices comp. H. Koehl Berolini 1877.
- Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis*
- i. Inscriptiones Megaris et Boeotiae ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* vii] Berolini 1892.
  - iii. 1. Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ioni ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 1] Berolini 1897.
- Corp. inscr. Lat.* = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*
- i. Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1863. Voluminis primi editio secunda: pars 1 cura Th. Mommsen, W. Henzen, C. Huelsen Berolini 1893. Tabulae lithographicae, ed. F. Ritscheliuss Berolini 1862.
  - ii. Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae, ed. Aem. Huebner Berolini 1869. Supplementum Berolini 1892.
  - iii. Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1873. Supplementi fasc. 1—5 Berolini 1889, 1891, 1893, 1902.
  - iv. Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae Herculanae Stabianae, ed. C. Zange-meister Berolini 1871. Supplementi pars 1—2 Berolini 1898, 1909.
  - v. 1—2. Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1872, 1877.
  - vi. 1—5. Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, coll. L. Bormann, G. Henzen, C. Huelsen, L. B. de Rossi Berolini 1876, 1882, 1886, 1894, 1902, 1885.
  - vii. Inscriptiones Britanniae, ed. Aem. Huebner Berolini 1873.
  - viii. Inscriptiones Africae Latinae, coll. G. Wilmanns Berolini 1881. Supplementi pars 1—3 Berolini 1891, 1894, 1904.
  - ix. Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Samnii, Sabinorum, Piceni Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.
  - x. Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae, Siciliae, Sardiniae Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.
  - xi. 1—2. 1. Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruscae, Umbrae Latinae, ed. E. Bormann Berolini 1888, 1901.
  - xii. Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld Berolini 1888.

- xiii. 1. 1—2, 2. 1—2, 3. 1—2 *Inscriptiones trium Galliarum et Germaniarum Latinae*, ed. O. Hirschfeld, C. Zangemeister, Th. Mommsen, A. Domaszewski, O. Bohn, Aem. Esperandieu Berolini 1899, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1901, 1906.
- xiv *Inscriptiones Latin veteris Latinae*, ed. H. Dessau Berolimi 1887.
- xv. 1—2. 1 *Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum*, ed. H. Dressel Berolini 1891, 1899.
- Corp. inscr. Sem.* = *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum* ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars I— Tom. i— Parisiis 1881— .
- Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* = E. Cougny *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudis et Appendice Nova* iii Appendix Nova Parisiis 1890.
- Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* = J. A. Cramer *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* i—iv Oxoni 1835—1837.
- Cramer *anecd. Paris.* = J. A. Cramer *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis* i—iv Oxoni 1839—1841.
- Daremberg—Saglio *Dut. Ant.* = *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* d'après les textes et les monuments.. ouvrage rédigé par une société d'écrivains spéciaux, d'archéologues et de professeurs sous la direction de Mm. Ch. Daremberg et Edm. Saglio i— Paris 1877— .
- Δελτ. Ἀρχ. = Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολογικὸν ἐκδοδόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ γενικοῦ ἐφόρου Η. Καρρβαδία ἐν Ἀθήναις 1885— .
- Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* = *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe.* Wien 1850— .
- De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* = *Collection de Clercq. Catalogue* publié par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres et sous la direction de Mm. de Vogüé, E. Babelon, E. Pottier. Tome iii *Les Bronzes* par A. de Ridder Paris 1905.
- De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* = *Catalogue des Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale* par A. de Ridder i ii Paris 1901, 1902.
- Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* = H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* i, ii. 1, ii. 2, iii. 1 Berolimi 1892, 1902, 1906, 1914.
- De Visser *De Gr. dits non ref. spec. hum.* = M. W. de Visser *De Graecorum dits non refutentibus speciem humanam Lugduni-Batavorum* 1900.
- De Vit *Lat. Lex.* = *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon* opera et studio Aegidii Forcellini lucubratum et in hac editione post tertiam auctam et emendatam a Josepho Furlanetto novo ordine digestum amplissime auctum atque emendatum cura et studio Doct. Vincenti de-Vit i—vi Prati 1858—1879.
- De Vit *Onomasticon* = *Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon* opera et studio Doct. Vincenti de-Vit lucubratum i—iv Prati 1859—1887.
- Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* = *Orientalis Graecae inscriptiones selectae. Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. Wilhelmus Dittenberger i ii Lipsiae 1903, 1905.
- Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* = *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, iterum ed. Guilelmus Dittenberger i—iii Lipsiae 1898, 1900, 1901.
- Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* = C. du Fresne Du Cange *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis.* Editio nova a Leopold Favre i—x Niort 1883—1887.
- Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.* = *Handbuch der Architektur. Unter Mitwirkung von J. Durm und H. Ende herausgegeben von E. Schmitt. Zweiter Teil. Die Baustile.* 2 Band: *Die Baukunst der Etrusker.* Die Baukunst der Römer. Von J. Durm. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart 1905.
- Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.* = *Handbuch der Architektur. Unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen herausgegeben von J. Durm, H. Ende, E. Schmitt und H. Wagner. Zweiter Theil. Die Baustile.* 1 Band: *Die Baukunst der Griechen.* Von J. Durm. Zweite Auflage. Darmstadt 1892, Dritte Auflage. Leipzig 1910.

- Durm *Baukunst d. Rom.*<sup>2</sup>=*Handbuch der Architektur*. Unter Mitwirkung von J. Durm und H. Ende herausgegeben von E. Schmitt. Zweiter Teil: Die Baustile. 2 Band: Die Baukunst der Etrusker. Die Baukunst der Römer. Von J. Durm. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart 1905.
- Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*<sup>2</sup>=*Doctrina numerum veterum conscripta* a Iosepho Eckhel i Vindobonae 1792, ii—viii Editio secunda Vindobonae 1839. 1828, Addenda ad Eckhelii *Doctrinam numerum veterum* ex eisdem autographo postumo Vindobonae 1826.
- Einzelangabungen*=*Photographische Einzelangabungen antiker Sculpturen* Serien zur Vorbereitung eines Corpus Statuarum Unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Paul Arndt und Walther Amelung München 1893— Register zu Seite 1—5 Bearbeitet von Georg Lippold München 1911.
- Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.=Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική ἐκδομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας ἐν Ἀθῆναις 1837—1843, 1852—1860, 1862, 1883—1909 continued as Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς ἐκδομένη ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας Ἀθῆναισι 1910—
- Ephem. epigr.*=*Epimeris epigraphica*, Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum, edita iussu Institutii archaeologici Romani Romae 1872—
- Epigr. Gr. frag.*=*Epigramm Graecorum Fragmenta*. Collegit disposuit commentarium criticum adiecit Golofriedus Kinkel i Lipsiae 1877.
- Farnell *Cults of Gr. States*=L. R. Farnell *The Cults of the Greek States* i—v Oxford 1896—1909.
- Folk-Lore*=*Folk-Lore*. Transactions of the Folk-Lore Society. A quarterly review of Myth, Tradition, Institution, and Custom. [Incorporating *The Archaeological Review* and *The Folk-Lore Journal*] London 1890—
- Forrer *Realien*.=*Realienikon der prahistorischen, klassischen und frühchristlichen Altertümer* von Dr. Robert Forrer Berlin & Stuttgart (1907).
- Fouilles de Delphes*=*Ecole française d'Athènes. Fouilles de Delphes (1892—1903)* Exécutées par ordre du Gouvernement français et publiées sous la direction de M. Théophile Homolle.
- ii. Topographie & Architecture. Relevés et Restaurations par M. Albert Tournaire. Fasc. 1. Paris 1902.
- iii. Epigraphie. Texte. Fasc. 1 par M. Émile Bourguet Paris 1910, 1911, Fasc. 2 par M. G. Colin Paris 1909, 1911, 1912, 1913, Fasc. 3 par M. G. Colin Paris 1911.
- iv. Monuments Figurés—Sculpture. Texte par M. Th. Homolle Fasc. 1 Paris 1909, Planches Fasc. 2 Paris 1905, 1906.
- v. Monuments Figurés—Petits Bronzes, Terres Cuites, Antiquités Diverses. Texte par M. P. Perdrizet Fasc. 1—3 Paris 1906, 1908, 1908, Planches Fasc. 1—3 Paris 1905, 1905, 1909
- Frag. com. Gr.*=*Fragmenta comicorum Graecorum*. Collegit et disposuit Augustus Memcke i—iv Berolini 1839—1841, v Index Composuit Henricus Iacobi Berolini 1857.
- Frag. hist. Gr.*=*Fragmenta historiorum Graecorum*. Collegit, disposuit, notis et prolegomenis illustravit, indicibus instruxit Carolus Mullerus i—v Parisiis 1882, 1878, 1883, 1885, 1883.
- Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>=J. G. Frazer *The Golden Bough* A Study in Magic and Religion. Second edition, revised and enlarged i—iii London 1900.
- Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>=J. G. Frazer *The Golden Bough* A Study in Magic and Religion. Third edition.
- Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* i in London 1911.
- Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* London 1911.
- Part III. *The Dying God* London 1911.
- Part IV. *Adonis Attis Osiris* Studies in the History of Oriental Religion. Second edition, revised and enlarged London 1907 (Third edition, revised and enlarged i in London 1914).

- Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* i ii London 1912.  
 Part VI. *The Scapegoat* London 1913.  
 Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful The Fire-festivals of Europe and the Doctrine of the External Soul* i ii London 1913.  
 (General Index London 1914.)  
 Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* = J. G. Frazer *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* London 1905.  
 Frazer *Pausanias* = *Pausanias's Description of Greece* translated with a commentary by J. G. Frazer i—vi London 1898.  
 Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Die Gipsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke* in historischer Folge erklärt. Bausteine zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Plastik von Carl Friederichs neu bearbeitet von Paul Wolters Berlin 1885.  
 Frohner *Méd. emp. rom.* = *Numismatique Antique. Les médaillons de l'empire romain depuis le regne d'Auguste jusqu'à Priscus Attale* par W. Froehner Paris 1878.  
 Frohner *Sculpt. du Louvre* = *Musées Nationaux. Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée national du Louvre* par W. Frohner i Paris s.a.  
 Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* = *Die antiken Gemmen* Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum von Adolf Furtwangler i Tafeln ii Beschreibung und Erklärung der Tafeln iii Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum Leipzig Berlin 1900.  
 Furtwangler *Geschmitt. Steine Berlin* = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* von Adolf Furtwangler Berlin 1896.  
 Furtwangler *Glyptothek zu München* = *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München* von A. Furtwangler München 1900 (Zweite Auflage, besorgt von P. Wolters München 1910).  
 Furtwangler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* = *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture A Series of Essays on the History of Art* by Adolf Furtwangler edited by Eugénie Sellers London 1895.  
 Furtwangler *Samml. Sabouroff* = *La Collection Sabouroff* Monuments de l'art grec publiés par Adolphe Furtwangler i ii Berlin 1883—1887.  
 Furtwangler *Statuenkopfen* = *Ueber Statuenkopfen im Alterthum* von Adolf Furtwangler. Erster Theil (Aus den Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akademie der Wiss. i. Cl. xv. Bd. III. Abth.). München 1896.  
 Furtwangler *Vasensamml. Berlin* = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* von Adolf Furtwangler i ii Berlin 1885.  
 Furtwangler—Reichhold (—Hauser) *Gr. Vasenmalerei* = *Griechische Vasenmalerei* Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder mit Unterstützung aus dem Thierieanos-Fonds der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften herausgegeben von A. Furtwangler und K. Reichhold Serie I Text und Tafeln München 1900—1904, Serie II nach Furtwangler's Tode fortgeführt von Friedrich Hauser Text und Tafeln München 1905—1909, Serie III Text und Tafeln München 1910— .  
 E. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* = *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* by Ernest Arthur Gardner Cambridge 1897.  
 P. Gardner *Cat. Vases Oxford* = *Museum Oxoniens. Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum* By Percy Gardner Oxford 1893.  
 P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* = *The Types of Greek Coins* An archaeological essay by Percy Gardner Cambridge 1883.  
 Gariucci *Mon. It. ant.* = *Le monete dell'Italia antica* Raccolta generale del P. Raffaele Gariucci Parte prima: monete fuse. Parte seconda: monete coniate. Roma 1885.  
 Gaz. Arch. = *Gazette Archéologique* Recueil de monuments pour servir à la connaissance et à l'histoire de l'art antique publié par les soins de J. de Witte., et François Lenormant .. Paris 1875—1889.  
 General-Karte von Griechenland = *General-Karte des Königreiches Griechenland* im

- Masse 1 : 300 000 der Natur. Nach Berichtigungs-Daten des k. griech. Oberstleutenants J. Kokides und revidirt von Dr. H. Kiepert. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben vom K. K. Militar-Geographischen Institute in Wien. 13 Sheets with Index Wien 1885.
- Geogr. Gr. min.* = *Geographi Graeci minores*. E codicibus recognovit, prolegomenis, annotatione, indicibus instruxit, tabulis aeri incisus illustravit Carolus Mullerus. 1 ii Parisii 1882.
- Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* = *Antike Bildwerke* zum ersten male bekannt gemacht von Eduard Gerhard Munchen Stuttgart & Tubingen (1827—1844). Text zu Eduard Gerhard's *Antiken Bildwerken*. In drei Lieferungen. Munchen, Stuttgart und Tubingen 1828—1844.
- Gerhard *Ausert. Vasenb.* = *Ausertene griechische Vasenbilder*, hauptsächlich etruskischen Fundorts. Herausgegeben von Eduard Gerhard i—iv Berlin 1840—1858.
- Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* = *Etruskische Spiegel* herausgegeben von Eduard Gerhard Text und Tafeln i—iv Berlin 1839—1867, im Auftrage des kaiserlich deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts bearbeitet von A. Klugmann und G. Korte v Berlin 1884—1897.
- Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* = *Griechische Mythologie* von Eduard Gerhard i ii Berlin 1854, 1855.
- Gilbert *Gr. Gotterl.* = *Griechische Gotterlehre* in ihren Grundzugen dargestellt von Otto Gilbert Leipzig 1898.
- Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* = Francesco Gnecchi *I medaglioni Romani* i Oro ed argento, ii Bronzo gran modulo, iii Bronzo moduli minori. Medaglioni del senato Milano 1912.
- Gott. gel. Anz. = *Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen* Gottingen 1753—
- Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* = *Kaiserlich deutsches Archaeologisches Institut. Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* unter Mitwirkung von Paul Hartwig Paul Wolters Robert Zahn veröffentlicht von Botho Graef Text und Tafeln i ii Berlin 1909, 1911.
- Grimm—Thayer *Gk-Eng. Lex. of the New Test.* = *A Greek-English Lexikon of the New Testament* being Grimm's Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti* translated revised and enlarged by Joseph Henry Thayer Edinburgh 1888.
- Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* = *Die griechischen Culte und Mythen in ihren Beziehungen zu den orientalischen Religionen* von Otto Gruppe i Einleitung Leipzig 1887.
- Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* = *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte (Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft)* herausgegeben von Dr. Iwan von Müller v. Band. 2. Abteilung) von Dr. O. Gruppe i ii Munchen 1906.
- Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* = *Die mythologische Literatur aus den Jahren 1898—1905 (Jahrbuch für Altertums-wissenschaft. Suppl. 1907)*. Von O. Gruppe Leipzig 1908.
- Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom* = *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* in absolutissimum corpus redactae olim auspiciis Iosephi Scaligeri et Marci Velseri industria autem et diligentia Iani Gruteri: nunc cura secundis ejusdem Gruteri et notis Marquardi Gudii emendatae et tabulis aeneis a Boissardo confectis illustratae; denuo cura viri summi Ioannis Georgii Graevii recensitae i—iv Amstelædani 1707.
- Guida del Mus. Napoli* = *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* approvata dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione compilata da D. Bassi, E. Gábrici, L. Mariani, O. Marucchi, G. Patonni, G. de Petra, A. Sogliano per cura di A. Ruesch Napoli 1908.
- Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* = *Mythology & Monuments of Ancient Athens* being a translation of a portion of the 'Attica' of Pausanias by Margaret de G. Verrill with Introductory Essay and Archeological Commentary by Jane E. Harrison London 1890.
- Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.* = *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* by Jane Ellen Harrison Second edition Cambridge 1908.
- Harrison *Themis* = *Themis A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* by Jane Ellen Harrison with an Excursus on the Ritual Forms preserved in Greek Tragedy by Professor Gilbert Murray and a Chapter on the Origin of the Olympic Games by Mr I. M. Conford Cambridge 1912.
- Head Coins of the Ancients* = *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum. Depart-*

*ment of Coins and Medals. A Guide to the principal gold and silver Coins of the Ancients, from arc. bc 700 to A.D. I.* by Barclay V. Head Second edition London 1881.

Head *Hitt. num.*<sup>1, 2</sup> = *Historia numerum* A Manual of Greek Numismatics by Barclay V. Head Oxford 1887, New and enlarged edition by Barclay V. Head assisted by G. F. Hill, George Macdonald, and W. Wroth Oxford 1911.

Helbig *Guta. Class. Ant. Rom.* = *Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome* by Wolfgang Helbig translated from the German by James F. and Findlay Muirhead i ii Leipzig 1895, 1896.

Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* = *Wandgemälde der vom Feuer verschütteten Städte Campaniens* beschrieben von Wolfgang Helbig. Nebst einer Abhandlung über die antiken Wandmalereien in technischer Beziehung von Otto Donner. Leipzig 1868.

*Hermathena* = *Hermathena*, a Series of Papers on Literature, Science, and Philosophy, by Members of Trinity College, Dublin. Dublin-London 1874—.

*Hermus* = *Hermus* Zeitschrift für classische Philologie Berlin 1866—.

Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* = *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums* herausgegeben von Paul Herrmann München 1906—.

Heydemann *Vasensamm. Neapel* = *Die Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel* beschrieben von H. Heydemann Berlin 1872.

*Hist. Rom. frag.* = *Historiarum Romanorum fragmenta* collegit disposuit recensuit Hermannus Peter Lipsiae 1883.

Hoops *Reallex.* = *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrten herausgegeben von Johannes Hoops i— Strassburg 1911—.

*Hunter Cat. Coins* = *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection University of Glasgow* by George Macdonald i—in Glasgow 1899, 1901, 1905.

i Italy, Sicily, Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly.

ii North Western Greece, Central Greece, Southern Greece, and Asia Minor.

iii Further Asia, Northern Africa, Western Europe.

Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.*<sup>1, 2</sup> = *Choix de Monnaies grecques* du cabinet de F. Imhoof-Blumer Winterthur 1871. *Choix de Monnaies grecques* de la collection de F. Imhoof-Blumer Deuxième édition. Paris-Leipzig 1883.

Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* = *Griechische Münzen*. Neue Beiträge und Untersuchungen von F. Imhoof-Blumer (Aus den Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akademie der Wiss. I. (L. XVIII. Bd. III. Abth.) München 1890.

Imhoof-Blumer *Äthiav. Münzen* = Sonderschriften des österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien Band I. Band III. *Äthiav. Münzen* von F. Imhoof-Blumer i ii Wien 1901, 1902.

Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* = Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde. Veertiende Deel. *Monnaies grecques* par F. Imhoof-Blumer Publié par l'Académie Royale Néerlandaise des Sciences. Amsterdam 1883.

Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Pauss.* = *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* by F. Imhoof-Blumer and Percy Gardner. Reprinted from the Journal of Hellenic Studies 1885, 1886, 1887.

Immerwahr *Kult. Myt. Arkad.* = *Die Kult. und Mythen Arkadiens* dargestellt von Walter Immerwahr I. Band Die arkadischen Kulte Leipzig 1891.

Inghirami *Vas. pitt.* = *Pittura di Vasi pittili* esibite dal Cav. Francesco Inghirami per servire di studio alla mitologia ed alla storia degli antichi popoli i—iv Poligrafia Fiesolana dai torchi dell'autore 1835-1837.

*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* = *Inscriptiones Laconiae Messeniae Arcadiae*

i Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae [*Inscriptiones Graecae* V. 1] ed. W. Kolbe Berlin 1913.

ii Inscriptiones Arcadiae [*Inscriptiones Graecae* V. 2] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertingen Berlin 1913.

*Inscr. Gr. Deli* = *Inscriptiones Deli* editae consilio et auctoritate Academiae inscriptionum et humaniorum litterarum Franco-Gallicae.

- ii *Inscriptiones Deli liberae*. Tabulae archontum, tabulae hieropoconum ann. 314—250 [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xi. 2] ed. F. Durrbach Berolini 1912.
- iii *Inscriptiones Deli liberae*. Tabulae hieropoconum ann. 250—166, leges, pactiones [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xi. 3] ed. F. Durrbach.
- iv *Inscriptiones Deli liberae*. Decreta, foedera, catalogi, dedicationes, varia [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xi. 4] ed. P. Roussel Berolini 1914.

*Inscr. Gr. ins.* = *Inscriptiones Graecae insularum maris Aegaei*

- i *Inscriptiones Rhodi Chalcis Carpathi cum Sano Casi* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 1] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1895.
- ii *Inscriptiones Lesbii Nesi Tenedi* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 2] ed. W. Paton Berolini 1899.
- iii *Inscriptiones Symes Teutlusae Teli Nisyri Astypalaeae Anaphes Therae et Therasiae Pholegandri Meli Cimoli* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 3] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1898. Supplementa ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1904.
- v *Inscriptiones Cycladum* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 5] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Paris prior. *Inscriptiones Cycladum praeter Tenum* Berolini 1903. Paris altera: *Inscriptiones Teni insulae et totius fasciculi indices* Berolini 1909.
- vii *Inscriptiones Amorgi et insularum vicinarum* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 7] ed. J. Delamairie. Indices composuit F. Hiller de Gaertringen. Berolini 1908.
- viii *Inscriptiones insularum maris Thracici* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 8] ed. C. Friedrich Berolini 1909.

*Inscr. Gr. sept.* = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis*

- i *Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* vii] ed. W. Dittenberger Berolini 1892.
- iii. 1 *Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ioni* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 1] ed. W. Dittenberger Berolini 1897.
- iii. 2 *Inscriptiones Thessaliae* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 2] ed. O. Kern. Indices composuit F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1908.

*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* = *Inscriptiones Italiae et Siciliae* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xiv] ed. G. Kaibel. Galliae inscriptiones ed. A. Lebeque. Berolini 1890.

*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* = *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* mit dem Beiblatt *Archäologischer Anzeiger* Berlin 1886—.

*Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* = *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (Continued as the *Bonner Jahrbücher*) Bonn 1842—1894.

*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* = *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* (Continued as the *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Alterthum Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik*) Leipzig 1855—1897.

*Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* = *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*. Zweite Abtheilung Leipzig 1855—1897.

*Jahr Vasensamml. München* = *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung Königs Ludwigs in der Pinakothek zu München* von Otto Jahr München 1854.

*Jahresh. d. öst. arch. Inst.* = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien* Wien 1898—.

*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* = *The Journal of the (Royal) Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* London 1872—, New Series London 1899—.

*Journ. Hell. Stud.* = *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London 1881—.

*Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* = *Διεθνὴς Εφημερίς τῆς Νομισματικῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας* *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique dirigé par J. N. Svoronos* Athens 1898—.

*Journ. Rom. Stud.* = *The Journal of Roman Studies* London 1911—.

- Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* = *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta* edidit Georgius Kaibel  
Berolini 1878.
- Kubitzchek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* = *Ausgewählte römische Medaillons der kaiserlichen  
Münzensammlung in Wien* aus dem Illustrations-material der Bände i—xi des  
Jahrbuches der Kunstsammlungen des a. h. Kaiserhauses neu herausgegeben von  
Wilhelm Kubitzchek Wien 1909.
- Laborde *Vases Lambert* = A. de La Borde *Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de  
Lambert* i ii Paris 1813—1824, 1824—1828.
- La Grande Encyclopédie* = *La Grande Encyclopédie Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des  
lettres et des arts par une société de savants et de gens de lettres.* i—xxxi Paris s. a.
- Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitel. Egiz.* = R. Lanzone *Dizionario di Mitologia Egiziana* i Testo  
ii Tavole Torino 1881.
- L'Anthropologie* = Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme—Revue d'anthropologie—Revue  
d'ethnographie réunis. I. *Anthropologie* Paris 1890—
- Lebas—Foucart *Peloponnèse* = Ph. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington *Voyage archéologique en  
Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844* ii. Partie: Inscriptions grecques et  
latines. ii. 2 Mégaïde et Péloponnèse. 3. Béotie, Phocide, Étolie, Acarnanie,  
Épire, Thessalie, Macedoine, Thrace, Colonies du Pont-Euxine. 4. Îles. (Trans-  
cription and Commentary by P. Foucart) Paris 1847—1876.
- Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch. = Bibliothèque des Monuments Peints grecs et romains.  
Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure sous la direction de M. Philippe  
Le Bas (1842—1844).* Planches de topographie, de sculpture et d'architecture  
gravées d'après les dessins de L. Landron publiées et commentées par Salomon  
Reinach Paris 1888.
- Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* = Ph. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington *Voyage arché-  
ologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844* ii. Partie: Inscriptions  
grecques et latines. iii. 5 Asie Mineure. 6. Syrie proprement dite. (Transcription  
and Commentary by W. H. Waddington) Paris 1847—1876.
- Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. égr.* = *Étude des monuments céramographiques* Matériaux  
pour l'histoire des religions et des mœurs de l'antiquité rassemblés et commentés par  
Ch. Lenormant et J. de Witte. Texte et Planches i—iv Paris 1844—1861.
- Leroux *Cat. Vases de Madrid* = *Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée Archéologique de  
Madrid* (Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi Fascicule xvi) par G. Leroux  
Bordeaux 1912.
- Lobeck *Aglaophamus* = *Aglaophamus* sive de theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis libri  
tres. Scripsit Ch. Augustus Lobeck idemque poetarum Orphicorum dispersas  
reliquias collegit. i ii Regimontii Prussorum 1829.
- Luynes *Descr. de vases peints* = *Description de quelques vases peints, étrusques, italiotes,  
sithiens et grecs*, par H. D. de Luynes... Paris 1840.
- Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* = *K. K. Oesterreich. Museum für Kunst  
und Industrie. Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten im K. K. Oesterreich.  
Museum. Katalog und historische Einleitung* von Karl Masner. Wien 1892.
- Matz—Duhn *Ant. Brücke in Rom* = *Antike Fndwerke in Rom mit Ausschluss der  
grosseren Sammlungen* beschrieben von Friedrich Matz, nach des Verfassers Tode  
weitergeführt und herausgegeben von F. von Duhn i—iii Leipzig 1881—1882.
- L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* = *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie* von Leo Meyer  
i—iv Leipzig 1901—1902.
- Michel *Récueil d'Inscr. gr.* = *Récueil d'Inscriptions grecques* par Charles Michel Paris  
1900. Supplément—Fascicule i Paris 1912.
- Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* = *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica*  
pubblicati per cura di Luigi Adriano Milani i—iii Firenze 1899—1901, 1902, 1903.
- Milet* = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Milet* Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Unter-  
suchungen seit dem Jahre 1899 herausgegeben von Theodor Wiegand.  
i Karte der milesischen Halbinsel (1:50 000) mit erläuterndem Text von Paul  
Wilski Berlin 1906.





- Nachr. d. kon. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* = *Nachrichten von der Georg-Augusts-Universität und der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* Göttingen 1856— . *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität* Göttingen 1864— . *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesell. d. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse* Berlin 1906— .
- Nue Jahrb. f. kl. Altertum* = *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik* (Continuation of the *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*) Leipzig 1898— .
- Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* = *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes. Supplément* par Georges Nicole avec une Préface de Maxime Collignon . Paris 1911 with an Atlas of pls.
- Nilsson *Gr. Feste* = *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* untersucht von Martin P. Nilsson Leipzig 1906.
- Not. Scav.* = *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, communicate alla R. Accademia dei Lincei per ordine di S. E. il Ministro della pubbl. Istruzione Roma 1876— .
- Nouv. Ann.* = *Nouvelles Annales, publiées par la section française de l'Institut archéologique* 1 in Paris 1836, 1839 with Atlas of pls. (facsimile-reproduction 1905).
- Num. Chron.* = *The Numismatic Chronicle* London 1839— . *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society* London 1843— . New Series London 1861— . Third Series London 1881— . Fourth Series London 1901— .
- Num. Zeitschr.* = *Numismatische Zeitschrift* Wien 1869— .
- Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kyrie* = *Kypros The Bible and Homer. Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times* . Elucidated by the Author's own Researches and Excavations during twelve years' work in Cyprus. By Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. 1 Text 2 Plates London 1893.
- Olympia* = *Olympia* Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung im Auftrage des königlich preussischen Ministers der geistlichen Unterrichts- und Medienthal-angelegenheiten herausgegeben von Ernst Curtius und Friedrich Adler.
- i Topographie und Geschichte von Olympia von Friedrich Adler, Ernst Curtius, Wilhelm Dorpfeld, Paul Graef, Joseph Partsch, Rudolf Weil. Textband zur Mappe mit den Karten und Planen Berlin 1897.
  - ii Die Baudenkmale von Olympia bearbeitet von Friedrich Adler, Richard Borrmann, Wilhelm Dorpfeld, Friedrich Graeber, Paul Graef. Textband Tafelband 1 in Berlin 1892 1896.
  - iii Die Bildwerke in Stein und Thon bearbeitet von Georg Treu. Textband Tafelband Berlin 1894—1897.
  - iv Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia bearbeitet von Adolf Furtwängler. Textband Tafelband Berlin 1890.
  - v Die Inschriften von Olympia bearbeitet von Wilhelm Dittenberger und Karl Purgold. Berlin 1896
- Or. Lat.* = *Orientalists & Letteratur-Zeitung* Berlin 1898— .
- Orelli *Inscr. Lat. ed.* = *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio ad illustrandam Romanam antiquitatis disciplinam accommodata ac magnarum collectionum supplementa complens in notis et quibusdam* . Cum medietis Io. Casp. Hagenbuchii suisque adnotationibus edidit Io. Casp. Orellius. Insunt lapides Helvetiae omnes. Accedunt praeter Foggium kalendaria antiqua, Hagenbuchii, Maffei, Ernesti, Reiskii, Seguerii, Stembuchii epistolae aliquot epigraphicae nunc primum editae. 1 in Turici 1828.
- Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. ed.* = *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio ad illustrandam Romanam antiquitatis disciplinam accommodata* . Volumen tertium collectionis Orellianae supplementa emendationesque exhibens edidit Gulielmus Henzen. Accedunt Indices rerum ac notarum quae in tribus voluminibus inveniuntur. Turici 1856

- Overbeck *Gall. der Bildw.* = *Gallerie heroiischer Bildwerke der alten Kunst*, bearbeitet von Dr. Johannes Overbeck. Erster Band. Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis. Braunschweig 1853 with an Atlas of pls.
- Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* = *Griech. Kunstmythologie* von J. Overbeck. Zweiter Band (Besonderer Theil). Erster Band. Erstes Buch. Zeus Leipzig 1871. Zweiter Band. Zweites, drittes und viertes Buch: Hera, Poseidon, Demeter und Kora Leipzig 1873—1878. Dritter Band. Fünftes Buch: Apollo Leipzig 1889. Atlas der griechischen Kunstmythologie herausgegeben von Johannes Overbeck Lieferung 1—vi: Tafel 1—26 Leipzig 1872—1888.
- Overbeck *Gr. Plastik* = *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* von J. Overbeck. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. I u II Leipzig 1893, 1894.
- Overbeck *Schriftm.* = *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Kunst bei den Griechen*. Gesammelt von J. Overbeck. Leipzig 1868.
- Pauly *Real-Enc.* = *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung*. Von und dem Herausgeber August Pauly. I (Zweite völlig umgearbeitete Auflage) Stuttgart 1864, 1866 II—VI Stuttgart 1842—1852.
- Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* = *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Neue Bearbeitung unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa I— Stuttgart 1894. Supplement I— Stuttgart 1903—.
- Pellegrini *Cat. tav. ant. dipint. Bologna* = *Museo Civico di Bologna. Catalogo dei tavanti dipinti della collezione Paoli ed Università* descritti dal Dott. Giuseppe Pellegrini. Editto per cura del Comune di Bologna. Bologna 1900.
- Pellegrini *Cat. tav. sc. dipint. Bologna* = *Museo Civico di Bologna. Catalogo dei tavanti dipinti della collezione Paoli* descritti da Giuseppe Pellegrini. Editto per cura del Comune di Bologna. Bologna 1912.
- Pergamon* = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Alterthum von Pergamon* herausgegeben im Auftrage des königlich preussischen Ministers der geistlichen und Unterrichtsangelegenheiten Berlin 1885—.
- i Stadt und Landschaft von Alexander Conze. Otto Beutler, Alfred Philippson, Carl Schuchhardt, Friedrich Grabei mit Beiträgen von Johannes Mordtmann, Kurt Regling, Paul Schatzmann, August Senz, Adam Zippelius. Text I—3 with Atlas of pls. 1912—1913.
  - ii Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros von Richard Bohn mit einem Beitrage von Hans Droysen. Text with Atlas of pls. 1885.
  - iii, 1 Der grosse Altar. Der obere Markt. Von Jakob Schrammen. Text with Atlas of pls. 1906.
  - iii, 2 Die Frieze des grossen Altars von Hermann Winnefeld. Text with Atlas of pls. 1910.
  - iv Die Theater-Terrasse von Richard Bohn. Text with Atlas of pls. 1896.
  - v, 2 Das Traianum von Hermann Siller mit einem Beitrage von Otto Rascheloff. Text with Atlas of pls. 1895.
  - vi Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs von Franz Winter mit einem Beitrage von Jakob Schrammen. Text I—2 with Atlas of pls. 1908.
  - viii, 1 Die Inschriften von Pergamon unter Mitwirkung von Ernst Fabricius und Carl Schuchhardt herausgegeben von Max Frankel. I—2. 1890, 1895.
- Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* = *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité* par Georges Perrot et Charles Chipiez. I— Paris 1881.
- i L'Égypte 1881, ii Chaldée et Assyrie 1884, iii Phénicie—Cypre 1885, iv Judée—Sardaigne—Syrie—Cappadoce 1887, v Perse—Phrygie—Lydie et Carie—Lybie 1890, vi La Grèce primitive—l'art Mycénien 1894, vii La Grèce de l'épopée—La Grèce archaïque: le temple 1898, viii La Grèce archaïque: la sculpture 1903, ix La Grèce archaïque: la glyptique—la numismatique—la peinture—la céramique 1911, x La Grèce archaïque: la céramique d'Athènes 1914.

- Philologus* = *Philologus*. Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum. Stolberg 1846. Göttingen 1847—, Neue Folge Göttingen 1889—, Leipzig 1897—.
- Poet. Lat. min.* = *Poetae Latini minores*. Recensuit et emendavit Aemilius Baehrens. 1—vi Lipsiae 1879—1886.
- Poet. Gr. min.* = *Poetae Graeci minores*. Recensuit Theodorus Bergk. Editionis quartae 1—iii Lipsiae 1878—1882.
- Pottier *Cat. Vases au Louvre* = *Mus. National du Louvre. Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite*, par E. Pottier. Etudes sur l'histoire de la peinture et du dessin dans l'antiquité. I Les origines, II L'école ionienne, III L'école attique Paris 1896, 1899, 1906.
- Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ = Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας Athens 1872—.
- Preller *Röm. Myth.* = *Römische Mythologie* von L. Preller Berlin 1858. Zweite Auflage von R. Kohler Berlin 1865.
- Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.* = *Römische Mythologie* von L. Preller. Dritte Auflage von H. Jordan 1—ii Berlin 1881, 1883.
- Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* = *Griechische Mythologie* von L. Preller. Erster Band. Theogonie und Goetter. Vierte Auflage bearbeitet von Carl Robert. Berlin 1894.
- Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache* von Prof. Dr. Walther Prellwitz. 2. verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen 1905.
- Prism* = *Kongress. Museum zu Berlin. Prism* Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895—1898, von Theodor Wiegand und Hans Schrader unter Mitwirkung von G. Kummert, W. Wilberg, H. Winnefeld, R. Zahn. Berlin 1904.
- Rasche *Lex. Num.* = *Lexicon universae et notissimae veterum et praecipue Graecorum et Romanorum cum observationibus antiquarius geographicis chronologicis historico-criticis et passim cum explicatione monogrammatum* editit Io. Christophorus Rasche. 1—vi (Tomi 1—vi, 1) Lipsiae 1785—1795, Supplementorum 1—iii (Tomi vi, 2—vii, 2) Lipsiae 1802—1805.
- Remach *Bronzes Figurés Antiques. Numismes. Description raisonnée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* par Salomon Remach. Paris 1895.
- Remach *Pierres Gravées* = *Répertoire des monuments figurés grecs et romains. Pierres gravées des collections Mauborough et d'Orléans, des recueils d'Elckhel, Goult, Levesque de Gravell, Mantel, Millin, Stosch réunies et rééditées avec un texte nouveau* par Salomon Remach. Paris 1895.
- Remach *Répert. Art. Quat.* = Salomon Remach *Répertoire de l'art quaternaire* Paris 1913.
- Remach *Rép. Peinture* = Salomon Remach *Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la Renaissance* (1280—1580) 1—iii Paris 1905, 1907, 1910.
- Remach *Rép. Relief* = Salomon Remach *Répertoire de Reliefs grecs et romains* 1 Les ensembles, II Afrique—Des Britanniques, III Italie Suisse Paris 1909, 1912, 1912.
- Remach *Rép. Stat.* = Salomon Remach *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* 1 Classe de poche, contenant les bas-reliefs de l'ancien fonds du Louvre et les statues antiques du Musée des Médailles de Clavier, avec une introduction, des notices et un index. II Sept mille statues antiques, réunies pour la première fois, avec des notices et des index. III Deux mille six cent quarante statues antiques, réunies pour la première fois, avec des notices et les index des trois tomes. IV Quatre mille statues antiques avec des notices et les index des quatre tomes. Paris 1897, 1897—1898 1904, 1910.
- Remach *Rép. Vase* = Salomon Remach *Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques* 1 Peintures de vases gravées dans l'Italie et le Comptoirin du St-Petersbourg, les *Monumenti, Annali, et Memorie* de l'Institut de Rome, l'*Archaeologische Zeitung*, le *Buchhain Vapellano*, le *Buchhain Italiano*, l'*Ephe.meris* (1883—1894), le *Museo Italiano*, avec des notices explicatives et bibliographiques. II Peintures de vases gravées dans les recueils de Millingen (*Clelia*), Gerhard (*Ausg. Vasenbilder*), Laborde, Laynes, Roulez, Schulz (*Amazementisch*), Tischbein (Tomes 1—v) avec des

- notices explicatives et bibliographiques, une bibliographie de la céramique grecque et étrusque, et un index des tomes I et II. Paris 1899, 1900.
- Remach *Vases Ant.* = *Bibliothèque des monuments figurés grecs et romains. Peintures de vases antiques* recueillies par Millin (1808) et Millingen (1813) publiées et commentées par Salomon Reinach. Paris 1891.
- Rendiconti d. Lincoi* = *Rendiconti della reale accademia dei Lincoi* et Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1892—.
- Rev. Arch.* = *Revue archéologique*. Paris 1844—, Nouvelle série Paris 1860—, Troisième série Paris 1883—, Quatrième série Paris 1903—.
- Rev. Belg. de Num.* = *Revue belge de numismatique* (Continuation of the *Revue de la numismatique belge* Bruxelles 1841—1874) Bruxelles 1875—.
- Rev. Lt. Gr.* = *Revue des études grecques*. Paris 1888—.
- Rev. Num.* = *Revue numismatique* (Continuation of the *Revue de la numismatique française* Blois 1836—1837) Blois 1838—, Nouvelle série Paris 1856—, Troisième série Paris 1883—, Quatrième série Paris 1897—.
- Rev. Philol.* = *Revue de philologie, de littérature, et d'histoire ancienne*. Paris 1845—1847, Nouvelle série Paris 1877—.
- Rhein. Mus.* = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Geschichte und griechische Philosophie* Bonn 1827—, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* Bonn 1832—, Neue Folge Frankfurt am Main 1842—.
- Robert *Sark.-Relief* = *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* im Auftrage des kaiserlich-deutschen archäologischen Instituts mit Benutzung der Vorarbeiten von Friedrich Matz herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Carl Robert. Zweiter Band: Mythologische Cyklen Berlin 1890. Dritter Band: Einzelmythen. Erste Abtheilung: Actaeon—Hercules Berlin 1897, Zweite Abtheilung: Hippolytos—Meleagros Berlin 1904.
- Roberts *Gk. Inscr.* = *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*. Part I The Archæic Inscriptions and the Greek Alphabet. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by L. S. Roberts. Cambridge 1887.
- Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* = *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*. Part II The Inscriptions of Attica. Edited by L. S. Roberts, and E. A. Gardner. Cambridge 1905.
- Robinson *Cat. Vases Boston* = E. Robinson *Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Vases* Cambridge, U.S.A. 1893.
- Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* = *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae praeclarissimae in Attica repertae*. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussiae editi Hermannus Roehl Berolini 1882.
- Rohde *Psyche* = *Psyche* Seelen cult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen. Von Erwin Rohde. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig 1894. Zweite Auflage. i in Tübingen und Leipzig 1897, Dritte Auflage. i in Tübingen und Leipzig 1903.
- Rom. Myth.* = *Mittheilungen des kaiserlich-deutschen archäologischen Instituts römische Abtheilung* Rom 1886—.
- Roscher *Lex. Myth.* = *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* im Verein mit...herausgegeben von W. H. Roscher i Leipzig 1884 1890—.
- Roulez *Vases d'Inde* = *Choix de vases peints du Musée d'Antiquités de l'Inde*; publiés et commentés par J. Roulez. Gand 1854.
- Roux - Banc *Herc. et Pomp.* = *Herculaneum et Pompei* Recueil général des peintures, bronzes, mosaïques, etc. découverts jusqu'à ce jour, et reproduits d'après *Le cantabita di Ercolano, Il Museo Borbonico* et tous les ouvrages analogues augmentés de sujets inédits gravés au trait sur cuivre par H. Roux aîné Et accompagné d'un Texte explicatif par M. L. Banc i—viii Paris 1870—1872.
- Sambon *Monn. ant. It.* = *Bibliothèque du "Musée"*. Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie par Arthur Sambon i Étienne—Ombrie Picenum Samnium Campanie Fascicule i—5 Paris 1903—1904.
- Schoell = Studemund *anecd.* = *Anecdota varia Graeca et Latina*. Ediderunt Rud. Schoell et Guil. Studemund. i Anecdota varia Graeca musica metrica grammatica.

- Edict Guilelmus Studenmund. in Proch commentariorum in Rempublicam Platonis partes meditatae. Edicti Rudolphi Schoell. Berolin 1886.
- Schrader *Reclia.* = *Reclia von der in Gegenwart den Altertumskunde.* Grundzuge einer Kultur- und Volksgeschichte Alteuropas von O. Schrader. Strassburg 1901.
- Siebeking—Hackl *Vasen amol. Menschen* = *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München* herausgegeben von Johannes Siebeking und Rudolf Hackl. 1 Die älteren nicht-attischen Vasen. Text von R. Hackl. München 1912.
- Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* = *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Continuation of the *Monatsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* Berlin 1854— ) Berlin 1882— .
- Sitzungsber. d. Wiss. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe* = *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlich-königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe* (Klassik der Wiss.) Wien 1848— .
- Sitzungsber. d. kais. k. bergr. A. ad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* = *Sitzungsberichte der kais. k. bergr. A. ad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* München 1861— . *Sitzungsberichte der kais. k. bergr. A. ad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* (Klassik der Wiss.) München 1878— .
- Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* = *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. Edited by William Smith. 1— in London 1853, 1854, 1856.
- Smith *Dict. Geogr.* = *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. Edited by William Smith. 1 in London 1854, 1857.
- Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* = *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* comprising the history, institutions, and antiquities of the Christian Church, from the time of the Apostles to the age of Charlemagne. By various writers, edited by Sir William Smith & Samuel Cheetham. Fifth impression. 1 in London 1908.
- Smith—Marindin *Class. Dict.* = *A Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology, and Geography*. Based on the larger dictionaries by the late Sir William Smith. Revised throughout and in part rewritten by G. F. Marindin. London 1899.
- Smith—Wace *Dict. of Bible* = *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by William Smith and Henry Wace. 1— in London 1877, 1880, 1882, 1887.
- Smith—Weyte—Marindin *Dict. Chr. Ant.* = *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. Edited by William Smith, William Weyte, G. F. Marindin. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 1 in London 1890, 1891.
- Sogliano *Descr. dell' Opere d'Arte in Roma* = *Descrizione delle Opere d'Arte in Roma* 1867, 19 descritte da Antonio Sogliano. Supplemento all'opera dell'Heilbig. Wandgemälde d. r. von Vesuv versch. Städt. Compimens. Leipzig 1868. Napoli 1879.
- Stais *Mon. et Bibl. d'Ant.* = *Monumenti e Biblioteca di Antichità*. Collection corrigée et augmentée. *Monumenti e Biblioteca di Antichità* par A. Stais. 1<sup>re</sup> volume. Athens 1910.
- Stephani *Thes. de la Bibl. de la Sorbonne* = *Thesaurus Bibliothecae Sorbonicae*. 1 in St. Petersburg 1860.
- Stephani *Th. de la Bibl. d'Ant.* = *Thesaurus Bibliothecae Antiquae*. 1<sup>re</sup> édition. 1 in Paris 1851.
- Steuenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Roman.* = *A Dictionary of Roman Coins, as they are and as they are not*. commenced by the late Seth William Stevenson (revised, in part, by G. Roach Smith) and completed by Frederic W. Madden. London 1889.
- Stuart-Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rom.* = *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collection at Rome. The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*. By members of the British School at Rome, edited by H. Stuart-Jones. with Atlas of pls. Oxford 1912.
- Syrmonos *Abb. Nationalen* = *Das Abb. der Nationalen* phototyps he Wiedergabe

- seiner Schätze mit erläuterndem Text von J. N. Svoronos. Deutsche Ausgabe besorgt von Dr W. Barth. Heft 1—xxiv Athen 1903—1912.
- Thes. Ling. Lat.* = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* editus auctoritate et consilio Academicarum quinque Germanicarum Berolinensis Göttingensis Lipsiensis Monacensis Vindobonensis 1— Lipsiae 1900— . Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla adferuntur. Lipsiae 1904. Supplementum, nomina propria Latina. Lipsiae 1909— .
- The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* = *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* 1906— London 1907— .
- Tiryn* = *Kaiserlich deutsches archäologisches Institut in Athen. Tiryn*. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts
- i. Die Hera von Tiryns, von August Ficklenhaus. 2. Die 'geometrische' Nekropole, von Walter Müller und Franz Oelmann. Athen 1912.
  - ii Die Friesen des Palastes von Gerhart Rodenwaldt mit Beiträgen von Rudolf Hackl und Noel Heaton. Athen 1912
- Tase* = *Tase de Madrid* Francisco Alvarez-Ossorio *Tase de Madrid* = *Tase de Madrid* que se conservan en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional Madrid 1910.
- Verh. d. 40. Philologenversammlung in Göttingen* = *Verhandlungen der 40. Philologenversammlung in Göttingen* vom 2 bis 5 Oktober 1889. Leipzig 1890.
- Villoison *anecd.* = *Anecdota Graeca* F. Regia Parisiensis; & e Veneta S. Marci Bibliotheca deprompta Edidit Johannes Baptista Caspar d'Ansse de Villoison 1—ii Venetus 1781.
- Visconti *Mus. Pre-Clém.* = *Œuvres de Ennius Quirinus Visconti. Mus. Pre-Clémentin* 1—vii Milan 1818—1822. *Monuments du Musée Chiaramonti*, décrits et expliqués par Philippe Aurèle Visconti et Joseph Guattani, servant de suite et de complément au Musée Pre-Clémentin, traduit de l'italien par A. F. Sergent-Marceau Milan 1822.
- Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* = *Die antiken Terrakotten* im Auftrag des archäologischen Instituts des deutschen Reichs herausgegeben von Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz. Band iv. 1 *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit* bearbeitet von Hermann von Rohden unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Winnefeld. Text und Tafeln. Berlin und Stuttgart 1911.
- Von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* = *E. von Sacken Die antiken Bronzen des k. k. Museums und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien* Wien 1871.
- Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min* = *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fontaines Prof.). Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure* commencée par feu W. H. Waddington, continuée et complétée par E. Babelon, Th. Reinach. Tome premier. Premier fascicule: Pont et Paphlagonie. Paris 1904. Deuxième fascicule: Bithynie (jusqu'à Iulio-polis). Paris 1908. Troisième fascicule: Nicée et Nicomédie. Paris 1910.
- Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* = *Latium etymologisches Wörterbuch* von Dr. Alois Walde. Heidelberg 1906.
- Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* = *Alt. Denkmäler* erklärt von F. G. Welcker.
- i Die Giebelgruppen und andre Griechische Gruppen und Statuen. Göttingen 1849
  - ii Basreliefs und geschnittne Steine. Göttingen 1850.
  - iii Griechische Vasengemalde. Göttingen 1851.
  - iv Wandgemalde. Mit einer Abhandlung über Wandmalerei und Tafelmalerei. Göttingen 1861.
  - v Statuen, Basreliefs und Vasengemalde. Göttingen 1864.
- Welcker *Gr. Gotterl.* = *Griechische Gotterlehre* von F. G. Welcker 1—iii Göttingen 1857, 1860, 1863.
- Wide *Laken. Kult.* = *Lakonsche Kulte* dargestellt von Sam Wide Leipzig 1893.
- Wien Vorz.* = *Vorleserblätter für archäologische Übungen* Serie 1—vii herausgegeben von A. Conze Wien 1869—1876, Serie A—L herausgegeben von O. Benndorf Wien 1879—1886, Serie 1888, 1889, 1890/91 herausgegeben von O. Benndorf Wien 1889, 1890, 1891.

- Wilmanns *Lat. inscr. Lat.* = *Exempla inscriptionum Latinarum* in usum praecipue Academicum composuit Gustavus Wilmanns. i ii Berolini 1873.
- Winckelmannsfest-*Progr. Berlin* = *Festgedanken an Winckelmann* von Eduard Gerhard Berlin 1841, *Zweit. — Programm zum berliner Winckelmannsfest* Berlin 1842— , *Antikenkranz zum neunten— berliner Winckelmannsfest* Berlin 1849— , *Zwölftes Programm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin zum Gedächtnistag Winckelmanns* Berlin 1852, *Vierzehntes— Programm zum Winckelmannsfest der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* Berlin 1854— .
- Winckelmannsfest-*Progr. Halle* = *Erstes (—Dreizehntes) halleisches (hallisches) Winckelmannsprogramm* von Heinrich Heydemann. Halle a/S. 1876—1888, *Vierzehntes (—Fünfzigstes) halleisches Winckelmannsprogramm* ... von Carl Robert. Halle 1890—1903.
- Winnefeld *Vasensaml. Karlsruhe* = *Grossh. Vereinigte Sammlungen zu Karlsruhe. Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*, von Hermann Winnefeld Karlsruhe 1887.
- Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* = *Die antiken Terrakotten* im Auftrag des archäologischen Instituts des deutschen Reichs herausgegeben von Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz. Band III. 1 *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* bearbeitet von Franz Winter. i ii Berlin und Stuttgart 1903.
- Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Rom.* = *Religion und Kultus der Römer (Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft)* herausgegeben von Dr. Iwan von Müller v. Band, 4. Abteilung von Dr. Georg Wissowa München 1902, Zweite Auflage München 1912.
- Zeitschr. f. Num.* = *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* Berlin 1874— .





## CHAPTER I

### ZEUS AS GOD OF THE BRIGHT SKY.

#### § 1. *Zeus and the Daylight.*

##### (a) *Zeus the Sky.*

THE supreme deity of the ancient Greeks, during their historical period at least, was Zeus. His name, referable to a root that means 'to shine,' may be rendered 'the Bright One'.<sup>1</sup> And, since a whole series of related words in the various languages of the Indo-European family is used to denote 'day' or 'sky',<sup>2</sup> it can be safely inferred that Zeus was called 'the Bright One' as being the god of the bright or day-light sky'. Indeed a presumption

<sup>1</sup> K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*<sup>2</sup> Strassburg 1897 i. 204, 210, 263, 276 f., 307, 527, 797, 1906 ii. i. 133 f., *id.* *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 p. 312, Schrader *Kedden*, p. 670, H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1907 ii. 506. The Greek *Zeús* and the Old Indian *Dyaus* represent an Indo-European \**d̥yēu-s* from the root *d̥yē* 'to shine'.

<sup>2</sup> This series as collected by Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* 577, *deus*, *dies*, and Hirt *op. cit.* ii. 734 f. includes the following forms: Greek *éṛēos* 'at mid-day,' *éṛdia* 'clear sky'; Latin *sub aëre* 'under the open sky,' *di-s* 'day'; Welsh *diw dyw dydd* 'day,' Breton *de* 'day,' Cornish *det* 'day,' Irish *indiu* 'to-day'; Gothic *sin-teins* 'daily'; Lithuanian *dienà* 'day,' Slavonic *dan* 'day'; Albanian *ditë* 'day'; Armenian *lér* 'day'; Old Indian *dirā* 'on the day,' *dirām* 'day, sky'.

<sup>3</sup> Two misleading explanations may here be noted. (1) L. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 182, 220 holds that *Zeus* denotes properly the 'hurler' or 'discharger' of rays (cp. H. Grassmann *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda* Leipzig 1873-1875 p. 600 v. 7, *div*.) and infers that he must have been the lightning-god, not as is commonly supposed the god of bright day-light. But the frequent use of the word *dyans* in the *Rig-veda* for 'sky' or 'day' (A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 21, P. von Bradke *Dyans. Iama* Halle 1885 p. 110) and the existence of the forms recorded in the foregoing note are conclusive in favour of the common view.

(2) Frazer *Cabin Bann*, p. 369, *ib.* ii. 456 f., suggested that Zeus was named 'Bright' as being the oak god, i. e. god of the tree whose wood was used in fire-making. Against this view I protested in the *Class. Rev.* 1902 vii. 372, as did Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rev.* p. 1100 n. 2. And Frazer *op. cit.* ii. 358 n. 1 admits that he 'was disposed to set aside much too summarily what may be called the meteorological side of Zeus and Jupiter,' though he still regards the oak-tree as the primary, not a secondary, element in their composite nature (*ib.* ii. 373 ff.). I now hold, and shall hope in vol. ii of the present work to show, that the oak was originally the tree of the earth-mother rather than the tree of the sky-father, and that the latter acquired it in the first instance through association with the former.

is raised that Zeus was at first conceived, not in anthropomorphic fashion as the bright sky-god, but simply as the bright sky itself. True, the Greeks at the time when their literature begins had advanced far beyond this primitive view. Zeus in the *Iliad* is already the potent, if not omnipotent, ruler of the gods, the description of whose nod is said to have inspired Pheidias' masterpiece at Olympia<sup>1</sup>:

So spake the son of Kronos and thereto  
Nodded with darkling brow<sup>2</sup>: the lordly locks,

<sup>1</sup> Strab. 354, Val. Max. 3. 7. *ext.* 4, Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 383 Reiske, Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 13. 23, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 10 ff., cp. Polyb. 30. 10. 6, Plout. *v. Aem. Paul.* 28.

<sup>2</sup> *κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν*. 'Blue' here implies 'black' (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* s.vv. *κυάνεος* and its compounds)—a confusion characteristic of early thought and as such well known to anthropologists. A seated figure of Zeus from a sixth-century *poros* pediment, now in the Akropolis Museum at Athens, has undeniably black hair, eyebrows, and beard (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 97 ff. pl. 8, 1—2).

It is probable that Pheidias' chryselephantine Zeus and its copies had hair and beard of gold; for Lucian makes complain that a couple of his curls, weighing six minas apiece, were cut off and stolen from Pisa by burglars (Loukian. *Jup. trag.* 25), and Pausanias states that Theokosmos of Megara, helped by Pheidias, made for the Megarian *Olympieion* a statue of Zeus, which had *πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ* (Paus. 1. 40. 4). But it would be rash to infer from this that the god was essentially fair-haired. The Minoans of Knossos made ivory statuettes of athletes with hair of gilded bronze (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 72 f. pls. 2 f.). Were they blondes? Herodes Attikos erected a chryselephantine statue of Poseidon in the Isthmian temple (Paus. 2. 1. 7 f.). But Poseidon was not xanthotrichous.

A terra-cotta head of Zeus found at Olympia and dating from the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. bears traces of a blackish brown varnish on the hair, on the forehead, and round the eyes: this was either a protective coating (G. Treu in *Olympia* iii. 35 f. pl. 7, 4 and fig. 37), or more probably a lustre intended to imitate the effect of bronze (A. Furtwangler *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia* Berlin 1879 p. 90, W. Deonna *Les statues de terre cuite dans l'antiquité: Sicile* etc. Paris 1908 p. 25 f.). The terra-cottas from Smyrna that show Zeus or Zeus Sarapis with gilded head and hair (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* C 445, cp. D 392, S. Reinach *Esquisses archéologiques* Paris 1888 p. 223 f.) may denote a similar attempt to copy gilt bronze. A terra-cotta head of Zeus, found by Lord Savile at Lanuvium and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, came probably from a pediment of the third century B.C. (W. Deonna *op. cit.* p. 138): it shows traces of red in the hair and beard; but here we have to reckon with the conventional colouring of architecture (A. Furtwangler *Aegina* München 1906 i. 304 ff.).

Greek vase-painters, bound by their artistic traditions, commonly of course represent Zeus with black hair, but occasionally give him a grey beard or white hair (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 29).

Not till Roman times do we get a demonstrably light-haired Zeus. On wall-paintings from the Villa Farnesina (*Gaz. Arch.* 1883 viii. 99 f. pl. 15 Zeus with the attributes of Dionysos, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 320, *Mon. d. Inst.* vii. pl. 7, 5, P. Girard *La Peinture Antique* Paris 1891 p. 309 fig. 188, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 246 no. 1083) and from Pompeii (listed in Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 30 ff., Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 19 ff., Hermann *Dunkm. d. Malerei* pls. 11, 46, 2, etc.) his hair varies from dark to light. A wall-painting of the Hadrianic age from Eleusis shows him enthroned with a Nike in his right hand, a sceptre in his left: his head is unfortunately mutilated, but

Ambrosial, on his immortal head  
Shook—at their shaking all Olympos quaked<sup>1</sup>.

Nevertheless, although Zeus as conceived by the Homeric minstrel is fully anthropomorphic, certain traces of the earlier conception persisted even into post-Homeric times<sup>2</sup>. The evidence is linguistic rather than literary. I shall begin by passing it in review.

Closely akin to the substantive *Zeus* is the adjective *dios*, which denotes properly 'of' or 'belonging to Zeus'. This meaning it actually bears in Attic drama<sup>3</sup>. But how comes it that in the much earlier Homeric poems it has the force of 'bright' or 'glorious' without any such restriction to the property of a personal Zeus? Probably because the word was formed before Zeus became a personality, when as yet he was *the* Zeus, the radiant sky credited with an impersonal life of its own. *Dios* in fact meant at first 'of' or 'belonging to the bright sky'; and a vestige of its primary meaning is to be found in the frequent Homeric phrases 'the *bright* upper air' and 'the *bright* dawn'. The transition from brightness in this sense to glory or splendour in general is not hard to follow. Further, when Zeus came to be regarded as an individual sky-god, the way was open for *dios*, 'of the bright sky,' to take on the more personal meaning, 'of the

enough remains to prove that the beard, like the body, was red-brown in colour shaded with black ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1888 p. 77 ff. pl. 5).

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* i. 528 ff., cp. 8. 199 (of Hera). For a similar explanation of earthquakes in modern Greece see *infra* ch. ii. § 5.

<sup>2</sup> Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Rom.* p. 100 contrasts Zeus the personal sky-god with Iupiter the actual sky (cp. W. Warde Fowler *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London 1911 pp. 128, 141). But the contrast was neither originally nor finally valid: at the first both Zeus and Iupiter were the sky; at the last both were the sky-god.

<sup>3</sup> Brugmann *Grundriss* etc.<sup>2</sup> ii. 1. 187 ('himmlisch'), *id.* *Kurze vergl. Gram.* etc. pp. 99 ('himmlisch'), 360 ('gottlich'), L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 175 f. ('von Zeus herrührend, Zeus angehörig,' dann allgemeiner 'himmlisch, gottlich, herrlich' oder ähnlich), Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 117 ('gottlich'), Borsacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 189 f. ('divin'), treat *diōs* as \**diōs* from Διφ, 'Zeus.'

<sup>4</sup> *L.g.* Aisch. *P.* 7. 619 βούλευμα μὲν τὸ Διόν, Ἠφαίστου δὲ χεῖρ, Eur. *Ion* 1144 ἀνάθημα Διὸς παιδός.

<sup>5</sup> According to H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 310 f. Homer has *dios* in the sense 'bright' or 'glorious' of goddesses (but not gods, though in *frag. h. Dion.* 2 *diōn γένος* is Dionysos son of Zeus, and in *Il.* 17. 582 Zenodotos wrote *diōs Ἀρης*), nymphs, men and women, peoples and places, divine horses, rivers and mountain-peaks, land and sea.

<sup>6</sup> *Il.* 16. 365, *h. Dem.* 70 αἰθέρος ἐκ διῆς, *Od.* 19. 540 ἐς αἰθέρα διαν, cp. Emped. *frag.* 109, 2 Diels αἰθέρα διόν, Aisch. *P.* 7. 88 ὦ διὸς αἰθήρ, Orph. *fr. ag.* 53, 1 Abel αἰθέρι διφ, 167, 1 αἰθέρα διόν.

<sup>7</sup> *Il.* 24. 417 ἥως οὔτε διὰ φανήν, *ib.* 9. 240, 662, 11. 723, 18. 255, *Od.* 9. 151, 306, 436, 11. 375, 12. 7, 16. 368, 19. 50, 342 ἥω διαν.

god Zeus.' Thus, on the assumption that Zeus began life as *the* Zeus, both Homeric and Attic usages are satisfactorily explained<sup>1</sup>. We note in passing that in north-eastern Phrygia Zeus was worshipped as *Zeus Dîos*; a double appellation which recalls the *Dea Dia* of the Romans, and very possibly attests the survival among the Thracio-Phrygian folk of an early, not to say primitive, Zeus.

Another adjective *éndios* occurs in epic verse with the meaning 'in broad day-light' or 'at mid-day'. For example, Nestor in the *Iliad* describes an expedition in which he had once taken part:

At mid-day '*éndios*' came we to the sacred stream  
Alpheios<sup>2</sup>.

Eidothea too in the *Odyssey* tells Menelaos the habits of her father Proteus:

What time the Sun bestrides mid heaven, there comes  
Shoreward the unerring Ancient of the Sea<sup>3</sup>.

And fifty lines further on her word is made good:

At mid-day (*éndios*) came the Ancient from the sea<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Another possible, but—as it seems to me—less probable, explanation would be to say that *Δῖος* meant originally 'of Zeus,' i.e. of the personal Zeus, and that its meaning had been widened and weakened by epic usage till *δῖος* came to signify merely 'divine,' while yet Attic poetry retained the primary force of the word *Δῖος*, 'of Zeus.' That different dialects should be at different stages in the evolution of the meaning of a given word, and even that the early poetry of one dialect should give only the later meaning while the later poetry of another dialect gave only the early meaning, is certainly thinkable. But the hypothesis set forth in the text involves fewer assumptions.

<sup>2</sup> A. Korte in the *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1897 cliv. 409 f. publishes (after G. Radet 'En Phrygie' in the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques* Paris 1895 vi. 425-594) a limestone altar at Eskischehir in the Kutschuk-Han inscribed 'Αγαθὴ τέχνη, Σολων ἱερός κατὰ ἐπιταγήν Δ[ι]ὶ Δῖω εὐχῆν. & κὲ ἐαυτῷ ζῶν. On the upper part of the altar are two bunches of grapes; on the base, a plough of a kind still much used in Anatolia. Korte observes that the quantity of *ι* in *Δῖος* is doubtful, and suggests that we have here perhaps 'den uralten Himmelsgott *Δῖος*' (an ancient nominative assumed by H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 43, 70 f. to account for *Δῖος* *Κόρινθος*, *nu-dius tertius*, *Dius fidius*, *Διῖλλος*). This, however, is highly precarious. I prefer to write *Δῖος* with Su W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 275, who notes that Solon, servitor of Zeus *Δῖος*, discharged a vow to his god and by the same act of devotion made a tomb for him-self.

<sup>3</sup> So Soud. s.v. *ἐνδῖος*, Hesych. s.v. *ἐνδῖος*, *ἐνδῖος*, *ἐνδῖος*, *et. mag.* p. 339, 1, *et. Gud.* p. 186, 39, Orion p. 60, 4, Apollon. lex. *Hom.* s.v. *ἐνδῖος*, Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 200, 7 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 11. 726 with Eustath. in *Il.* p. 881, 5 κατὰ μεσημβρίαν: schol. V. *ad loc.* says διὰ δειλίας.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* 4. 400 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 450 with scholl. V.B.E. *ἐνδῖος*· μεσημβρινός.

Similarly Soudas cites the following couplet, perhaps by Kallimachos:

So, while mid-day (*éndios*) endured and earth grew hot,  
More brilliant than crystal shone the sky<sup>1</sup>.

From this adjective are derived verbs meaning 'to take a mid-day siesta', 'to live in the open air', 'to grow up into the air'. But the adjective itself must have meant originally 'in the Zeus' or 'in the bright sky', thence passing into the sense 'in broad daylight', 'at mid-day'.

Lastly, there is the adjective *eúdios* 'with a clear sky, tranquil', the substantive *eudía* 'a clear sky, calm weather', and the verbs *eudiân*, *eudiázesthai* 'to be serene'. These all spring from the same root as *dios*, *éndios*<sup>10</sup>, and alike bear witness to the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Soud. s.v. *éndios* = Kallim. *frag. an.* 24 Schneider. Hellenistic poets affected the word, e.g. Kallim. *h. Dem.* 39 ποτὶ τῶνδιον with schol. περὶ τὸ μεσημβρινόν, *id. frag.* 124 Schneider ἴδεος ἑνδίοιο, *id. Hekale frag.* pap. col. iv, 2 ἀλλ' ἢ νύξ ἢ ἑνδίοιο ἢ ἔσπερ' ἡμαρ, Ap. Rhod. 1. 603 ἐς ἑνδίων with schol. μέχρι μεσημβρίας, *id.* 4. 1310 f. ἑνδίων ἡμαρ ἔην, περὶ δ' ὀξυτάται θέρον αὖραι | ἡλίου Λιβύην, Theokr. 16. 95 ποιμένας ἑνδίοιοις with schol. vet. κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν and gloss M. δειλινούσι (imitated by Antiphras in *Anth. Pal.* 9. 71), Arat. *phoen.* 498 πέντε μὲν ἑνδία στρέφεται καθ' ὑπέρτερα γαίης with schol. τὸ δὲ ἑνδία ἡμερινά, ὑψηλὰ ὑπὲρ γῆν, παρὰ τὸν ἑνδίων καιρὸν τὸν μεσημβρινόν, *ib.* 954 f. καὶ βόες ἤδη τοι πάρος ὕδατος ἑνδίοιο | οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδόντες ἀπ' αὐτέρος ὠσφρήσαντο with schol. τὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἑνδίοιο ἤγουν μεσημβρινοῦ καὶ οὐραίου.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐνδιάζειν: Plout. *symph.* 8. 6. 5, v. *Lucull.* 16. Cp. Hesych. *ἐνδιώνται*· μεσημβριάξουσιν.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐνδιᾶν: Theokr. 16. 38, 22. 44, *Anth. Pal.* 5. 291. 6 Agathias. The verb came to mean simply 'to dwell': *Anth. Pal.* 2. 122 Christodoros, *ib.* 4. 4. 10 Agathias, *ib.* 5. 269. 10 Paulus Silentiarius. The (Alexandrine?) author of the Homeric *h. Sol.* says of the full moon 6 ἀκτῖνες δ' ἑνδιόονται, which E. E. Sikes *ad loc.* would render: 'are as bright as day.'

<sup>4</sup> Ἐνδιούν: Tab. *Hebr.* 1. 120 f. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα (sc. τὰ δένδρα) πεφυτευμένα παρ' ἐξόντι καὶ ἐνδε διωκότα, which G. Karbel in the *Inscr. Gr. Sin. It.* p. 174 renders 'arbores quae in aerem succreverunt.'

<sup>5</sup> Ἐνδιός is related to ἐν Διὶ as is ἐννύχιος to ἐν νυκτί or ἐνάλιος to ἐν Ἀλ: see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* 1. 423, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* 2 p. 142, Boisacq *Dict. Etym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 250.

W. Prellwitz *Eine griechische und eine lateinische Etymologie* Battenstein 1895 p. 8 notes that ἑνδιός is for ἐνδιόσιος and ἑνδιός for ἑνδιόσιος, both being derived from ἐν Διὶ, 'in Zeus, im lichten Tage.'

<sup>6</sup> Cp. *Od.* 8. 449 αὐτόδιον, 'straightway,' lit. 'on the self-same day' (so Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* 2 p. 66, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 103, on the analogy of αὐτῆμαρ).

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Arat. *phoen.* 823 εὐδίου ἡματος, *Geopon.* 18. 3. 6 ἡμέρας εὐδίου, Orph. *h. Aith.* 5. 6 Λίτομαι σε (sc. Mithras) κεκραμένον εὐδίου εἶναι, *id. h. Hel.* 8. 13 f. ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ, | εὐδία, πασιφαῆς of the sun, Arat. *phoen.* 784 εὐδίου κ' εἴη of the moon, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 806. 3 παναιγλήντα καὶ εὐδίου of a space cleared for a sun-dial.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Pind. *Isthm.* 7 (6). 37 f. εὐδίου ὅπασσεν | ἐκ χειμῶνος, Theophr. *caus. pl.* 3. 23. 5 εἰάν γάρ εὐδίαί καὶ τὰ νύκτια ἐνισχύωσι.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Arat. *phoen.* 899 πάντῃ Διὸς εὐδιώωντος with schol. εὐδίας οὐσης, Plat. *Asiarch.* 370 D βίος, ἀσαλεύτω ἡσυχία εὐδιώμενος.

<sup>10</sup> Prellwitz *op. cit.* p. 162, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 293.

Zeus once signified the animate sky. It is interesting to observe that the tenth-century scholar, who compiled the great Greek lexikon known as the *Etymologicum Magnum*, seems to have had an inkling of the truth; for in discussing the words *ειδιος* and *ειδία* he suggests as a possible derivation—'or because *Zeus* denotes "the sky" also<sup>1</sup>.'

When the pre-anthropomorphic conception of Zeus had developed into the anthropomorphic, the natural tendency would be to forget the former in the latter. We can hardly expect, therefore, to find in extant Greek literature the name *Zeus* used as a simple equivalent of 'the sky.' Still, there are occasional passages of a more or less colloquial sort, in which the ancient usage may be detected. Thus Aristophanes in his comedy *Friends of the Frying-pan* makes one of the characters exclaim :

And how should Plouton bear the name he does bear,  
Had he not got the best of it? I'll explain.  
The things of earth surpass the things of Zeus  
When you are weighing, tis the laden pan  
Seeks earth, the empty one goes up towards Zeus<sup>2</sup>.

The remark gains in point, if we may suppose that 'towards Zeus' was a popular expression for 'sky-wards.' It certainly appears to be used in that sense by Euripides: he has in his *Kyklops* the following conversation between Polyphemos, who has returned home unexpectedly, and the Chorus of Satyrs, who are caught idling and so face their ferocious master with hanging heads :

*Kyklops.* Look up, not down.  
*Chorus.* There! We are staring up towards Zeus himself  
I see the stars; I see Orion too<sup>3</sup>.

Plutarch, again, quotes a witty epigram on Lysippos' statue of Alexander the Great with its characteristic upturned gaze :

The man of bronze who looks to Zeus  
Says (so I should opine) -

<sup>1</sup> *Et. mag.* p. 389, 35 ἢ ὅτι ο Ζεὺς σημαίνει καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, cp. *rh.* p. 409, 6 (Ζεὺς σημαίνει) τὸν θεὸν ἢ τὸν οὐρανόν. So *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 176 p. 183, 9 ff. Wunsch Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ ὥστε διοσημεία τὸ τοῦ ἀέρος σημεῖον, ὡς περ εἶδιον το πρᾶον καὶ γαληνὸν τοῦ ἀέρος καλεῖται σχῆμα, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 881, 9 ἐνδοιοι. ἴσως δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν ὕγρὸν Δία, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀέρα, Tzetz. *alleg. Il.* 1. 375 καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ηρέμησεν εἶδιος σὺν αἰθέρι. On the equation of Zeus with ἀήρ see further *infra* p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph. *Tageusai frag.* 1. 1—5 Meineke ap. Stob. *flor.* 121. 18 (ed. Gaisford ni. 417): the last clause is ὅταν γὰρ ἰσθᾶς, τοῦ ταλάντου τὸ μέσον | κάτω βαδίζει, τὸ δὲ κενὸν πρὸς τὸν Δία.

<sup>3</sup> For a Latin parallel see *Ap. met.* 10. 21 (cod. Laur. 54. 24) dentes ad Iovem elevans (of an ass looking up).

<sup>4</sup> Eur. *Cycl.* 211 ff. KT. βλέπει' ἄνω καὶ μὴ κάτω. | XO. ἰδοί', πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Δί' ἀνακί-  
λ'φμεν. | καὶ τᾶστρα καὶ τὸν Ὠρίωνα δέρομαι.

'This earth I keep for my own use ;  
The sky, Zeus, is for thine!'

With these passages of comedy and quasi-comedy should be compared certain others of more serious tone, in which the poet says 'the rays of Zeus' or 'the light of Zeus' where we should say 'the light of day.' The *Iliad* thus describes the crash of a battle between Argives and Trojans:

The din of both  
Rose to the upper sky and the rays of Zeus<sup>2</sup>.

Hekabe in the tragedy that Euripides named after her speaks of her dead son Polydoros as—

No longer in the light of Zeus<sup>3</sup>.

In the same poet's *Iphigenia at Aulis* the heroine, when she departs to her death, bids adieu to the day-light:

O lamp of day  
And light of Zeus,  
Another life,  
Another lot  
Henceforth be mine.  
Loved light, farewell<sup>4</sup>.

In such passages it is difficult to determine whether Zeus is conceived as anthropomorphic, or not. Anthropomorphism is, however, apparent in the *Rhesos*, where Euripides writes not only 'the light of the god' but also 'Zeus god of Light'.

<sup>1</sup> Plout. *de Alex. magn.* i. 9, 2 (=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 53) αὐδοσούντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος εἰς Δία λεύσσων· | 'γὰν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι, Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὀλυμπον ἔχε.'

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* 13. 837 ἡχὴ δ' αὐφοτέρων ἔκετ' αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς αὐγὰς. Schol. B. Διὸς γὰρ αὐγὰς λέγει τὸν οὐρανόν. Schol. V. τὸν οὐρανόν· δι' αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἦκεν (*Il.* 2. 458). So schol. T., adding οἱ δὲ "Διὸς" τοῦ ἡλίου, Πλατωνικῶς. Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 962, 64 f. Διὸς αὐγὰς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡλίου κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς and *el. mag.* p. 409, 9 which quotes the line as proof that Zeus sometimes means 'the sun.' Hesych. Διὸς αὐγὰς· τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ φῶς. τὸν αἰθέρα. The phrase recurs in a Greek metrical inscription found at Ostia (*Ins. v. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 940 [ἐν αἰθέ]ρι καὶ Διὸς αὐγὰς).

<sup>3</sup> Eur. *Hec.* 707 οὐκέτ' ὄντα Διὸς ἐν φάει.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* *I. A.* 1505 ff. ἰὼ ἰὼ, | λαμπαδοῦχος ἀμέρα | Διὸς τε φέγγος, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* *Rhes.* 331 τοῦτων σέλας θεοῦ = 'to-morrow.'

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* *ih.* 355 Ζεὺς ὁ Φαναῖος. Perhaps we should rather render 'He that Appareth'; cp. *ih.* 370 φάνηθαι. The same title was borne by Apollon in Chios (Hesych. *s.v.* Φαναῖος), and is thus explained by Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 17. 34: Φαναῖον (MSS. Φανεόν) ἐπειδὴ φαίνεται νέος, quia sol cotidie renovat sese. Cornut. *theol.* 32 p. 67, 3 f. Lang has ('Απόλλωνα) Φαναῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλοῦσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄντα καὶ φωτίζεσθαι τὸν κόσμον. But, as applied to the Chian Apollon, and presumably also to Zeus, the epithet was at first a mere ἐθνικόν, 'the god of Phanai'; for Strab. 645 in describing Chios mentions Φάναί, λιμὴν βαθύς, καὶ νεὼς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἄλσος φοινίκων, though Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Φάναί says ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Χίου, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείθεν ἀναφανῆναι τῇ Ἀητοῖ τὴν Δῆλον. οἱ οἰκήτορες Φαναῖοι κ.τ.λ. The port and promontory are referred to by other writers (Aristoph. *av.* 1694 with schol.,



For fifteen hundred years and more, in fact till the decay of paganism, the anthropomorphic conception of Zeus held the field. Yet the older view was never very far below the surface, and from time to time, as we shall see, it cropped up in a variety of ways. Even in the extreme decadence of Greek letters there was a scholastic resuscitation of it. Thus, the original Zeus was simply the radiant day-light Sky. With the rise of anthropomorphism this belief was obscured and overlaid. The Zeus of Hesiodic mythology is described as grandson of an older god *Ouranós*, the starry midnight 'Sky!'. In Hellenic times the two Spartan kings were respectively priests of Zeus *Lakedaimon* and Zeus *Ouránios* ('of the Sky!'). In the Hellenistic age the latter title was much used by the poets: it afforded a point of contact between the Greek Zeus and the Semitic *Baal-shamin*, 'Lord of Heaven!'. Finally, Byzantine learning spoke of Zeus *ouranós*, Zeus the 'sky', a title which in letter, though not in spirit, recalled the primary idea of the animate Sky.

Thouk. 8. 24, Ptolem. 5. 2 p. 323, 19, Liv. 36. 43, 44, 28, 45, 10, Verg. Georg. 2. 98 with Serv. *ad loc.*

Orphic writers occasionally gave the name Zeus to their first-born deity *Φάνης* (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principibus* p. 380 = Orph. *frag.* 48 Abel *Πρωτογονον ἀνιμνεί και Δια λαλεί πάντων διατακτορα*. Euseb. *prep. ev.* 3. 9. 1 f. = Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 23 = Orph. *frag.* 123 Abel *Zeús prōtos gēneto κ.τ.λ.* see O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2260), whose own name was explained sometimes as referring to Light (Io. Makal. *chron.* 4 p. 74 Dindorf, *Soud.* s.v. 'Ορφεύς γ' φῶς) or to Day (Theon Smyrn. *expos. rerum mathemat. ad legendum Platonem utilium* p. 105 = Orph. *frag.* 171 Abel *Φανή τε μέγαν και νύκτα μέλαιναν*), but usually as a description of the Sun (Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 13, Diod. 1. 11, Iambli. *theol. arith.* p. 60. see E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 i. 106 n. 4, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2255 f.). On a relief at Modena representing Phanes with a thunderbolt in his right hand see R. Eisler *Weltentstehung und Himmelswelt* München 1910 n. 399 ff. fig. 47.

<sup>1</sup> The relation of Ouranos to Gaia, and of both to Zeus, will be considered later

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. 6. 56. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 3 cites *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1241, 8 ff. [ἀγῶ]νοθέτης ; [τῶν] μεγάλων Οὐρανίων, no. 1258, 6 ff. [εἰ]ρεῖς γ' εὐνομενος? ! Διὸς Οὐρανίου], no. 1276, 9 f. ἱερεῖς | Οὐρανίων, Lebas-Foucart *Peloponnese* no. 179 a, 3 f. νεκρήσαντα τραγωδοῖς Οὐρανιάδα γ' (- *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1420, ep. nos. 1421, 11 f., 1429, 4 f., 1473, 1, 1719, 6), *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1424, 1 ff. τῶν μεγίστων Οὐρανίων ; Σεβαστέων Νεποριανίδων.

<sup>3</sup> Kallim. *h. Zeus* 55, ep. 52, 3 Wilamowitz. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 352, 4 (Leonidas Alex.), *Anth. Plan.* 293, 3, Karbel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 618, 21. Eratosth. *epist. ad Ptolem.* 15 Hiller, Nonn. *Dion.* 21. 4, 24, 279, 25, 348, 27, 76, 31, 97, 43, 174 f., 47, 694 f. (ep. 46, 39 *Ζηνος ἐπουρανίου*)—collected by Buchmann *Epith. Dion.* p. 136. So Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* ch. i § 6 (a). See also C. Clermont-Ganneau *Revue d'Archéologie Orientale* Paris 1903 v. 66 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Teitz. *antichom.* 208 *Ζηνος φραδμοσύνησιν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντος, Hom.* 171 f. *Zeús δὲ τότ' οὐρανὸς ἀργυρέας νεφέλας στυφελίσων, βρόντα χρώμενος, αἰετ.* Od. 6. 198 *επεὶ καὶ Zeús ó οὐρανὸς καὶ Zeús αὐτὸς τυγχάνει*, 9. 81 *Διὸς ὄμβρους* (leg. ὄμβρος) *αἰετὶ δε, τοῦ οὐρανῷ νῦν λέγει*, 12. 25 f. αἱ δὲ Ἡλειώδεις σφῆρον πατρὶ Διὶ, τῷ οὐρανῷ δε, φέρονσιν, 102 *Zeús ὥπεν ἀνεμὸν ζῶντ, ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπ' ἔσθ' ἐπ.* 9. 78 *Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνέσχομεν, τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐ-φετ.*

# The Transition from Sky to Sky-god 9

## (b) The Transition from Sky to Sky-god.

The precise steps by which men advanced from a belief in Zeus the Sky to a belief in Zeus the Sky-god are hidden from us in the penumbra of a prehistoric past. The utmost that we can hope is to detect here and there survivals in language or custom or myth, which may enable us to divine as through gaps in a mist the track once travelled by early thought<sup>1</sup>. In such circumstances to attempt anything like a detailed survey or reconstruction of the route would be manifestly impossible. Nevertheless the shift from Sky to Sky-god was a momentous fact, a fact which modified the whole course of Greek religion, and its ultimate consequence was nothing less than the rise of faith in a personal God, the Ruler and Father of all. In view of this great issue we may well strain our backward gaze beyond the point of clear vision and even acquiesce in sundry tentative hypotheses, if they help us to retrace in imagination the initial stages of the journey. I shall make bold, therefore, to surmise that in Greece, as elsewhere, religion effected its upward progress along the following lines.

When those who first used the word *Zeus* went out into the world and looked abroad, they found themselves over-arched by the blue and brilliant sky, a luminous Something fraught with incalculable possibilities of weal or woe. It cheered them with its steady sunshine. It scared them with its flickering fires. It fanned their cheeks with cool breezes, or set all knees a-tremble with reverberating thunder. It mystified them with its birds winging their way in ominous silence or talking secrets in an unknown tongue. It paraded before men's eyes a splendid succession of celestial phenomena, and underwent for all to see the daily miracle of darkness and dawn. Inevitably, perhaps instinctively, they would regard it with awe—that primitive blend of religious feelings<sup>2</sup>—and would go on to conciliate it by any means in their power. This is the stage of mental and moral development attributed by Herodotos to the ancient Persians. 'I am aware,' he says<sup>3</sup>, 'that the Persians practise the following customs. They

<sup>1</sup> The only writer, so far as I know, who has recognised and done justice to this blank stretch in our knowledge of Zeus is Gruppe in his masterly handbook (*Gr. Myth. Zzt.* p. 753 'die Entstehung der Vorstellung von den einzelnen Gottern das dunkelste Gebiet der gesamten griechischen Religionsgeschichte ist,' p. 1102 'Zwischen dem Urzeus und dem historischen Zeus liegen tiefe Klüfte, die wir in Gedanken zwar leicht überspringen können, aber nicht überspringen dürfen').

<sup>2</sup> R. R. Marett *The Threshold of Religion* London 1909 p. 13 (— 'Pre-Animistic Religion' in *Folk-Lore* 1900 vi. 168), W. Wundt *Volkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 171 ff. 'Die präanimistische Hypothese.'

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. i. 131. The passage is paraphrased also in Strab. 7.32.

## 10 The Transition from Sky to Sky-god

are not in the habit of erecting images, temples, or altars; indeed, they charge those who do so with folly, because—I suppose—they do not, like the Greeks, hold the gods to be of human shape. Their practice is to climb the highest mountains and sacrifice to Zeus, by which name they call the whole circle of the sky<sup>1</sup>. They sacrifice also to the sun and moon, the earth, fire and water, and the winds. These, and these alone, are the original objects of their worship.' The same stage of belief has left many traces of itself in the Latin language and literature<sup>2</sup>. To quote but a single example, a popular line of Ennius ran:

Look at yonder Brilliance o'er us, whom the world invokes as Jove<sup>3</sup>.

There can be little doubt that in this expressive sentence the poet has caught and fixed for us the religious thought of the

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. i. 131 οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν οὐρῶν ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλεοντας.

My friend the Rev. Prof. J. H. Moulton, our greatest authority on early Persian belief, in a very striking paper 'Syncretism in Religion as illustrated in the History of Parsism' (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 II. 89 ff.) observes *à propos* of this passage: "It is generally assumed that he [*i.e.* Herodotus] calls the supreme deity 'Zeus' merely from his Greek instinct. But it is at least possible that he heard in Persia a name for the sky-god which sounded so much like 'Zeus,' being in fact the same word, that he really believed they used the familiar name. (The suggestion occurred to me [J.H.M.] independently, but it was anticipated by Spiegel, *Iran. Mit.* II. 190.) This incidentally explains why the name 'Αουμάσδης (Auramazda) does not appear in Greek writers until another century has passed. In Yt. iii. 13 (a metrical passage, presumably ancient) we find *ἄντα δύανος Ἀνρὸ Μανγυῦς*, 'Angra fell from heaven': see Bartholomae, s.v. *dyau*. Since *Dyau*s survives in the Veda as a divine name as well as a common noun—just as *dies* and *Jupiter* in Latin—it is antecedently probable that the Iranians still worshipped the ancestral deity by his old name." Prof. Moulton further writes to me (June 23, 1911) that Herodotus 'is entirely right, as usual: his general picture of Persian religion agrees most subtly with what we should reconstruct on other evidence as the religion of the people before Zarathushtra's reform began to affect them. It is pure Aryan nature-worship—and probably pure Indogermanic ditto—, prior alike to the reform of Z. on the one side and the Babylonian contamination that produced Mithraism on the other.'

Auramazda appears in later Greek authors as *Zeὺς μέγιστος* (Xen. *Cyr.* 5. 1. 29, cp. pseudo-Kallisthen 1. 40) or *Zeὺς βασιλεὺς* (Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 21, 7. 5. 57, *anab.* 3. 1. 12, 6. 1. 22, Arrian. 4. 20. 3 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀνατείνειν Δαρείον ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὐξασθαι ὧδε 'Ἄλλ' ὦ *Zeὺ* βασιλεῦ, ὅτ' ἐπιτέτραπται νέμειν τὰ βασιλέων πράγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, κ.τ.λ.=Soudi. 57. Ἀλέξανδρος) or *Zeὺς καὶ Ἀουμάσδης* (Aristot. *frag.* 8 Rose *ap.* Diog. Laert. *proom.* 8) or *Zeὺς Ἀουμάσδης* (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 735=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383, 41 f. πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς | Ἀουμάσδου θρόνους, 54 Διὸς τε Ἀουμάσδου κ.τ.λ.). Cp. Agathias *hist.* 2. 24 τὸ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὸν Δία τε καὶ Κρόνον καὶ τοῦτοις δὴ ἅπαντας τοὺς παρ' Ἑλλήσι θρυλλομένους ἐτίμων (οἱ Πέρσαι) θεοὺς, πλὴν γε ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς ἡ προσήγορία οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐσώζετο, ἀλλὰ Βῆλον μὲν τὸν Δία τυχὸν Σάνδην τε τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἀναίτιδα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκάλουν.

<sup>2</sup> I have collected the evidence in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 260 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ennius *ap.* Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 4 and 65 aspicue hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem.

## The Transition from Sky to Sky-god 11

Italians in its transitional phase. Behind him is the divine Sky, in front the Sky-god Jupiter.

Now an animate Sky, even if credited with certain personal qualities, does not necessarily become an anthropomorphic Sky-god. It may even develop in the opposite direction. Xenophanes of Kolophon in the sixth century B.C. appears to have based his reformed theology directly on the ancient Greek conception of Zeus. As Aristotle puts it, he 'looked upon the whole sky and declared that the One exists, to wit God<sup>1</sup>.' To this cosmic Unity 'equal on all sides<sup>2</sup>' Xenophanes, again in all probability following the lead of early religious thought, ascribed various personal powers:

As a whole he sees, as a whole he thinks, and as a whole he hears<sup>3</sup>.

But the poet explicitly repudiates anthropomorphism:

One God there is, greatest among gods and men,  
Like to mortals neither in form nor yet in thought<sup>4</sup>.

We have therefore, it would seem, still to determine the circumstances that occasioned the rise of the anthropomorphic view. In plain words, we must answer the question: How came the Greeks in general to think of Zeus, not as the blue sky, but as a sceptred king dwelling in it?

To solve this problem we turn our attention once more to the primitive idea of a living Sky. One point about it, and that the most important of all for practical folk, we have thus far omitted to mention. Vegetable life, and therefore animal life, and therefore human life, plainly depends upon the weather, that is upon the condition of the Sky<sup>5</sup>. Hence unsophisticated man seeks to

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *met.* 1. 5. 986 b 21 ff. *Ξενοφάνης δὲ...εἰς τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέψας τὸ ὅν εἶναι φησι τὸν θεόν.* J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 prefers to translate: 'Xenophanes said, with reference to the whole universe, that the One was God.' But this, I believe, misses the point. Xenophanes, like Pythagoras and many another reformer, starts with a revival of half-forgotten beliefs.

<sup>2</sup> H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1906 i. 41, 6 *πανταχόθεν ὅμοιον.*

<sup>3</sup> Xenophan. *frag.* 24 Diels *ap.* Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 144 οὐλος ὅρα, οὐλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὐλος δέ τ' ἀλοῖει, Diog. Laert. 9. 19. Cp. the Homeric *εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς* and the Hesiodic *πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ πάντα νοήσας* (o. d. 267).

<sup>4</sup> Xenophan. *frag.* 23 Diels *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 399, 14 ff. Stahlin, *cp. frag.* 10 ff. Diels.

<sup>5</sup> The Greeks persistently attempted to connect *Ζεὺς*, *Ζῆνα*, etc. with *ζῆν*. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1101 n. justly remarks that their attempts, though etymologically mistaken, have a certain value as throwing light on their conception of the god. He distinguishes: (1) Zeus as the only living son of Kronos (*et. mag.* p. 408, 55 f., *cp. et. Gud.* p. 230, 16 f.); (2) Zeus as the world-soul (Cornut. *theol.* 2 p. 3, 3 ff. Lang, *et. mag.* p. 408, 52 f.); (3) Zeus as the cause of life to all that live (Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 13 ff. = Apul. *de mund.* 37, Chrysippos *infra* p. 29 n. 4, Cornut. *theol.* 2 p. 3, 6 Lang, Diog.

## 12 The Transition from Sky to Sky-god

control its sunshine, its winds, above all its fructifying showers by a sheer assertion of his own will-power expressed in the naive arts of magic<sup>1</sup>. Modern investigators have shown how great was the rôle of the magician, especially of the public magician, in early society. And not the least of Dr J. G. Frazer's services to anthropology has been his detailed proof 'that in many parts of the world the king is the lineal successor of the old magician or medicine-man'. 'For sorcerers,' he urges, 'are found in every savage tribe known to us; and among the lowest savages...they are the only professional class that exists. As time goes on, and the process of differentiation continues, the order of medicine-men is itself subdivided into such classes as the healers of disease, the makers of rain, and so forth: while the most powerful member of the order wins for himself a position as chief and gradually develops into a sacred king, his old magical functions falling more and more into the background and being exchanged for priestly or even divine duties, in proportion as magic is slowly ousted by religion'. But if so, it becomes highly probable, nay practically certain, that the real prototype of the heavenly weather-king was the earthly weather-king, and that Zeus was represented with thunderbolt and sceptre just because these were the customary attributes of the magician and monarch.

So Zeus, in a sense, copied Salmoneus. But it remains to ask what led the community side by side with their Salmoneus to postulate a Salmoneus-like Zeus. I incline to the following explanation as possible and even probable. With the age-long growth of intelligence it gradually dawned upon men that the magician, when he caused a storm, did not actually make it himself by virtue of his own will-power but rather imitated it by his torches, rattling chariot, etc., and so coaxed it into coming

Laet. 7. 147, Arsteid. *or.* 1. 6 (l. 9 Dindorf), *et. mag.* p. 408, 54, *et. Gyl.* p. 230, 18 f., schol. *Il* 15. 188 f., cp. Athen. 289 A. Eustath. in *Il* p. 436, 11 ff.); (4) Zeus as life-giving breath, *ἰὸς ὕψω* *αὐ* (*et. mag.* p. 408, 57 f.).

<sup>1</sup> On 'will-power' as a rough equivalent of the *mana* of the Pacific and the *owenda* of the Iroquois see R. R. Marett *The Threshold of Religion* London 1909 p. 99, cp. pp. 115—141.

Even sophisticated man has his moments of *hyperboulia*. When I hit a ball too far at lawn-tennis, I ejaculate 'Don't go out!' and while speaking feel as if my voice actually controlled the ball's flight. Or again, I find myself rising on tip-toe to make a ball, already in mid air, clear the net. What is this but rudimentary magic?

In *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 278 f. I attempted to show that magic, whether 'mimetic' or 'sympathetic,' ultimately depends upon a primitive conception of extended personality—a failure to distinguish aright the *I* from the *not-I*.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough* 1: The Magic Art 1. 371, cp. 1. 215, 245, and especially 332 ff. *Id. ib.* 1. 420 f.

## The Transition from Sky to Sky-god 13

about. If, then, the magician or king imitated a storm made by Zeus, how did Zeus make it? The spirit of enquiry was awake (with the Greeks it awoke early), and the obvious answer was that Zeus must be a Master-image, a King supreme, beyond the clouds. Doubtless, said nascent reflexion Zeus makes his thunder in heaven much as our magician-king makes it upon earth, only on a grander, more sonorous scale. But observe: if this was indeed the sequence of thought, then the change from Sky to Sky-god was occasioned not by any despair of magic<sup>1</sup>—for people might well come to believe that Zeus the Sky-god made thunderstorms and yet not cease believing that the magician-king could produce the like—but rather by the discovery that magic, whether effective or not, was a matter of imitation. In short, the transition from Sky to Sky-god was a result, perhaps the first result, of conscious reflexion upon the *modus operandi* of primitive magic.

On this showing the cult of an anthropomorphic Zeus was the outcome of a long evolution comprising three well-marked stages, in which the feelings, the will, and the intellect played successively the principal part. First in order of development came emotion—the awe felt by early man as he regarded the live azure above him, potent to bliss or blight. Feeling in turn called forth will, when the community was parched with drought and the magician by his own passionate self-projection made the rushing rain-storm to satisfy the thirst of man and beast. Later, much later, intellect was brought to bear upon the process, distinguishing the imitation from the thing imitated and expressing heaven in terms of earth.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Frazer in a memorable chapter (*op. cit.* i. 220—243) argues that, when little by little the essential futility of magic was discovered, the shrewder intelligences casting about for an explanation of its failures would ascribe them to the more powerful magic of great invisible beings—the gods—and thus would escape from the 'troubled sea of doubt and uncertainty' into the 'quiet haven' of religion. Magic, he conjectures, everywhere came first, religion second, the latter being directly due to the unmasking of the former.

The eloquence with which Dr Frazer has stated his case is only less admirable than his learning. But for all that I believe him to be wrong. The baffled magician would most plausibly account for his failure by attributing it to the counter-charms of some rival practitioner on earth, say a neighbouring chief, or else to the machinations of a ghost, say a dead ancestor of his own. Why should he—how could he—assume a sky-god, unless the sky was already regarded as a divine Potency? And, if this was the case, then religion was not subsequent to magic, but either prior to it or coeval with it. No doubt, as Dr Frazer himself remarks (*ib.* i. 223), much turns upon our exact definition of religion. But personally I should not refuse the term 'religious' to the attitude of reverential fear with which I suppose early man to have approached the animate Sky. Indeed, it would not be absurd to maintain that this pre-anthropomorphic conception was in some respects higher, because more true, than later anthropomorphism. After all, 'God is not a man,' and early thought could hardly be drawn nearer to the idea of the Infinite than by contemplating the endless blue of Heaven.

## 14 The Transition from Sky to Sky-god

Thus a movement, which began on the plane of feeling, passed upwards through that of volition, and ended by evoking all the powers of the human soul.

Incidentally we have arrived at another conclusion, deserving of a moment's emphasis. We have, if I may use the phrase, ventured to analyse the divinity of Zeus. This analysis, tentative (be it remembered) and provisional in character, has detected two distinct elements, both of a primitive sort,—on the one hand the vast mysterious impersonal life of the blue sky, on the other the clear-cut form and fashion of the weather-ruling king. To speak with logical precision, though in such a matter logic was at best implicit, the primeval sanctity of the sky gave the content, the equipment of the magician-turned-king gave the form, of the resultant sky-god Zeus<sup>1</sup>.

### (c) Zeus *Amários*.

The transition from the day-light Sky to the day-light Sky-god is perhaps best exemplified by the Latin terms *dies*, 'day,' and *Diespiter*, 'Day-father.' The vocative case of *Diespiter* came to be used as a new nominative, the more familiar *Iupiter*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> An objection must here be met. It may be argued that, if my view were true, the Homeric Zeus ought to be recognisable as a magician, whereas notoriously magic is scarce in Homer and never associated with the Homeric Zeus.

To this I should reply (1) that the Homeric poems as we have them bear ample traces of earlier expurgation affecting many savage practices (see the convincing chapter of Prof. G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*<sup>2</sup> Oxford 1911 pp. 141—166), and (2) that such expurgation has in point of fact failed precisely where failure might have been expected, *viz.* in eliminating the pre-Homeric 'fixed epithets' of Zeus. These are simply redolent of the magician. Zeus is often Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω, 'son of the wizard Kronos.' He is himself *μητίετα*, a 'mage' rather than a 'sage.' The word *μητιόεις* is used thrice, in *h. Ap.* 344 and *h. Hest.* 5 of Zeus (so Hes. *o. d.* 51, *theog.* 457. *Moire af. Athen.* 491 B), in *Od.* 4. 227 of magic herbs prepared by the daughter of Zeus. Again, Zeus alone is *ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς* (*Il.* 24. 88, *h. Aphr.* 43, Hes. *theog.* 545, 550, 561, *Jrag.* 35, 2 Flach), *cp.* the names of the sorceresses Medea, Agamede, Permede, Mestria. Thirty-six times in the *Il.* and *Od.* he is described as *νεφέληγεμέτα*, a transparent synonym of 'rain-maker.' And what of his constant appellation *αἰγίοχος*? The *αἰγίς*, when shaken, produced a thunder-storm (*Il.* 17. 593 ff., *cp.* 4. 166 ff.), and Virgil at least seems to have regarded it as part of the rain-maker's paraphernalia (*Aen.* 8. 352 ff. *Areales ipsum | credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem | aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cietet*, *cp.* *Sil. It.* 12. 719 ff.). It was presumably as a magical means of securing fertility that at Athens the priestess brought the sacred *αἰγίς* to newly-wedded wives (*Soud.* s.v. *αἰγίς*). Further, Zeus causes an earthquake by nodding his head and shaking his hair (*supra* p. 2 f.)—a procedure that savours strongly of the magician's art. Lastly, the frequent mention of the *βουλή* or *βουλαι* of Zeus (from *Il.* 1. 5 *Διὸς δ' ἐτελέετο βουλή* onwards: see H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 1. 236) gains fresh meaning, if seen to imply the will-power characteristic of the magician-king.

<sup>2</sup> F. Stolz *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* Leipzig 1894 1. 1. 305,

But, confining our attention to the Greek area, we may further illustrate the same change.

Macrobius states that 'the Cretans call the day *Zeús*'—a startling, but by no means incredible, assertion. Unfortunately he does not go on to tell us whether this usage was restricted to any particular tribe or town in Crete. That island was a meeting-place of the nations. Already in Homeric times its population included Achaeans, Eteo-Cretans, Cydonians, Dorians and Pelasgians<sup>2</sup>; and to choose between these, and perhaps others, is a precarious undertaking. Nevertheless the dialect of Crete as a whole throughout the classical period was undoubtedly Doric, and we are therefore free to contend that in some variety of Cretan Doric the word *Zeús* had retained its primitive meaning.

This contention gains in probability from Prof. R. C. Bosanquet's discovery at Palaikastro in eastern Crete of a late Doric hymn to Zeus *Diktaíos*<sup>3</sup>. The hymn appears to have been written down about the year 200 A.D.; but its wording is perhaps five centuries older<sup>4</sup>, and its refrain preserves what I venture to regard as a survival of the original conception of Zeus:—

Hail, greatest Lad of Kronos' line<sup>5</sup>,  
*Almighty Brilliance*, who art here  
 Leading thy followers divine:  
 To Dikte come for the new year  
 And dance with joy this dance of mine<sup>6</sup>.

W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* Oxford 1894 p. 389, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 313.

<sup>1</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 15. 14 Cretenses *Δία τὴν ἡμέραν* vocant.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 19. 175 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 339 ff.

<sup>4</sup> G. Murray, *ib.* xv. 364 f.

<sup>5</sup> With κοῦρε Κρόνιε cp. Aisch. *P.* v. 577 f. ὦ Κρόνιε | παῖ, Pind. *Ol.* 2. 22 ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ Πέας. For κοῦρος = παῖς see Stephanius *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1895 v.

<sup>6</sup> ἰώ, | μέγιστε κοῦρε. χαῖρέ μοι, | Κρόνιε, παγκρατὲς γάνος, | βέβαιες | δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος | Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρ-πε καὶ γέλαθι πολὺπᾶ.

Two copies of the hymn are engraved on the back and face of the same stone. The back, which contains a text full of blunders, nowhere preserves the termination of the word γάνος. The face has in line 2 ΠΑΤΙΚΡΑΤΕC ΓΑΝΟC altered into ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΕC ΓΑΝΟΥC, and in line 20 ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΕC ΓΑΝΟΥC. This suggests an attempt to make sense of an old defective copy, and on reading it I conjectured (see *Trinity College Lecture Room* paper of Nov. 4, 1910) that the original phrase was παγκρατὲς γάνος, cp. Enn. *ap. Cic. de nat. deer.* 2. 4 aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 261). Prof. G. Murray printed παγκρατὲς γάνους in his restored text and translated it 'Lord of all that is wet and gleaming.' He now (Aug. 15, 1911) writes to me à propos of γάνος: 'I think it a very probable suggestion but do not on the whole think there is sufficient reason for altering the text.' He adds that in a letter to himself Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf had independently made the same correction.



A possible but by no means certain parallel to this survival occurs in the *Tabula Edaliensis*, a Cypriote inscription, which thrice uses the word *zân* in the sense of 'time'.<sup>1</sup> Dr Hoffmann suggests that this word is related to the Sanskrit *dhâus*, 'day,' and to the Latin *dies*, 'day,'—in fact is akin to the name *Zeûs*.<sup>2</sup> Some such primitive usage, we may suppose, underlies and explains the Homeric and Hesiodic belief that 'days are from Zeus'.<sup>3</sup>

Far more advanced was the cult of Zeus *Amários*, whose name appears to denote Zeus 'of the Day-light' (*amára*).<sup>4</sup> According to Strabon, the Achaeans of the northern Peloponnese, like the Ionians before them, were wont to assemble for deliberation and the transaction of common business at a place called the *Amárium*:<sup>5</sup> this was a grove sacred to Zeus in the territory of Aigion.<sup>6</sup> Hence, when about the year 230 B.C. the town of Orchomenos in Arkadia joined the Achaean League, it was agreed that the Achaean magistrates at Aigion and the Orchomenian magistrates at Orchomenos should swear to the terms of a treaty by Zeus *Amários*, Athena *Amaría*, Aphrodite and all the gods.<sup>7</sup> And, when in 217 B.C. Aratos the Achaean general had settled certain serious disputes at Megalopolis, the terms of the settlement were engraved

<sup>1</sup> W. Deecke 'Die griechisch-kypriischen Inschriften' in Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* 1. 27 ff. no. 60, 10, 23, 28 *ὅς τ' αὖς ζᾶν*.

<sup>2</sup> O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 I. 68 ff. no. 135, 10, 23, 28 *ὅς τ' αὖς ζᾶν*. *Id. ib.* 1. 71 f. rejects Meister's view that *ζᾶν* = epic *δῆν* and translates 'für alle Zeit,' taking *ὅς τ' αὖς* = *ἐπὶ αἰῶ* (*αἰς* accus. for *αἰ* ὅς ep. Indian *ayus*, 'life-time') and *ζᾶν* as akin to *ajius*, *dis*, *die*. But all this is very doubtful, as Hoffmann himself (*ib.* p. 228) admits. C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston etc. 1910 p. 182 n. says: '*ζᾶν* is possibly connected with *ζῆω* and *ζωω*, *τρέ*, on the basis of a third by-form *ζᾶ*.'

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 14. 93 *νύκτες τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐκ Διὸς εἰσιν*. Hes. *o. d.* 765 *ἡμεῖς δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐσμεν*, *ib.* 769 *αἶε γὰρ ἡμέραι εἰσὶ Διὸς πᾶρα μητιόεντος*. Cp. *Il.* 2. 134 *ἐννέα δὲ βεβᾶσαι Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί*. This last line supports the contention of W. Prellwitz *Eine griechische und eine lateinische Etymologie* Bartenstein 1895 p. 1 ff. that *ἐνιαυτός* is strictly the day on which the year starts again 'in the same' (*ἐνὶ αὐτῷ*) position as before, and that it was originally an appellation of *Zeûs* = *die* (*ib.* p. 8).

<sup>4</sup> P. Foucart 'Fragment inédit d'un décret de la ligue achéenne' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1876 N.S. xxxii. 2. 96-103 first propounded the explanation, now commonly accepted, of *Amários* as 'le dieu de l'atmosphère lumineuse' (*ib.* p. 100). *Amára* = *ἡμέρα* is found in Locrian inscriptions (Collitz-Bechtel *op. cit.* nos. 1478, 42, 1479, 5, cp. 1478, 33), and *πενταμερεσίῳ* in a Delphian inscription (*ib.* no. 2561, 10-16, = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 438, 183). *Amários* = *ἡμέριος* may well have been in use on the other side of the Corinthian Gulf also.

G. Kramer on Strab. 389 and F. Hultsch on Polyb. 2. 39. 6 (*fract.* p. 1v) hold that the name was *Amários* = *Ἠράριος*, cp. *ἀναρτή* = *ἡραρτή*. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 3, following Collitz and Schulze *Quaestiones philol.* p. 500 n. 1, takes *Amários* = *Ἠμάριος*.

<sup>5</sup> Strab. 385. MSS. *Αἰράριον* or *Ἀράριον*. Koraes *ej.* *Ἠμάριον*, Kramer *Ἀμάριον*, Foucart *Ἀμόριον*.

<sup>6</sup> Strab. 387. MSS. and *cp.* as before.

<sup>7</sup> Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 229 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 199.

on a tablet and set up beside an altar of Hestia in the *Amáriorion*<sup>1</sup>. This is in all probability the spot described by Pausanias in the following extract: 'Near the sea at Aigion is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, after that one of Poseidon, one of Kore Demeter's daughter, and in the fourth place one to Zeus *Homagýrios*. Here there are statues of Zeus, Aphrodite and Athena. Zeus was surnamed *Homagýrios*, "the Assembler," because on this spot Agamemnon gathered together the chief men of Hellas to consult how they should make war on the kingdom of Priam....Adjoining the sanctuary to Zeus *Homagýrios* is one of Demeter *Panachaiá*, "goddess of all the Achaeans:"' Zeus *Amários* was on this showing one with Zeus *Homagýrios*; and it is possible that the former title was, owing to the influence of the latter, popularly changed into *Hemários*, which might be understood as 'the Joiner-together'.<sup>2</sup> However that may be, it is clear that from Aigion the cult made its way to Magna Graecia, where Kroton, Sybaris and Kaulonia, in avowed imitation of the Achaeans, erected a common temple to Zeus *Amários*<sup>3</sup>.

How this Zeus 'of the Day-light' was conceived by his worshippers, can be inferred from representations of him on coins of the Achaean League. A unique silver *statér* of Aeginetic standard, probably struck at Aigion about 367—362 B.C., has for its reverse type an enthroned Zeus, who holds an eagle in his right hand and rests on a sceptre with his left (fig. 1)<sup>4</sup>. Bronze coins of the League, as reconstituted in 281 B.C., exhibit on the obverse side a standing figure of Zeus: he is naked and supports on his right hand a winged Nike, who offers him a wreath, while he leans

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. 5. 93. 10. MSS. 'Ομαρίω. Foucart restored 'Αμαρίω, cp. J. L. Strachan-Davidson *Selections from Polybius* Oxford 1888 p. 145. On the connexion of Hestia with Zeus, see *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) ix (a).

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 7. 24. 2 f. O. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1741 would distinguish between the 'Αμάριον and the precinct of Zeus 'Ομαγύριος; but Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 162 identifies them.

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 370 thinks that 'Ομαγύριος is a corruption of 'Αμάριος; but this is not necessary. 'Ομάριος (Polyb. 2. 39. 6 with *ελλ. ομαριον* in A. δμοριον C. 5. 93. 10) suggests comparison with Hesych. ομαρές· ὁμοῦ. συμφώνως. Those that take it to be the original form will quote Steph. Byz. 'Ομάριον· πολὺς Θερρατίας. Θεόδοτος Φιλίππειων εἰκοστῷ δευτέρῳ. ἐν ταύτῃ τιμᾶται Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν 'Ομάριοι, 'Ομαρές.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. 2. 39. 6. The MSS. vary: ομαριον *scilicet* A. ὁμοριον C. Foucart restored 'Αμαριον.

<sup>5</sup> W. Wroth in the *Nom. Clon.* Fourth Series 1902 n. 324 ff. pl. 16. 4. G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 73 ff. pl. 5. 38. Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 416 ('the reverse type of Zeus seems to have been suggested by the seated Zeus on the early Arcadian coins.' Cp. *infra* ch. i § 3 (b)). The coin is now in the British Museum.

## 18 Zeus *Panámaros*, *Panémeros*, *Panemérios*

with his left hand on a long sceptre (fig. 2)<sup>1</sup>. The later silver coins, from some date earlier than 330 B.C., show a laureate head of Zeus as their obverse (fig. 3), a wreath of bay as their reverse design<sup>2</sup>. Such representations drop no hint of Zeus as a day-light deity. The physical aspect of the god had long been forgotten, or at most survived in a cult-title of dubious significance.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

### (d) Zeus *Panámaros*, *Panémeros*, *Panemérios*.

Near the Carian town of Stratonikeia was a village called Panamara, situated on the mountain now known as *Baïaca*. Here in 1886 MM. G. Deschamps and G. Cousin discovered the precinct of the Carian god Zeus *Panámaros* and over four hundred inscriptions relating to his cult<sup>3</sup>. It is probable that the name *Panámaros*, which appears more than once without that of Zeus<sup>4</sup>, was originally a local epithet denoting the deity who dwelt at Panamara<sup>5</sup>. If so, it is useless to speculate on the real meaning of the word. But when the district was subjected to Hellenic influence—Stratonikeia, we know, was a Macedonian colony<sup>6</sup>—the local divinity by an instructive series of changes became Zeus *Panámaros*<sup>7</sup>, Zeus

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 113, 162, 219, *Munztaf.* 2, 17 and 17 a, Muller-Wieseler-Wermicke *Ant. Denk.* 1, 94 pl. 9, 18, *Head Hist. num.* <sup>2</sup> p. 417 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 12 ff. pl. 2, 15—20, pl. 3, 1—14. 1 figure pl. 3, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 97 f., 105, *Munztaf.* 1, 29, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1—23, pl. 2, 1—14, *Head Hist. num.* <sup>2</sup> p. 417, W. Wroth in the *Nom. Chron.* Third Series 1900 xv. 286 f. pl. 14, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 373 ff., 1888 xii. 82 ff., 249 ff., 479 ff., 1891 xv. 169 ff., 1904 xxviii. 20 ff., 238 ff. See further the article by O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1491—1497, Nilsson *Gr. Fest.* pp. 27—31.

<sup>4</sup> *Havámapos* without *Zeús* occurs in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 85 no. 9, 11, *ib.* p. 86 no. 10, 15, *ib.* p. 88 no. 11, 5. *Havámapos* (-*ai*) was one of the Carian Kouretes along with *Λάβρανδος* and *Πάλαξος* or *Σπάλαξος* (*et. mag.* p. 389, 55 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> So Hofer *loc. cit.* 1492 f., Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 31 n. 6. On *Λ.* Dictenich's conjectural *Amaros* ~ *Amara* see Append. B Egypt.

<sup>6</sup> Strab. 660, cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Στρατονίκηια*.

<sup>7</sup> *Zeús Havámapos*, sometimes *Zeús ó Havámapos* or *ó Zeús ó Havámapos*, is the common form of his name in the inscriptions (Hofer *loc. cit.* 1492, 1 ff.).

## Zeus *Panámaros*, *Panémeros*, *Panemérios* 19

*Panémeros*<sup>1</sup>, Zeus *Panemérios*<sup>2</sup>. The unintelligible Carian name was thus Hellenised into a cult-title that suited the Greek conception of Zeus. *Panámaros* to Greek ears would mean the god 'of the live-long Day' (*panámeros*, *panémeros*, *panemérios*)<sup>3</sup>.

Imperial coins of Stratonikeia, both in silver and in bronze (fig. 4), exhibit a bearded horseman, who carries a long sceptre over his left shoulder and apparently a *phiale* in his right hand<sup>4</sup>. On one specimen in the British Museum (fig. 5)<sup>5</sup>, probably struck in Hadrian's time, this equestrian figure is radiate. Dr B. V. Head



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

conjectures that it is not the emperor, but Zeus *Panámaros* conceived as a solar deity<sup>6</sup>. The identification of the rider as Zeus might be supported by the fact that some imperial bronze coins of Stratonikeia have as their reverse type Zeus enthroned with a sceptre in one hand, a *phiale* in the other (fig. 6)<sup>7</sup>. And the radiate crown would be appropriate to Zeus 'of the live-long Day,' whether he was regarded as a sun-god or not.

The precinct found by MM. Deschamps and Cousin occupied the summit of a steep hill furrowed by ravines. It contained

<sup>1</sup> Ζεὺς Πανήμερος is found in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 97 no. 12, *ib.* p. 98 no. 16, *ib.* p. 101 no. 21, *ib.* p. 487 nos. 63, 65, 66, *ib.* p. 488 nos. 72, 75, 78 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ζεὺς Πανημέριος or Ζεὺς ὁ Πανημέριος or ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Πανημέριος, more rarely Πανημέριος Ζεὺς, occurs in *Corp. ins. Gr.* ii no. 2715<sup>1</sup>, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 29 no. 41, *ib.* p. 376, 1888 xii. 488 nos. 68, 69, 70 *ib.* p. 489 no. 101, *ib.* p. 490 nos. 105, 109, 1890 xiv. 371, Lebas-Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 518. Cp. Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 834. 1 Ζηνὶ Πανημερίῳ.

<sup>3</sup> Hesych. πανάμερος· δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας, Phot. λεγ. πανάμερον· δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας, Aisch. *P.* 1024 ἀκλῆτος ἔρπων δαιταλεὺς πανήμερος, *L.* i. 472 οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μόλπῃ θεὸν ἱλασκοντο, *a. ib.* Not the god 'of the Day-light' (L. Meyer), nor the god 'of the luminous atmosphere' (P. Foucart), nor merely 'a divinity of the light' (L. R. Farnell): see Hofer *loc. cit.* 1493.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria etc.* pp. lxxi f. 151 pl. 24, 1, p. 153 pl. 24, 4, p. 154 pl. 24, 5, pp. 156, 158 pl. 24, 10. I figure a specimen in my collection.

<sup>5</sup> *ib.* pp. lxxii, 153 pl. 24, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *ib.* p. lxxii. Mr G. F. Hill kindly informs me (Aug. 11, 1910) that he too takes the rider to be Zeus.

<sup>7</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 316 no. 87<sup>1</sup> (Hadrian), *id. Gr. Monn.* p. 200 no. 625 (Hadrian), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria etc.* p. 159 pl. 24, 11 (Severus Alexander).

## 20 Zeus *Panámáros*, *Panémeros*, *Panemérios*

three temples, that of Zeus *Panámáros*, that of Hera *Teleía*<sup>1</sup>, and a building called the *Komyrion*, the name of which recalls the title of Zeus *Kómyros* at Halikarnassos<sup>2</sup>. Corresponding with the two temples of Zeus and the one of Hera were three public festivals, the Panamareia, the Komyria, and the Heraia.

The principal festival of the place was the Panamareia, an annual affair, which at first lasted for ten days<sup>3</sup> and later for a whole month<sup>4</sup>. It began with a procession from the precinct at Panamara to the council-chamber at Stratonikeia<sup>5</sup>. And, since the ten days of the festival were known as the 'Sojourn' (*epidemia*) of the god<sup>6</sup>, it has been concluded that the image of Zeus paid an actual visit to the neighbouring town. This visit appears to be identical with the 'Entry of the horse' mentioned in a local inscription<sup>7</sup>, so that Dr Hofer is doubtless right in regarding the rider on the coins of Stratonikeia as Zeus entering the town on horseback<sup>8</sup>. His entry was the signal for a great outburst of rejoicing. Citizens and strangers alike received at the hands of the priests *largesse* of oil for gymnastic contests and baths, besides perfume, corn, meat, and money. The merry-making was kept up day and night during the 'Sojourn' of the god<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 389 no. 5, 1 f. Δι Παναμάρω καὶ | Ἡρα Τελεία, 1888 xii. 256 no. 36, 2 f. [Δι] Παναμάρω | [κ]αὶ Ἡρα Τελεία (sic), 1891 xv. 426 no. 8 "Hpas Τελείας (sic).

<sup>2</sup> Lyk. *Al.* 459 (Λίας) καταίθων θύσθλα Κωμύρω with schol. *ad loc.* Κωμύρω τῷ Δι· Κώμυρος γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῷ τιυᾷται. At Panamara Κομύριον, Κομύρια always have the *o* short. Nilsson *Gr. Pl. & p.* 28 n. 1 cp. Zeus Κυρώριος at Baugylia in Karia (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 39 no. 62).

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 12 f. τὰς τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν Παναμαρείων [ἡμέρας] δέκα, 385 no. 3, 12 f., 1891 xv. 192 no. 136, 6 f. Cp. 1891 xv. 198 no. 140, 14 f. ἀπὸ τῆς | εἰκόδος μέχρη τῆς τριακάδος

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 204 no. 144, 16 ff. ἡξή[σ]αν πρῶτοι τὰς [τῶν] [Παν]αμα- [ρίων] τῆς ἐ[ο]ρτῆς ἡμέρας [δέκα ἔως] τ[ρ]ιάκοντα(?), 191 no. 135, 5 f. τὰς τῆς ἱερομνησίας το[ῦ] | θεοῦ ἡμέρας πάσας.

<sup>5</sup> Here Zeus Πανάματος and other deities had statues (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 85 no. 9, 10 f. ἀγάλ(λ)ματα θεῶν Παναμάρον, Εὐά[τ]ρης, Ἀρτέμιδος, Ἀσκληπιοῦ, Ὑγίας, Ὀνυρ. *inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2715a 2 ff. [Διὸς τοῦ Π]ανημε[ρίου καὶ Εὐκ]άτης. καθίδρυνται δὲ ἐν τῷ σεβαστῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τῶν προσηρμένω[ν θεῶν]). Stratonikeia was under the special protection of Zeus Πανάματος and Hekate (O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1494 f.).

<sup>6</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 198 no. 140, 16 f. παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἐπιδημίας | τοῦ θεοῦ, 1904 xxviii. 238 no. 42, 7 τῆς ἐπιδημίας οὔσης.

<sup>7</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 204 no. 144, 15 ff. ἐγίμνα[σι]άρχησαν καὶ | ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἱπποῦ εἰσό[δ]ῳ τὸ [β', καὶ] ἡξή[σ]αν πρῶτοι τὰς [τῶν] [Παν]αμα[ρίων] τῆς ἐ[ο]ρτῆς ἡμέρας κ.τ.λ. (*supra* p. 10' n. 4).

<sup>8</sup> O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1494.

<sup>9</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 376 no. 1, 24 ff., 380 no. 2, 12 ff., 385 no. 3, 12 ff., 1888 xii. 102 no. 22, 13 ff., 250 no. 2, 1891 xv. 186 no. 130a, 25 ff., 188 no. 131, 8 ff., 198 no. 140, 12 ff.

## Zeus *Panámaros*, *Panémeros*, *Panemérĭos* 21

The Komyria lasted for two days only<sup>1</sup> and involved certain mysteries<sup>2</sup>. Since the inscriptions speak of the 'Ascent' (*ánodos* or *anábasis*) of the god in this connexion<sup>3</sup>, MM. Deschamps and Cousin infer that the Komyria was essentially the return-journey of Zeus from Stratonikeia to Panamara<sup>4</sup>. Mr M. P. Nilsson, however, points out that the 'Ascent' is said to take place *in* the sanctuary, not *to* it, and conjectures that Zeus then paid a visit to his wife<sup>5</sup>. Probably we should do well to combine these views and hold that the 'Ascent' of the god from Stratonikeia to Panamara culminated in the sanctuary on the mountain-top, where Zeus was annually married to his bride. On this occasion the men were entertained by the priest in the *Komyrion* and the women separately in the sanctuary<sup>6</sup>. Wine was served out in abundance—no distinction being made between citizens, Romans, foreigners, and slaves. Money-gifts and portions of sacrificial meat were likewise distributed with a lavish hand. Booths were erected for the accommodation of the celebrants. Sirup and wine were even provided by the road-side for old and young<sup>7</sup>. And the horse that had served the god, presumably in the procession, was duly dedicated to him<sup>8</sup>. In short, the whole account, so far as it can be reconstructed from the inscriptions, reads like that of a joyous wedding *cortège*.

The Heraia was another important festival involving a long programme of games<sup>9</sup>, religious shows<sup>10</sup>, and mystic rites<sup>11</sup>. It seems to have been celebrated yearly and on a grander scale once every four years<sup>12</sup>. The *rendez-vous* was the temple of Hera. The

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xl. 380 no. 2, 19 ff., 385 no. 3, 34 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xl. 380 no. 2, 16 ff., 385 no. 3, 26 ff., cp. the *μυσταγωγός* mentioned in 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 B, 11 ff., 188 no. 131, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xl. 384, 10 τῇ ἀνόδῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 A, 15 f. ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, 188 no. 131, 5 [ἐν τῇ ἀν]όδῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, 203 no. 144, 10 [ἐν] τῇ ἀναβάσει τ[οῦ θ]εοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 178. So O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1495.

<sup>5</sup> Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xl. 385 no. 3, 28 ff., 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 A, 12 ff., 1904 xxviii. 24 no. 2, 6 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xl. 380 no. 2, 17 ff., 385 no. 3, 30 ff., 1904 xxviii. 24 no. 2, 6 ff., 247 no. 57, 8 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 f. = 1904 xxviii. 247 no. 57, 11 ἀνέθηκαν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον τῷ θεῷ τὸν ὑπηρετ[ικόν].

<sup>9</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 = 200 no. 141, 8 ff. γ[υμνασι]αρχήσαντες κ(αὶ) ἡμέρας κβ' ἐκ νυκτὸς ἰς νύκτα ἐν ἀμφοτέρῃ τοῖς γυμνασίοις κ(αὶ) ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περιπολίω.

<sup>10</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 173 = 204 no. 145, 4 f. θεωρί[ας] δὲ ποιήσας πολυτελεσ-τάτας | καὶ καλλίστας.

<sup>11</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις δὲ καὶ ἐορτῇ τῶν Ἡρέων, cp. 1894 xxviii. 241 no. 48, 6 [...] Μυωνίδου μυσταγωγ[όντος].

<sup>12</sup> This is deduced by M. P. Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 28 from the fact that the inscriptions employ two distinct formulae, τῷ θεῷ ἱερεῦς (ἱερατεύσας, κ.τ.λ.) ἐν Ἡραίοις and ἱερεὺς (ἱερατεύσας, κ.τ.λ.) ἐν Ἡραίοις κατὰ πενταετηρίδα.

## 22 Zeus *Panámaros*, *Panémeros*, *Panemérios*

priest and priestess invited all the women, whether bond or free, and gave them a banquet with plenty of wine and a present of money for each guest<sup>1</sup>. They also furnished a repast for the men<sup>2</sup>. It is at first sight puzzling to find this apparent duplication of the *Komyria*. But, if—as we shall later see reason to suppose<sup>3</sup>—Zeus was not originally the consort of Hera, it is likely enough that he had his own marriage-feast to attend and she hers<sup>4</sup>. At Panamara, even when Zeus was paired with Hera, the two celebrations were on the foregoing hypothesis kept up side by side. This bizarre arrangement had its practical advantages, and it obviously made a powerful appeal to the appetites of the mob.

The priest and priestess who presided over these wholesale entertainments were acting not merely as public host and hostess but as the visible representatives of the god and goddess. Their inauguration was a function lasting four days and involving gymnasiarchal duties, in particular the distribution of oil for the gymnasia and the baths<sup>5</sup>. It is called the 'reception of the crown' or 'reception of the god'; and the officials themselves are described as 'receiving the crown of the gods' or 'receiving the god'. The termination of their office, the tenure of which was annual<sup>6</sup>, is correspondingly called the 'putting off of the crowns'<sup>7</sup>. Not improbably these persons wore a golden crown decorated with a small image of their deity. Crowns of the sort are mentioned in literature<sup>8</sup> and figured both on coins of Tarsos<sup>9</sup> and on portrait-heads from Ephesos<sup>10</sup> and elsewhere<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 376 no. 1, 32 ff., 1891 xv. 182 no. 123, 5 ff., 198 no. 140, 24 ff., 200 no. 141, 7 f., 204 no. 145, 3 ff., 1894 xxviii. 40 no. 233, 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 ἐστιάσαντες ἐν τοῖς Ἡραίοις πάντας βολευτὰς καὶ πολίτας.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* ch. iii.

<sup>4</sup> The evidence of the published inscriptions suggests, but does not prove, that the Heraia at Panamara was a marriage-feast. Such was in all probability the character of the Heraia at Argos (*infra* ch. iii).

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 377.

<sup>6</sup> ἡ παράληψις τοῦ στεφάνου: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 173, 186 no. 130 A, 18 f., 198 no. 140, 11 f., 1904 xxviii. 37 no. 21, 8 f.

<sup>7</sup> (ἡ) παράληψις τοῦ θεοῦ: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 173, 191 no. 135, 5, 192 no. 136, 7 f., 1904 xxviii. 243 no. 51, 6 f.

<sup>8</sup> παραλαμβάνοντες τὸν στέφανον τοῦ θεοῦ: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 375 no. 1, 9 ff., 384 no. 3, 7 f.

<sup>9</sup> παραλαμβάνων τὸν θεόν: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 169.

<sup>11</sup> ἡ ἀπόθεσις τῶν στεφάνων: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 102 no. 22, 15 f., 1891 xv. 173.

<sup>12</sup> *Suet. n. Poet. 4*. Tertull. *d. cor. mil.* 13, Athen. 211 B.

<sup>13</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Lyeaonia etc. pp. 198, 208 pl. 36, 11, p. 220 pl. 37, 8, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xxviii. 180 f. pl. 13, 21, G. F. Hill 'Priester-Diademe' in the *Jahrb. d. v. d. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii. 247 f. fig. 135.

<sup>14</sup> G. F. Hill *ib.* p. 245 ff. pl. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Daemberg-Saglio *Diet. Ant.* ii. 1523 and 1525 fig. 1986 (a priest of Bellona);

One odd rite deserves to be noticed. Many of the inscriptions found at *Baïaca* record the dedication of human hair<sup>1</sup>. The custom was for the dedicator to erect, either inside the temple of Zeus or outside it in the sacred precinct, a small *stèle* of stone containing the tress or tresses in a cavity sometimes closed by a thin marble lid (fig. 7)<sup>2</sup>. Those that could not afford such a *stèle* would make a hole in the stone wall, or even in the corner of another man's slab, and inscribe their names beside it. MM. Deschamps and Cousin point out that the dedicants were invariably men—not a single woman's name occurs<sup>3</sup>; that the dedication was always made to Zeus, never to Hera; that the occasion is sometimes specified as the *Komyria* and the place once at least as the *Komyrion*—the *Heraia* and the *Heraion* are not mentioned at all; that slaves were allowed to participate in this act of devotion; and that the act itself might be repeatedly performed by the same person<sup>4</sup>. These scholars suggest that the votive hair may have been offered by those who were initiated into the mysteries of the *Komyria*<sup>5</sup>.

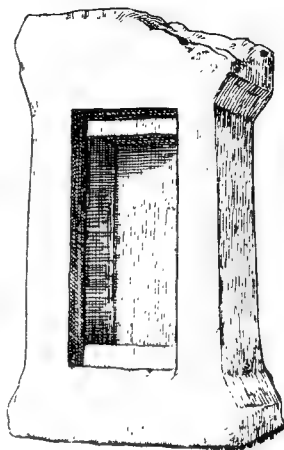


Fig. 7.

If we may judge from analogous customs existing here and there throughout the Greek world<sup>6</sup>, the rite was probably connected

Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 151 f. no. 221 = A. J. B. Wace in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1905 xvi. 94 f. ('a priest of the cult of one of the later *Diadochi*') = *Amelung Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 475 ff. no. 275 pl. 63; Helbig *op. cit.* i. 309 f. no. 425 (an *archigallus*); D. Simonsen *Skulpturer og Indskrifter fra Palmyra i Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek* Kjøbenhavn 1889 p. 16 f. pl. 7 f.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 487 ff. nos. 60—120.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 480.

<sup>3</sup> The conjecture of Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 280 f. is, therefore, in part mistaken.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 486.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 487.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* pp. 481—484, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1358, 1362, Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 534 f., iii. 279 ff., iv. 128, *Golden Bough*<sup>1</sup>: The Magic Art i. 28 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 913 f. The fullest collection of evidence from the Greek area is that of W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 pp. 240—245. See too G. A. Wilken 'Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiens' in the *Revue Coloniale Internationale* 1886 iii. 225 ff., 1887 iv. 353 ff.

Dr Wilken explained the rite as a substitute for human sacrifice, the hair being deemed the seat of the soul. Dr Frazer suggests that the gift of hair was tantamount to a gift of virility or fertility. Dr Rouse regards hair-offering as a 'practice connected with puberty.' Dr Gruppe concludes that the rite was originally 'vorrugsweise eine Initiationsceremonie.'

I incline to think that we have in this custom the relics of a puberty-rite once



## 24 Zeus *Panámáros*, *Panémeros*, *Panemérios*

with marriage or with arrival at a marriageable age. As such it

widespread throughout Greece, and that further proof of the practice may be found in the terms *kópos*, *kórη* for 'young man, young woman,' literally 'shaveling' (*κείρω*, 'I shave'). My friend Dr Giles kindly informs me that this derivation is quite possible, and that the words in question should be grouped as follows: *koros*, Ionic *κοῖρος*, Doric *κῶρος*, etc. < *κόρ-ῥο-ς*; *kórη*, Ionic *κοῖρη*, Doric *κῶρα*, etc. < *κόρ-ᾱ* (Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 143 no. 373 τῇ Κόρᾱι) and *κοίρειος* 'barber' < *κορσ-εῖος* (Hesych. s.v.); *κοῖρά* 'hair-cutting' 'trees' < *\*κορσ-ᾱ*. He refers me to L. Solmsen in the *Zeit. f. d. Phil. f. d. Sprachforschung* 1885 xxiv. 128 ff., who conjectures that *κορᾱ* (*κείρω*) became *κοῖρά* by analogy with *κοιρεύς* < *κορσεύς*. That this whole series of words was interrelated had already been guessed by the ancients: see e.g. *μαρ.* p. 534. 4 ff. *κοῖρά* ἀπὸ τοῦ κείρω κέλαρμαι *κορᾱ* καὶ *κοῖρά*. *κοῖρη* ἢ παρα τὸ κείρω, τὸ κοιμεῖω, *κórη* καὶ *κοῖρη* κ.τ.λ., *ib.* p. 533, 57 f. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ ξιρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ γένειον (sc. *κοῖρος*). See *ib.* p. 529. 36 f., *cl. Gud.* pp. 338. 8 f., 341. 40 ff.

The foregoing derivation strongly supports Miss J. E. Harrison's contention that the *Koúρητες* were the young initiates of the tribe (see her cogent article in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 vi. 308—335). Archemachos of Euboea *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 315 f. Muller) *αἱ. Strab.* 465 states that the *Kouretes* of Chalkis *οπισθεν κομῶντας γενέσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐμπροσθεν κειρεσθαι, οὐ καὶ Κοιρήτας ἀπὸ τῆς κοῖρας ἀληθῆναι*. This may be a speculation based on the *Ἀθῶντες* ὑπὸθεν κομῶντες (*Il.* 2. 422). But it was certainly believed in the fifth century B.C. that the *Kouρήτες* got their name from their peculiar *οὐφίται*: *Aisch. frag.* 313 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *Χαλδῶν τε Πύλαιος ὥστε παρμεινοὺς ἀφραῖς*, 'ὅθεν καλεῖν Κοιρήτα λαὸν ἤνυσαν. Agathon *frag. 3* Nauck<sup>2</sup> *κόμας κειράμεσθαι μάρτυρας τριφῆς, ἣ ποῦ ποιεῖων χρῆμα παιζούσῃ φρενί, ἐπώνυμον γοῦν εἰθὺς ἔσχομεν Ἀλέος. Κοῖρητες εἶναι, κοῖρῶν χάριν τρυφῆς. Cp. *cl. μαρ.* p. 534. 14 ff. *Κοιρήτες*, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς κοῖρας, παρὰ τὸ μὴ κείρεσθαι = *cl. Gud.* p. 342, 1 ff., Hesych. s.v. *Κοιρήτες*, διὰ τὸ κορικῶς ἀναδεόσθαι τὰς κόμας, Eustath. *in Od.* 518 εἰ δὲ τινες τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἶκ ἦσαν λαρχικομῶντες, παρσημειώσατο αὐτοῖς ἡ ιστορία, *Κοιρήτας* αὐτοῖς ὀνομαζεσθαι λέγονσα κ.τ.λ. — Eustath. *in Il.* p. 165, 8 ff.*

At Athens the third day of the *Apaturia* was called *κοιρῶντις*—say the lexicographers—not merely because the *κοῖροι* and *κοῦραι* were then enrolled on their phratry-lists (*Soud.* s.v. *Ἀπατούρια*), but also because on that day children's hair was cut and dedicated to Artemis (Hesych. s.v. *κοιρῶντις*) or the *κοῖροι* had their hair cut and were enrolled in their phratries (*Soud.* s.v. *κοιρῶντις*). The sacrifice offered for those of full age (εἰς ἡλικίαν προελόντων) was termed *κοῖρειον* in the case of the boys, *γαμηλία* in that of the girls (*Poll.* 8. 107). These terms point to an original puberty-rite of hair-clipping. Further, Miss Harrison notes that the Athenian *ἐφηβοί* presented Herakles with a big cup of wine (*οἶνιστήρια*) and then clipped their hair (*Athen.* 494 i., Hesych. s.v. *οἶνιστήρια*, Phot. *lex.* s.v. *οἶνιστήριον*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 907. 19, Favorin *lex.* p. 469, 20 f.; cp. *Poll.* 3. 52. 6. 22, who connects the rite with the *Apaturia*).

The exact character of such tonsures can seldom be determined. Yet there is a certain amount of monumental evidence available. In Minoan art youthful figures, both male and female, often have a single curl hanging over the forehead (e.g. *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 56 f. fig. 17, *Mon. d. Inst.* 1908 xiv. 15 ff. pl. 1 f.); was this the *χαλδῶν πλόκαμος* of the *Kouretes*? The *οπισθεν κομῶντες* appear on an archaic sherd from Argina, which shows a man's head beardless and bald on top, but with bushy hair behind tied in a bunch on the neck (F. Dümmler in the *Jahrb. d. Lat.-dutch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 20 f. pl. 2, 3), and also on certain oblong plates of gold found at Corinth, which represent Theseus slaying the Minotaur and Ariadne standing at his back, both figures being bald on top, but long-haired behind (A. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 p. 106 ff. pl. 8, 2—7); this was known as the *Θησέης κοῖρά*, since Theseus at Delphi shaved the front of his head only (*Plout.* 7. *Thec.* 5, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 165, 7 f.). The head of a Lapith from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia has a smooth surface reserved in the hair above the middle of the forehead (*Olympia* iii. 83 fig. 136); G. Tien *ib.* assumes an

tends to confirm our conjecture that the Komyria was the marriage-feast of Zeus<sup>1</sup>.

It is probable that the crowds which in Roman times thronged the precinct looked upon the *Komyria* as the 'Hair'-festival; for the published dedications, sixty or so in number, regularly describe the votive hair as *kóme* or *kómai*. This appears to be another case of an obvious Greek meaning thrust upon an unobvious Carian term. It is thus comparable with the name of Zeus *Panamáros* himself<sup>2</sup>.

## § 2. *Zeus and the Burning Sky.*

### (a) *Aithér* as the abode of Zeus.

As a bright sky-god Zeus lived in the *aithér* or 'burning sky'. Homer and Theognis speak of him as 'dwelling in *aithér*'. And a notable line in the *Iliad* says:

Zeus' portion was  
Broad heaven in the *aithér* and the clouds<sup>3</sup>.

Hence, when he punished Hera, he hung her up 'in the *aithér* and

upright tongue attached to a fillet (cp. a *stèle* in the Naples collection figured by Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 256, the Lapiths on a vase published by H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 pl. 3, 1, etc.), but admits that there is no trace of the fillet. On the shaved moustache of the Spartans as a tribal mark see *infra* ch. i § 3 (f).

The relation of *Kaipós* to this group of words is dealt with in Append. A.

<sup>1</sup> In *Anth. Pal.* 6. 242 Krinagoras records the dedication of his brother's first beard *τελείω | Ζηνὶ καὶ ὠδίνων μελίσσῳ Ἀπρέμει*. Dr Rouse *op. cit.* p. 241 says: 'Agamemnon in perplexity tore out handfuls of hair as an offering to Zeus' (*Il.* 10. 15 f. *πολλὰς ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελόμενος ἔλκετο χείρας | ὑψὸθ' ἐόντι Δαί*). But this strange couplet has been variously interpreted. Eustath. in *Il.* p. 786, 46 ff. presses the preceding metaphor to mean that, just as Zeus thundered, rained, and snowed, so Agamemnon groaned, shed tears, and scattered his hairs broadcast! Probably the whole passage is due to some bombastic rhapsode, who was trying to outdo the more commonplace phrase *Δαί χείρας ἀνασχέειν* (W. Leaf *ad loc.*).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 18. A puzzling epithet, perhaps another example of the same interlinguistic phenomenon, is that given in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 A. 1 [*Δαί Π*] *Ἰανημέρω Ἀργύρου καὶ Ἡ[ρα]*. MM. Deschamps and Cousin take *Ἀργύρου* to be an indeclinable divine title, which has given rise to such personal names as *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 487 no. 60 (Panamaia) *Ἐπαφρᾶ [κ]όμῃ Ἀρ[γ]υροῦ*, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 12 no. 6, 5 f. (Lagina) *ἱέρεια ἡ γυνὴ αἰ[ν]οῦ | Ἀπρέμεις Ἀργύρου Κ(ωρα)ῖς(ις)*, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8753 (Pergamon) *Ἀρ[γ]υροῦ*. But to Greek ears *Ἀργύρου* spelled 'Silver' and silver was the metal specially assigned to Zeus by the Byzantines (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) on Iupiter *Dolichenus*).

<sup>3</sup> L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 91, Piellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* p. 15, Boisacq *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 2. 412, 4. 166, *Od.* 15. 523, Theogn. 757 *αἰθέρι ραΐων*.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* 15. 192 *Ζεὺς δ' ἐλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσιν*. See *infra* ch. ii § 6.

the clouds<sup>1</sup>. On one occasion he sent a portent to the Achaeans 'out of *aithér*'<sup>2</sup>; on another he helped Hektor 'from *aithér*'<sup>3</sup>; on another he came near to flinging Hypnos 'from *aithér*' into the sea<sup>4</sup>. Euripides in his *Melanippe the Wise* made one of the characters cry:

I swear by holy *aithér*, home of Zeus<sup>5</sup>.

Aristophanes after the manner of a caricaturist slightly distorts the phrase and ridicules the poet for saying '*aithér*, room of Zeus'. Again in his *Chrysippos* Euripides wrote an invocation of earth and sky beginning—

Mightiest Earth and *aithér* of Zeus<sup>6</sup>—

and in another fragment described Perseus as—

The Gorgon-slayer that winged his way to the holy *aithér* of Zeus<sup>7</sup>.

The Latin poets followed suit and used the borrowed word *aether* to denote the habitual abode of Jupiter<sup>8</sup>.

### (b) Zeus *Aithérios*, Zeus *Aithrios*.

Writers of both nationalities call Zeus (Jupiter) *aithérios* (*aetherius*), 'god of the burning sky'<sup>9</sup>—an epithet which gains importance from the fact that it was a cult-title possibly in Arkadia<sup>10</sup> and certainly in Lesbos. A decree found at *Chalakais*, on the site of the ancient town Hiera, records the sacred offices held by a certain Bresos, among them the priesthood of Zeus *Aithérios*<sup>11</sup>. Aristotle in his treatise *On the Universe* links with *Aithérios* the epithet *Aithrios*, 'god of the Bright Sky'<sup>12</sup>. This too

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* 15. 18 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* 11. 54.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 15. 610 interpol.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 14. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Eur. *Melanippe frag.* 487 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ὅμνῃμι δ' ἱερὸν αἰθέρ', οἴκησιν Διός.

<sup>6</sup> Aristoph. *thesm.* 272 quotes the line correctly, but *ran.* 100 and 311 substitutes αἰθέρα, Διὸς ὀσπάριον, which reduces the sublime to the ridiculous.

<sup>7</sup> Eur. *Chrys.* frag. 839 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, quoted *infra* ch. II. § 9 (c) II. For the combination cp. *frag.* 1023 Nauck<sup>2</sup> Αἰθέρα καὶ Παῖαν πάντων γενέτριαν ἀνιδῶ.

<sup>8</sup> Eur. *frag.* 985 Nauck<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Veig. *Aen.* 12. 140 f., Ov. *fast.* 2. 131, Val. Flacc. 2. 117 ff., Sil. It. 15. 363 f., Stat. *Theb.* 5. 177 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 9. 453. 1 Meleagros, Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 267 (*ib.* 312 ἡέρος), 18. 263, Mousaios 8, Loukian. *philopat.* 4, Theod. Prodr. *cp.* 2. 3 (not. et ext. viii. 2 p. 184), Anon. Ambr. 19 (Scholl-Studemund *anecd.* 1. 265), Schol. B. L. *Il.* 15. 610. Cp. Niket. Eug. 5. 108 Boissonade Ζεῦ αἰθερόκρατον.

Ov. *Ibis* 476, Lucan. 5. 96, Stat. *virg.* 3. 1. 108, *Theb.* 1. 704, 11. 207, *Ach.* 2. 53, *Ilias Latina* 536 (Bahrens *Poetae Latini minores* III. 34), Priscian. 1. 126 (Bahrens *op. cit.* v. 269).

<sup>11</sup> Ampel. 9 cited *infra* p. 27 n. 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* II no. 484, 9 f. ὅντα Διὸς | Αἰθερίῳ (2 εἶρα), O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1893 II. 119 f. no. 168.

<sup>13</sup> Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 17 καὶ αἰθριὸς καὶ αἰθέριος.

was a cult-title at Priene in Karia. A small marble altar found there and dating from the first century of our era or later is inscribed :

Διὸς	Of Zeus
Αἰθρίου	<i>Aithrios</i> <sup>1</sup> .

Another altar of similar *provenance*, period, and size is adorned with a bay-wreath, beneath which is the inscription :

Θεμιστοκλῆς	Themistokles
Μενάνδρου	son of Menandros
Διὶ Αἰθρίῳ	to Zeus <i>Aithrios</i>
εὐχῇ	(in fulfilment of) a vow <sup>2</sup> .

(c) Zeus identified with *Aithér* (sometimes with *Aér*)  
in Philosophy and Poetry.

Lying at the back of such usages is the half-forgotten belief that *Aithér*, 'the Burning Sky,' itself is Zeus<sup>3</sup>. Zoism<sup>4</sup> dies hard; and this belief can be traced here and there throughout the whole range of Greek literature. In particular, it has left its impress on philosophy and poetry.

Pherekydes of Syros, one of the earliest writers of Greek prose, has preserved for us some exceedingly primitive notions with regard to Zeus, or *Zds* as he terms him. Of these I shall have more to say: for the moment we are concerned with the tradition that by Zeus Pherekydes understood *aithér*, 'the burning sky,' or *ignis*, 'fire.' He may doubtless have given some such

<sup>1</sup> F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Inscriptionen von Priene* Berlin 1906 no. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* no. 185.

<sup>3</sup> As Zeus Ἀμάρπος presupposed ἀμάρπα = *Zeús*, so Zeus Αἰθέριος presupposes αἰθήρ = *Zeús*. Hes. *theog.* 124 (Cornut. *theol.* 17 p. 28, 6 f. Lang) makes Aither the brother of Hemera, as does Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 9, 2 Schmidt (Dies and Aether), cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 44. Aither and Hemera appear fighting side by side on the frieze of the great Pergamene altar to Zeus: see *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pl. 10, *Pergamon* iii. 2. 31 ff. Atlas pl. 6. In Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53 f. Aether is father of an Arcadian Iupiter, cp. Ampel. 9 Iovis fuere tres. primus in Arcadia, Aetheris filius, cui etiam Aetherius cognomen fuit: hic primum Solem procreavit, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 67 p. 121, 25 f. Wunsch ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑρακλῆϊς γενεσθαι, πρῶτον Διὸς τοῦ Αἰθέρος, *ib.* 4. 71 p. 122, 22 ff. πρὸς Δίᾳ εἶναι βοῶνται, ἕνα μὲν Αἰθέρος, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. Pan was the son of Omoë by Aither (Pind. *ap.* Maxim. Holobol. *in Syntagm.* p. 112 b 15 f. Dübner, Arathos *frag.* 5 *ap.* schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 36 = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 319 Muller: cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1390 n. 5), or of Oineis by Aither (schol. Theokr. 1. 121) or by Zeus (Aristippos *frag.* 2 *ap.* schol. Theokr. 1. 3 and Eudok. *viol.* 747 = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 327 Muller).

<sup>4</sup> By zoism I mean what M. J. S. Stuart-Glennie means by 'zoomism' and Mr R. R. Marett by 'animatism'—the primitive view that things in general, including manimates, possess a mysterious life of their own.

<sup>5</sup> *Heimias irritio gentium philosophorum* 12 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini

interpretation of his own cosmological myth. But the tradition that he actually did so is late, and so mixed up with Stoic phraseology that it would be unsafe to build upon it<sup>1</sup>.

Whatever Thales of Miletos meant by his statements that 'all things are full of gods<sup>2</sup>' and that even inanimates, to judge from the load-stone and amber, have life<sup>3</sup>, it is at least clear that his teaching was in a sense zoistic. It is therefore of interest to find that Herakleitos, the greatest of his followers, uses the expression '*Aithrios* Zeus' as a direct equivalent of 'the Bright Sky.' In a fragment preserved by Strabon he writes:

The limits of Morning and Evening are the Bear.  
and over against the Bear is the boundary of *Aithrios* Zeus<sup>4</sup>.

Nay more, may we not venture to assert that Herakleitos' cardinal doctrine of the universe as an Ever-living Fire<sup>5</sup> is but a refinement upon the primitive conception of Zeus the Burning Sky? For not only does the philosopher speak of his elemental Fire as *Keraunós*, 'the Thunderbolt', a word peculiarly appropriate to Zeus<sup>6</sup>, but he actually applies to it the name *Zén* or Zeus<sup>7</sup>. The author of the pseudo-Hippocratean work *On Diet* borrows both

1879 p. 654. 7 ff. Φερειόδης μὲν ἀρχὰς εἶναι λέγων Ζῆνα καὶ Χθονὴν καὶ Κρόνον· Ζῆνα μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, Χθονὴν δὲ τὴν γῆν, Κρόνον δὲ τὸν χρόνον· ὁ μὲν αἰθὴρ τὸ ποιῶν, ἡ δὲ γῆ τὸ πάσχον, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰ γινόμενα, Probus in Veig. *al.* 6. 31 p. 355 Lion Pherecydes. Ζῆνα, inquit, καὶ Χθόν<α> καὶ Κρόνον, ignem ac terram <ac> tempus significans; et esse aethera, qui regat terram, qua regatur tempus, in quo universa pars moderetur.

<sup>1</sup> This was seen by E. Zeller *op. cit.* 1. 91 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *de anima* 1. 5. 411a 8, Plat. *leg.* 899 B, Diog. Laert. 1. 27, Aet. 1. 7. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert. 1. 24. Aristot. *de anima* 1. 2. 405a 20 f.

<sup>4</sup> Herakl. *ap.* Strab. 3 ἀντίον τῆς ἀρκτοῦ οὐροῦ αἰθρίον Διός = *frag.* 30 Bywater, 120 Diels. On the interpretation of these words consult L. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 n. 46 n. 1, who renders 'the sphere of bright Zeus,' and J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 p. 136 n. 23, who says: 'It seems to me to be simply the clear noon-day sky, put for μεσημβρία.'

<sup>5</sup> Πῦρ αἰεῖσων Herakl. *frag.* 20 Bywater, 30 Diels.

<sup>6</sup> Herakl. *ap.* Hippolyt. *ref. haer.* 9. 10 πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός = *frag.* 28 Bywater, 64 Diels, cp. Kleanth. *h. Zeus* 10 πυρόεντ' αἰεῖζόντα κεραυνόν, Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 6a p. 70 Gomperz κεραυνός· ὄντ' οἰακ· -ίζει.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra* ch. II § 3 (a) 1.

<sup>8</sup> Herakl. *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 404, 1 Stahlin (Euseb. *praep.* 17. 13. 13. 42) ἐν τῷ σοφῶν μοῦνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει Ζηνός ὄνομα = *frag.* 65 Bywater, 32 Diels. Schuster punctuates after μοῦνον (*Rhein. Mus.* 1854 ix. 345), Cron after ἐθέλει (*Philologus* N.F. 1889 i. 208 ff.). Bernays transposes ἐθέλει καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλει (*Rhein. Mus.* 1854 ix. 256 f.). ὄνομα vulg. οὐνόμα Bywater with Euseb. cod. D. οὐνόματι Mullach.

Probably Ζηνός, for Διός, in order to suggest a connexion with ζῆν, 'to live' (*supra* p. 11 n. 5).

That Herakleitos called his first principle Zeus, appears also from Chrysipp. *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 14 p. 81 Gomperz τὸν Πόλεμον καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτον λέγειν, Clem. Al. *prod.* 1. 5 p. 103, 6 Stahlin τοιαύτην τινα παίζειν παιδιάν τὸν αὐτοῦ Δία Ἡράκλειτος λέγει.

the style and the tenets of the enigmatic Herakleitos, when he declares:

All things are the same and not the same :  
light is the same as Zen, darkness as Aides,  
light is the same as Aides, darkness as Zen<sup>1</sup>.

The Stoics, whose physical theories were profoundly influenced by those of Herakleitos, held that matter alone has real existence. But matter is not inert and dead. It can act as well as be acted upon, thanks to a certain tension or elasticity (*tónos*), which is found to a greater or less degree in all matter. This tension is described by a variety of names, among them those of Constructive Fire<sup>2</sup>, *Aithér*<sup>3</sup>, and Zeus<sup>4</sup>. Krates, a distinguished Greek grammarian who was also a Stoic philosopher<sup>5</sup>, held that Aratos of Soloi, who began his astronomical poem the *Phaenomena* with a famous invocation of Zeus, was in reality invoking the sky<sup>6</sup>: he

<sup>1</sup> Hippokr. *de vitu* 1. 5 (vi. 476 Littré=i. 633 Kuhn) πάντα ταῦτα καὶ οὐ τὰ αὐτά· φῶς Ζηνί, σκότος Αἰδῇ, φῶς Αἰδῇ, σκότος Ζηνί.

<sup>2</sup> Πῦρ τεχνικόν Stob. *eccl.* 1. 25. 5 p. 213, 15 ff. Wachsmuth, *ib.* 1. 26. 1<sup>a</sup> p. 219, 12 f. Wachsmuth=Zenon *frag.* 71 Pearson; *ib.* 1. 1. 29<sup>b</sup> p. 37, 20 ff. Wachsmuth, Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14. p. 393, 1 ff. Stahlin, Diog. Laert. 7. 156, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 57 ignem artificiosum, cp. *ib.* 3. 37 naturae artificiose ambulantis, *Acad.* 1. 39 ignem, Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 2 cuius (ignis) instar vult esse naturam Zeno=Zenon *frag.* 46 Pearson.

Again, Zenon spoke of God as the Fiery Mind of the Universe (Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 29<sup>b</sup> p. 35, 9 Wachsmuth) or as Fire (August. *adv. Acad.* 3. 17. 38)=Zenon *frag.* 42 Pearson.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 36 Zeno. aethera deum dicit, *Acad.* 2. 126 Zenoni et reliquis fere Stoicis aether videtur summus deus, Minuc. Fel. 19. 10 Cleanthes modo aethera... deum disseruit. Zenon aethera interm vult omnium esse principium, Tert. *adv. Marcion.* 1. 13 deos pronuntiaverunt ut Zeno aetern et aetherem=Zenon *frag.* 41 Pearson; Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 37 Cleanthes ardorem, qui aether nominatur, certissimum deum iudicat, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 5 Cleanthes et Anaximenes aethera dicunt esse summum deum=Kleanthes *frag.* 15 Pearson; Chrysippos *ap.* Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 39 deum dicit esse aethera. Cp. Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 29<sup>b</sup> p. 38, 2 f. Wachsmuth ἀνωτάτω δὲ πάντων νοῦν ἐναϊθέριον εἶναι θεόν.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 36 neque enim Iovem, neque Iunonem, neque Vestam, neque quemquam, qui ita appellatur, in deorum habet numero (sc. Zeno), sed rebus inanibus atque mutis per quamdam significationem haec docet tributa nomina=Zenon *frag.* 110 Pearson; Minuc. Fel. 19. 10 Zenon interpretando Iunonem aera, Iovem caelum, Neptunum mare, ignem esse Vulcanum et ceteros similiter deos elementa esse monstrando=Zenon *frag.* 111 Pearson; Chrysippos *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εἰσθεσίας* 12=II. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolimi 1879 p. 546 b 24 f. Δία δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα; Diog. Laert. 7. 147 Δία μὲν γὰρ φασὶ δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, ἡ ἡνὰ δὲ καλοῦσι παρ' ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἰτίας ἐστὶν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν. Ἀθηναῖον δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς αἰθέρα διάτασιν, "Ἦραν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἀέρα, καὶ Ἡφαίστον κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ τεχνικὸν πῦρ, κ.τ.λ.; Chrysippos *ap.* Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 26 p. 31, 11 ff. Wachsmuth Ζεὺς μὲν οὖν φαίνεται ὀνόμασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πάσι δεδοκέναι τὸ ζῆν. Δία δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶν αἰτίας καὶ δι' αὐτὸν πάντα; Chrysippos *ap.* Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 40 aethera esse eum, quem homines Iovem appellarent, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Soud. *art. Κράτης* ii. 395 a 14 ff. Bernhardt.

<sup>6</sup> Krates *ap.* schol. Caes. Germ. *Arata* p. 379, 11 ff. Eysenhardt. The same interpretation is put upon the phrase by Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 18. 15, *in somn. Scip.* 1. 17. 14.

added that it was reasonable to invoke the *acr* and *aithér*, since in them were the stars: Homer—he said—had called the sky Zeus<sup>1</sup>, as had Aratos elsewhere<sup>2</sup>; Hesiod<sup>3</sup> and Philemon<sup>4</sup> had used the same word of the *acr*. Other rationalists propounded similar explanations<sup>5</sup>; for allegory is ever popular with those who have outgrown their creeds. Thus what had once been a piece of genuine folk-belief was first taken up into a philosophical system by Herakleitos, then pressed into the service of various Stoic speculations, and finally treated as a commonplace by allegorists and eclectics.

The comedians of course lost no opportunity of deriding such vagaries. Philemon, the first representative of the New Attic Comedy, is known to have penned a play called *The Philosophers* in which he made mock of Zenon the Stoic<sup>6</sup>. When, therefore, we find that the prologue to one of his other comedies was spoken by a personage named *Acér* and identified with Zeus, we may fairly suspect a travesty of Stoic teaching. The personage in question announces himself as follows:

One who knows everybody and everything  
That every one did, does, or ever will do,  
And yet no god, and yet no man, am I.  
Air, if you please, or Zeus if you prefer it<sup>7</sup>  
For, like a god, I'm everywhere at once,  
I'm here in Athens, at Patras, in Sicily,  
In every state and every house, indeed  
In each man Jack of you. Air's everywhere  
And, being everywhere, knows everything<sup>7</sup>!

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* 19. 357.

<sup>2</sup> *Arat. phæn.* 223 f. αὐτὰρ ὁ Ἴππος | ἐν Διὸς εἰλείται, 275 ἦτοι γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ παρατρέχει αἰὼλος Ὀπρις with schol.

<sup>3</sup> *Hes. o.d.* 267, cp. schol. *Arat. phæn.* 1 p. 49, 24 Bekker.

<sup>4</sup> Philemon *frag. metr.* 2. 4 Meineke: *infra* p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.* schol. *Il.* 15. 21 A.D., 188 B. I., *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 22 p. 80, 15 ff. Wunsch, *ib.* 4. 34 p. 91, 18 ff., Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 10. 27. Herakleitos, a late Stoic, in his *quæst. Hom.* pp. 23, 14 ff., 35, 11 ff., 37, 1 f., 38, 1, 52, 19 ff., 57, 16 ff., 60, 7 ff., 62, 3 ff., 64, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. also equates Zeus with αἰθήρ.

A last echo of Herakleitos the Ionian is audible in *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 21 p. 80, 4 τὸν δὲ Δία τὸ πῦρ, Cornut. *theol.* 19 p. 33, 12 ff. Lang ο μὴν γὰρ αἰθήρ καὶ τὸ διανγὲς καὶ καθαρὸν πῦρ Ζεὺς ἐστὶ κ.τ.λ., Tert. *adv. Marcion.* 1. 13 vulgaris superstitio figurans Iovem in substantiam fervidam et Iunonem eius in acriam, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Diog. Laert.* 7. 27, *Clem. Al. Strom.* 2. 20 p. 179, 8 ff. Stahlh., Soud. *s.v.* Ζήνων 1. 726a 10 Bernharly = Philemon *Philosophi frag.* (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 29 f. Meineke).

<sup>7</sup> *Stob. ecl.* 1. 1. 32 p. 39, 9 ff. Wachsmuth, *Vita Arati* n. 438, schol. *Caes. Germ. Aratea* p. 380, 1 ff. Gysenhardt, *et. mag.* p. 389, 38 ff. where Πλάτων is a mistake for Φιλήμων = Philemon *frag. metr.* 2. 4 Meineke.

With this identification of Zeus and Ἄηρ cp. *Krates supra* p. 29, Chrysippos *ap. Philodem.* *περὶ εἰσερχίας* 13 = H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 546 b 36 ff. Δία μὲν εἶναι τὸν περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρα, τὸν δὲ σκοτεινὸν Ἄϊδην, τὸν δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης Ποσειδῶν, *Lyd. de mens.*

Another philosopher, who availed himself of the belief that the fiery sky is Zeus, was Empedokles of Agrigentum. This remarkable thinker recognised four elements or 'roots' of things, viz. Fire, Air, Earth, and Water, particles of which were combined and separated by the moving forces of Friendship and Enmity. In the extant fragments of his poem *On Evolution* he clothes his ideas in mythological language, speaking of the elements as Zeus, Here, Aidoneus, and Nestis respectively, and of the moving forces as Aphrodite (Kypris) and Ares (Eris). Thus he writes:

For first hear thou the four roots of all things:  
Bright Zeus, life-bringing Here, Aidoneus,  
And Nestis, whose tears flow as a fount for men<sup>1</sup>.

The author of the compilation *On the Dogmas of the Philosophers*, a work wrongly ascribed to Plutarch<sup>2</sup>, quotes the second line as commencing with the words 'Zeus *Aithér*' instead of 'Zeus *argís*,' i.e. 'Zeus the Burning Sky' instead of 'Zeus the Brilliant.' But that is perhaps an emendation on the part of a copyist familiar with Stoic phraseology and ignorant of the poet's vocabulary<sup>3</sup>. The word *argís* means 'bright' or 'brilliant' and is used by Homer five times of the thunderbolt hurled by Zeus<sup>4</sup>, once of the shining

4. 176 p. 183, 9 Wunsch Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ ἄηρ κατὰ τοῖς φυσικοῦς λέγεται κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 1. 12 p. 6, 25 Διὸς ἥτοι ἀέρος.

Diogenes of Apollonia, a belated follower of Anaximenes, likewise equated Zeus with Ἄηρ: Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 6<sup>b</sup> = H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 536 b 2 ff. Διογένης ἐπαινεῖ τὸν Ομηρον, ὡς οὐ μυθικῶς ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ διειλεγμένον. τὸν αέρα γὰρ αὐτὸν Δία νομίζειν φησίν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶν εἶδέναι τὸν Δία λέγει.

The same equation is found many centuries later in Tzetz. *all. g.* *Od.* 6. 132 πάντα τὰ δένδρα γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἤγουν ἄηρ ἐκτρέφει, 8 76 Ζεὺς δὲ ἄηρ τις κ.τ.λ.

<sup>1</sup> Empedokl. *frag.* 6 Diels τέσσαρα γὰρ πάντων μῖζώματα πρῶτον ἀνοῦε | Ζεὺς ἀργὴς Ἡρῇ τε Φερέσβιός τε ἠδ' Αἰδωνεύς | Νῆστις θ', ἥ δακρύοις τέγγει κροῖνωμα βρότειον.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1911 ii. 1. 391.

<sup>3</sup> Plout. *de plac. phil.* 1. 3. 20 Ζεὺς αἰθήρ MSS. The passage is cited from Plutarch by Euseb. *fract. ev.* 14. 14. 6, where the MSS. have ἀρης. Heraclitus the Stoic in his exposition of the line (*quæst. Hom.* p. 38, 1 ff. *Soc. Philol. Bonn.*) says Ζῆνα μὲν εἶπε τὸν αἰθέρα. But there is no doubt that ἀργής is the true reading; see H. Diels *Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta* Berolini 1901 p. 108. With the pseudo-Plutarch's comment Δία μὲν γὰρ λέγει τὴν ζέων καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα cp. the erroneous derivation of Ζεὺς from ζέω in *et. mag.* p. 409, 4 ff., *et. Gud.* p. 230, 30. *Clem. Rom. hom.* 4. 24 (ii. 173 Migne), 6. 7 (ii. 201 Migne), Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 6 p. 7 Schwartz and 22 p. 26 Schwartz, *Prob. in Verg. ec.* 6. 31 p. 351, interp. *Seiv. in Verg. Aen.* 1. 47, cp. *Arnob. adv. nat.* 3. 30 flagrantem vi fluminea atque ardoris inextinguibili vastitate, *Lact. div. inst.* 1. 11 a fervore caelestis ignis, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 105 Iovem id est ignem; unde et Ζεὺς (quod est *zeta* sive *calor*) dicitur, *ib.* 3. 3. 1 Iovem id est ignem. Graece Iuppiter Ζεὺς dicitur, quod Latine *calor* sive *zeta* interpretatur, quod videlicet hoc elementum caleat; et quod igni vitali, ut Heraclitus vult, omnia sint animata. See also *supra* p. 30 n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 8. 133, *Od.* 5. 128, 131, 7. 249, 12. 387. Cp. ἀργικέραυνε of Zeus in *Il.* 19. 121, 20. 16, 22. 178.



raiment worn by Helen<sup>1</sup>, and twice in a slightly different form of white glistening fat<sup>2</sup>. From the same root springs the word *argós*, 'bright, glittering, shimmering<sup>3</sup>,'—a fact which raises the question, In what relation did Zeus stand to the various mythical persons named *Árgos*? This complicated problem, which in one shape or another has exercised the minds of mythologists for the last seventy years<sup>4</sup>, has been recently attacked with the utmost care by Dr K. Wernicke<sup>5</sup> and Dr O. Jessen<sup>7</sup>. They arrive at substantially identical results, *viz.* (1) that the numerous personages named *Árgos* are, for the purposes of serious investigation, reducible to two—the eponymous hero of the town Argos and the sleepless watcher of Io; (2) that these two were originally one and the same; and (3) that the ultimate *Árgos* was a sky-god, 'a sort of Zeus' says Dr Wernicke<sup>8</sup>, 'essentially similar to Zeus' as Dr Jessen puts it<sup>9</sup>. If this be so, it is permissible to regard *Árgos* 'the Glittering' as another name of *Zeús* 'the Bright One<sup>10</sup>,' and we obtain confirmation of our view that Empedokles, when he spoke of Fire as Zeus *argós*, Zeus 'the Brilliant,' was utilising a popular and originally zoistic conception of the bright sky-god.

Euripides sometimes identifies Zeus with the burning sky. He says, for example:

But *Aithér* is thy father, maid,  
Whose name on earth is Zeus<sup>11</sup>.

Or again:

Thou seest yon boundless *aithér* overhead  
Clasping the earth in close and soft embrace?  
That deem thou Zen, that reckon thou thy god<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* 3. 419.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* 11. 818, 21. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* p. 49 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 43 f.

<sup>4</sup> Prob. in Verg. *ed.* 6. 31 p. 351 Lion already connects Zeus *áργής* with *Áργος*. See further *infra* ch. 1 § 6 (g) ix.

<sup>5</sup> T. Panofka *Argos Panoptes* Berlin 1838 pp. 1—47 (extr. from the *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1837 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 81—125) was the first to deal in detail with the subject.

<sup>6</sup> In Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 790—798 (1896).

<sup>7</sup> In Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1540—1550 (1902).

<sup>8</sup> Wernicke *loc. cit.* p. 798, 24 f. 'eine Art von Zeus.'

<sup>9</sup> Jessen *loc. cit.* p. 1549, 42 ff. 'ein Gott Argos Panoptes (*Μαας, Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1889, 2, 808), dem Wesen nach nicht verschieden von Zeus Panoptes bzw. Helios Panoptes.'

<sup>10</sup> I called attention to this equation in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 82 n. 3, cp. *ib.* p. 75, and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 265.

<sup>11</sup> Eur. *frag. incert.* 877 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' αἰθήρ τίκτει σε, κόρα, | Ζεὺς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ὀνομάζεται.

<sup>12</sup> Eur. *frag. incert.* 941 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἀπειρον αἰθέρα | καὶ γῆν περὶ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλας; | τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν. Cp. Euripides' prayer to αἰθήρ in Aristoph. *ran.* 892.

It is usual to suppose that in such passages Euripides was writing as a disciple of Anaxagoras. But, though Euripides was certainly influenced by Anaxagoras<sup>1</sup>, and though Anaxagoras in his cosmogony derived the world from the reciprocal action of a rare warm bright dry principle termed *aithér* and a dense cold dark moist principle termed *aēr*<sup>2</sup>, yet inasmuch as the philosopher nowhere calls his *aithér* by the name of Zeus, his influence on the poet is not here to be traced. Nor yet can these Euripidean passages be ascribed to Orphic teaching. For the Orphic Zeus was pantheistic and only identified with *aithér* in the same sense as he is identified with all the other elements of Nature<sup>3</sup>. Thus Aischylos in his *Heliades* writes probably under Orphic influence:

Zeus is the *aithér*, Zeus the earth, and Zeus the sky,  
Zeus the whole world and aught there is above it<sup>4</sup>.

Orphic poems describe *aithér* as the 'unerring kingly ear' of Zeus<sup>5</sup>, or as 'holding the ever tireless might of Zeus' high palace<sup>6</sup>; but a direct identification of Zeus with *aithér* is attributed to Orpheus only by Ioannes Diakonos, a late and untrustworthy author<sup>7</sup>. What then was the source of Euripides' teaching in the matter? Possibly Herakleitos' use of '*Aithrios* Zeus' for 'the Bright Sky'<sup>8</sup>; but possibly also the old zoistic conception that lay at the base of all these philosophical superstructures.

#### (d) Zeus as god of the Blue Sky in Hellenistic Art.

Pompeian wall-paintings have preserved to us certain Hellenistic<sup>9</sup> types of Zeus conceived as god of the blue sky. He is characterised as such by the simplest of means. Either he wears a blue *nimbus* round his head, or he has a blue globe at his feet, or he is wrapped about with a blue mantle.

<sup>1</sup> See P. Decharme 'Euripide et Anaxagore' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 ii. 234 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 354 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Orph. *frag.* 123, 10 ff. Abel πῦρ καὶ ἕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμᾶρ, | πάντα γὰρ ἐν ἱγνὸς μεγάλῳ τάδε σώματι κεῖται.

<sup>4</sup> Aisch. *Heliades frag.* 70 Nauck<sup>2</sup> Ζεὺς ἐστὶν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός, | Ζεὺς τοι τὰ πάντα χῶτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον.

<sup>5</sup> Orph. *frag.* 123, 19 ff. Abel.

<sup>6</sup> Orph. *h. Aith.* 5. 1 Abel.

<sup>7</sup> Io. Diak. in Hes. *theog.* 950 = Orph. *frag.* 161 f. Abel.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 28. For the influence of Herakleitos on Euripides see A. E. Haigh *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks* Oxford 1896 pp. 234, 272.

<sup>9</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 190.

i. *The Blue Nimbus.*

In a painting from the *Casa del naviglio* (pl. i. and Frontispiece)<sup>1</sup>, now unfortunately much faded, a fine triangular composition of Zeus enthroned is seen against a red background. The god's right hand, raised to his head, betokens thoughtful care. His left hand holds a long sceptre. His flowing locks are circled by a blue *nimbus*<sup>2</sup>. Wrapped about his knees is a mantle, which varies in hue from light blue to light violet. His sandalled feet are placed on a footstool, beside which is perched his eagle, heedfully turning its head towards its master. The throne has for arm-rests two small eagles, and is covered with green drapery. Immediately behind it rises a pillar rectangular in section and yellowish grey in colour, the sacred stone of Zeus. We have thus in juxtaposition the earliest and the latest embodiment of the sky-god, the rude aniconic pillar of immemorial sanctity and the fully anthropomorphic figure of the Olympian ruler deep in the meditations of Providence<sup>3</sup>.

The same striking combination occurs on a well-mouth of Luna marble in the Naples Museum (pl. ii.)<sup>4</sup>. Here too we see Zeus seated in a pensive attitude, his right hand supporting his head, his left placed as though it held a sceptre. There is again a pillar

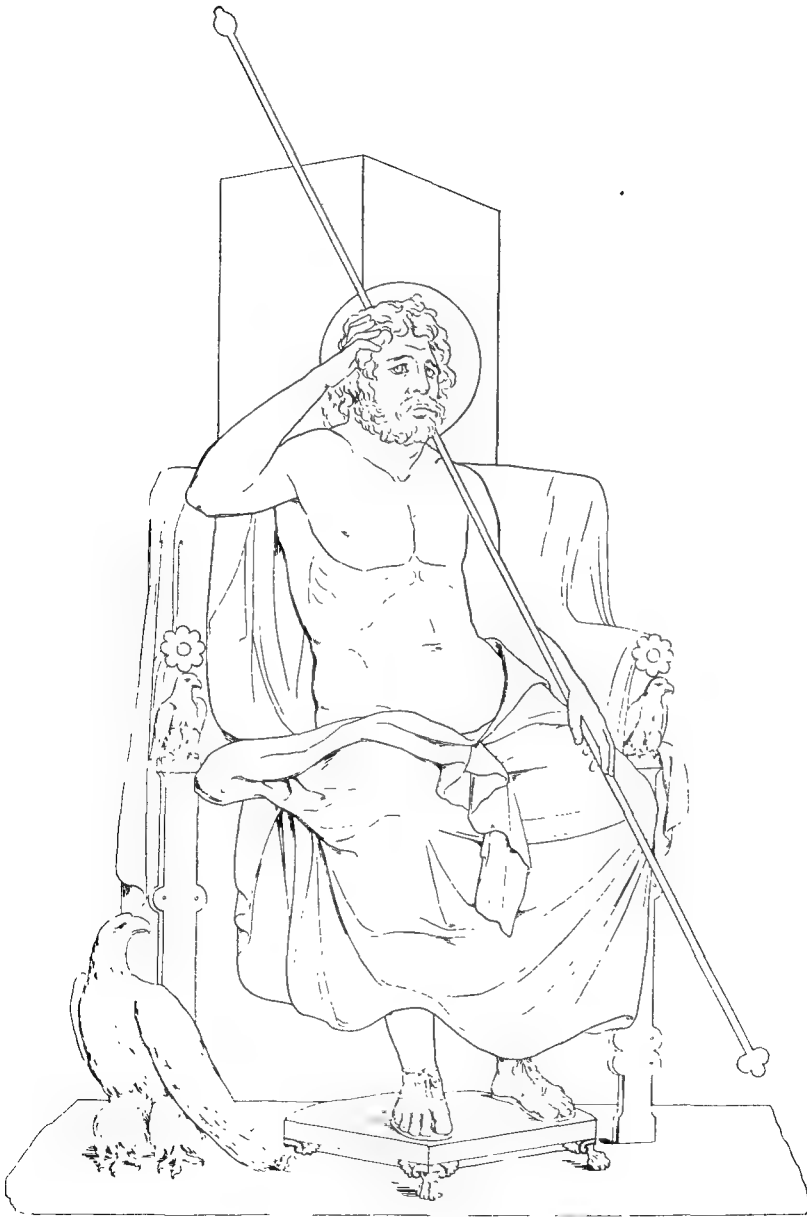
<sup>1</sup> Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 30 f. no. 101. Uncoloured drawings in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1830 vi pl. 52. W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1844 ii pl. 88. E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 pl. 11, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 1, 39, Muller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 48 f. pl. 4, 11 (with the fullest bibliography), *alt.*

My pl. i is a reproduction of Zahn's drawing on a smaller scale. My Frontispiece is a restoration of the painting based, partly on the full notes as to colouring given by Zahn, partly on a study of the much better preserved paintings from the same *atrium* (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 50 no. 175, p. 98 no. 392, cp. p. 47 no. 162), especially of the wonderful enthroned Dionysos (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* col. pl. 1).

<sup>2</sup> L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 13 f. (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg.* vi Serie. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 190 compares the thoughtful attitude of Zeus on the Naples well-mouth (*infra* n. 4) and on a medallion of Lucius Verus (*infra* ch. i § 5 (b)). Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 48 f. objects that in the Pompeian painting the arm of Zeus is not supported on the back of the throne, but raised to his head in a Roman gesture of 'meditative care' (*sinnende Fürsorge*) like that of Securitas on imperial coins (e.g. Muller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 80 pl. 67, 362: hist in Rasche *La v. Num.* viii. 333—402, Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 726—728) or that of Minerva in the pediment of the Capitoline temple (Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 43, 52 pl. 5, 1. Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 3, 20, Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*<sup>2</sup> p. 102 f. figs. 112 f.). For more pronounced, but less dignified, gestures of the sort see C. Sittl *Die Gebarden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 47 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 94 f. no. 289, figured in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 49, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 3, 16. My pl. ii is a drawing from the cast at Cambridge.



Zeus in a wall-painting from the *Casa del Naviglio*.

*See page 34 ff.*

(

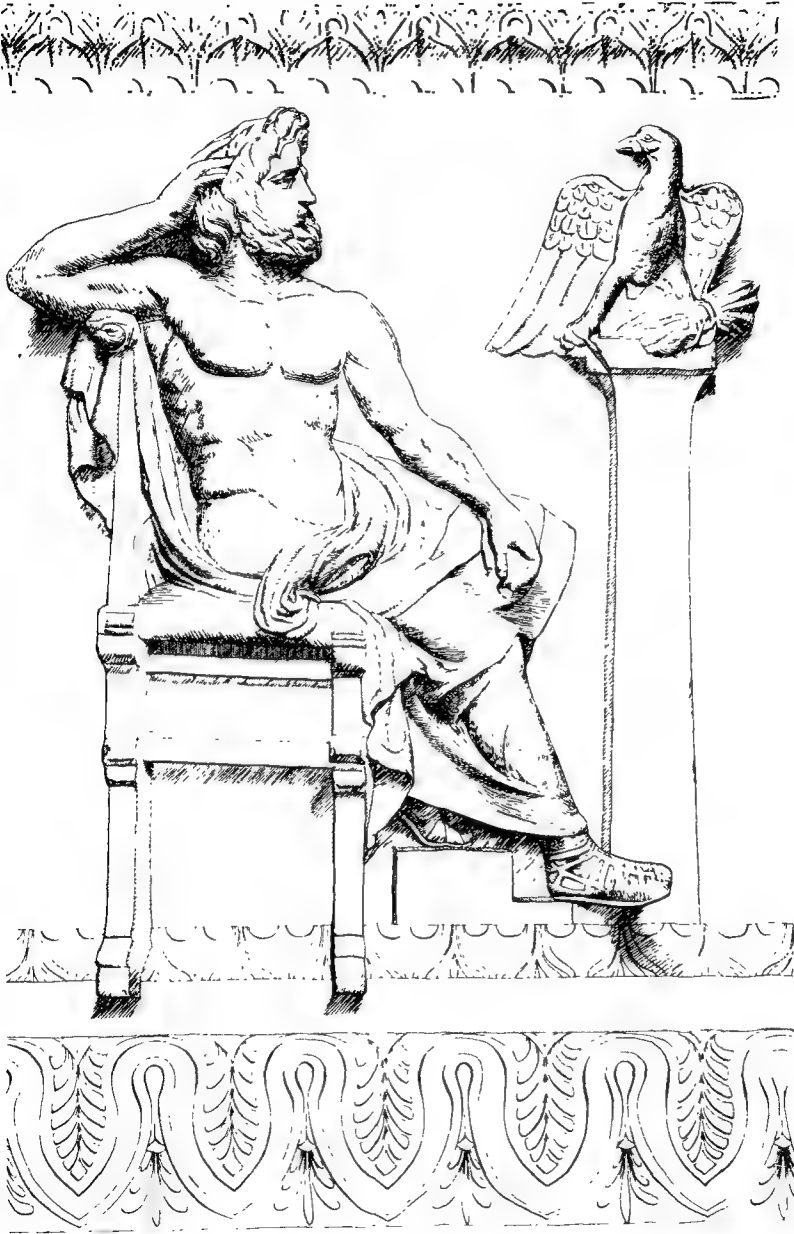
—

—

—

—

—



Zeus on a well-mouth at Naples.

*See page 34 ff.*



beside him: on it rests his eagle, the lightning-bearer, turning towards him and spreading its wings for instant flight.

Both designs are clearly variations (the one chromatic, the other plastic) of a common original by some sculptor of repute, who—to judge from the abundant but not as yet exaggerated locks of the god, his earnest deep-set eyes, his broad athletic shoulders, the naturalistic gesture of his right hand, and the multifacial character of the whole work—may well have been Lysippos. The Italian *provenance* of the wall-painting and the well-mouth suggest that this Lysippean masterpiece was executed for some city in Italy. Our only further clue is the presence of the pillar as an essential feature of the composition. Now pillar-cults of Zeus lasting on into the classical period are of extreme rarity. There was, however, one such cult, of which I shall have more to say<sup>1</sup>, at Tarentum in south Italy. If it could be shown that Lysippos made an image of the Tarentine pillar-Zeus, it would be reasonable to regard that image as the prototype of our later figures. At this point Pliny may be brought forward as a witness. *A propos* of colossal statues he says: 'Yet another is that at Tarentum, made by Lysippos, forty cubits in height. It is noteworthy because the weight is so nicely balanced that, though it can be moved by the hand—so they state—, yet it is not overthrown by any gale. The artist himself is said to have provided against this by placing a pillar a little way off on the side where it was most necessary to break the violence of the wind.'<sup>2</sup> Lucilius<sup>3</sup> and Strabon<sup>4</sup> mention that the statue in question represented Zeus and was set in a large open market-place. Whether it was seated we are not definitely told and cannot certainly infer<sup>5</sup>. On the one hand, its great height and carefully calculated balance suggest a standing figure (cp. fig. 8)<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, Lysippos'



Fig. 8.

<sup>1</sup> *Infia* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ).

<sup>2</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 40 talis et Tarenti factus a Lysippo, XL cubitorum. mirum in eo quod manu, ut ferunt, mobilis ea ratio libramenti est, ut nullis convellatur procellis. id quidem providisse et artifex dicitur modico intervallo, unde maxime flatum opus erat frangi, opposita columna.

<sup>3</sup> Lucil. *frag.* 380 Baehrens *ap.* Non. Marc. *s.v.* 'cubitus' p. 296, 14 ff. Lindsay Lysippi Iuppiter ista | transibit quadraginta cubita altu' Tarento.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. 278 ἔχει δὲ (sc. Tarentum) γυμνάσιόν τε κάλλιστον καὶ ἀγορὰν εὐμεγέθη, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἵδρυται κολοσσὸς χαλκοῦς, μέγιστος μετὰ τὸν Ῥοδίων.

<sup>5</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Muller-Wieseler-Weincke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 58 pl. 5, 11, a brown paste of late Roman work at Berlin (Furtwangler *Geschm. Steine Berlin* p. 122 no. 2642 pl. 24) shows Zeus leaning his left arm on a pillar and holding a *phidn* in his right hand. Upon



intention may well have been to eclipse the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias by a seated colossus of yet vaster bulk. Moreover, both Strabon<sup>1</sup> and Pliny<sup>2</sup> speak in the next breath of another colossal bronze made by Lysippos for the Tarentines: this represented Herakles without weapons, seated and resting his head on his left hand<sup>3</sup>—a fitting pendant to a Zeus in the Pompeian pose. Pliny's curious remark about the weight being moveable by hand might refer to some accessory such as the eagle of Zeus<sup>4</sup>; and his idea that the pillar set up beside the statue was intended to break the force of the wind is due to an obvious misunderstanding of the sacred stone. In short, the evidence that our painting and bas-relief presuppose Lysippos' famous work, though not conclusive, is fairly strong.

In this connexion it should be observed that Apulian vases—Tarentine vases, as Prof. Furtwangler called them on the ground that they were much used, if not manufactured, at Tarentum<sup>5</sup>,—more than once represent an ancient cult of Zeus by means of a simple pillar closely resembling that of the Pompeian painting or that of the Neapolitan relief. Thus a vase in the Louvre (fig. 9)<sup>6</sup> depicts Hippodameia offering a *phiale* to her father Oinomaos, who is about to pour a libation over a primitive squared pillar before starting on the fateful race with Pelops. An *amphora* from Ruvo, now in the British Museum (pl. iii.)<sup>7</sup>, has the same scene with

the pillar as perched his eagle. In the field to right and left of his head are a star (sun?) and a crescent moon. The god is flanked by two smaller figures of the Dioskouroi, each with lance in hand and star on head. This design probably represents a definite cult-group *e.g.* at Tarentum, where the worship of the pillar-Zeus may have been combined with that of the Dioskouroi. If Lysippos' colossal Zeus (*supra* p. 35) was a standing, not a seated, figure, the Berlin paste perhaps gives us some idea of it.

<sup>1</sup> Strab. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Niketas Choniates *de signis Constantinopolitanis* § p. 859 f. Bekker. The type is reproduced on an ivory casket (s. ix—x) see A. Furtwangler in the *Sitzungsber. d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1902 pp. 435—442. O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 pp. 122, 216.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. what he says about the stag of Kanachos' Apollon in *nat. hist.* 34. 75.

<sup>5</sup> Furtwangler *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpt.* p. 109 f. Furtwangler-Reichhold *Griech. Vasemalerei* i. 47, n. 107 (giving both appellations), 139 (reverting to the older nomenclature). See further H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 486.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xl. 44 f. pl. 54, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 164 f. no. F 331, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1840 xii. 171 ff. pls. N, O, *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xl. 42 ff. pl. 54, 1, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 271 f. fig. 1. These illustrations being inexact, I have had a fresh drawing made. My friend Mr H. B. Walters in a letter dated May 15, 1911 writes—'The following parts of the principal subject are restored. *Oinomaos* from waist to knees and left side of chlamys. *Myrtilos* all except head and shoulders, right hand and part of left arm. *Aphrodite* lower part of right leg and knee with drapery. There are also bits of restored paint along the lines of fracture. All the rest is quite trustworthy, except that I am a little bit doubtful about the ΔΙΟΣ inscription. The Δ is certainly genuine, but the other letters look suspicious, especially the Σ.'





Pillar-cult of Zeus on an *amphora* from Ruvo.

See page 36 ff.



further details and names. In the centre a four-sided pillar with splayed foot and moulded top bears the inscription *Diōs*, '(the pillar) of Zeus<sup>1</sup>.' It rises above, and probably out of, an altar,



Fig. 9.

over which Oinomaos, faced by Pelops, is in act to pour his libation. The king is flanked by Myrtilos, his faithless charioteer; the claimant, by Hippodameia, whom an older woman—possibly

<sup>1</sup> ΔΙΟΣ here is commonly supposed to mean '(the altar) of Zeus.' Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 5 f. fig. 1 objects that in this case the word would have been written on the blank side of the altar, and prefers to supply Διὸς (ἀγάλμα or ἕδος). If, however, the pillar actually rises out of the altar (as does the female heim on the Dareios-vase; Furtwangler-Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 148 pl. 88), the distinction ceases to be important, the altar is virtually the base of the pillar.

An interesting parallel is furnished by a series of bronze weights found at Olympia—the very spot represented on the vase (*Olympia* v. 801–824). They are shaped like an altar of one, two, three, or four steps, and are regularly inscribed ΔΙΟΣ, sometimes ΔΙΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝ, or with the addition of a cult-title ΔΙΟΡ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩ, ΔΙΟΡ ΟΛΥΝΠΙΩ, ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΛ(αἰκίου? Miss J. E. Harrison), ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΛ(θέου? cp. Paus. 5. 10. 7. H. B. Walters in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 361 no. 3008, followed by E. Michon in *Daremberg-Saglio Dict. Ant.* iv. 552 n. 50, suggests Κλαπίου). Some of them are further decorated with a thunderbolt, or with an eagle attacking a snake. If these weights really represent an altar and not merely—as is possible—a pile of smaller weights, that altar was presumably the great altar of Zeus, which is known to have been a stepped structure formed from the ashes of the thighs of the victims sacrificed to Zeus (Paus. 5. 13. 8 ff.). Fig. 10 is a specimen inscribed ΔΙΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 49 no. 327).

Copper coins of Nikaia in Bithynia, struck under Domitian, show a flaming rectangular altar inscribed ΔΙΟΙ | ΑΓΟΡΑΙΟΥ (Morell *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 483 f.

The Blue *Nimbus*

her mother<sup>1</sup>—leads forward by the wrist. Aphrodite and Eros appropriately complete the group. On the wall in the background hangs a white *pilos* with a sword, and to either side of it two human heads—one that of a young man named *Pelágon*<sup>2</sup> wearing a Phrygian cap with lappets, the other that of a youth called *Periphas*; these are the heads of former suitors vanquished and slain by Oinomaos.

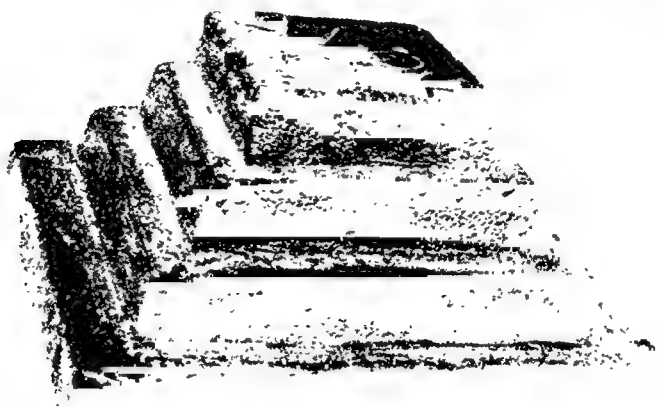


Fig. 10.

Other vases, which repeat the scene with variations, show a more developed form of the pillar-Zeus. A *kratér* with medallion handles from Apulia, likewise in the British Museum (pl. iv, 1)<sup>3</sup>, again illustrates the compact of Oinomaos with Pelops before the altar of Zeus. Here too the central figures are flanked by Myrtilos and Hippodameia<sup>4</sup>; the former bears armour, the latter a bridal torch. iii. pl. 21, 21, cp. ii. 502 in. pl. 26, 26; Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As.* *Mon.* i. 406 pl. 67, 16). Others, struck under Trajan, have a large altar ready laid with wood: there is a door in the front of the altar and beneath it the word ΔΙΟC (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 247). Others again, under Antoninus Pius, have a flaming altar inscribed ΔΙΟC with ΑΙΤΑΙΟΥ in the exergue (Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *op. cit.* i. 407 pl. 68, 3).

Early altars were often inscribed with the name of the deity in the genitive case (E. Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enz.* i. 1681).  
<sup>1</sup> Not Peitho, as I suggested in *Class. Rev.* 1903 vii. 272 (following P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 776), for she is white-haired. H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 132 ff. no. F 278, *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1858 vi. 145 ff. pls. 8-10, *Class. Rev.* 1903 vii. 272 fig. 2. My pl. iv, 1 and 2, are from a fresh drawing of the vase.  
<sup>2</sup> Paus. 6. 21. 11.  
<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 132 ff. no. F 278, *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1858 vi. 145 ff. pls. 8-10, *Class. Rev.* 1903 vii. 272 fig. 2. My pl. iv, 1 and 2, are from a fresh drawing of the vase.  
<sup>4</sup> Not Aphrodite, as S. Reinach supposes (*Riv. Vases* i. 495).





1. Pillar-cult of Zeus on a *krater* from Apulia (obverse).

See page 38 f.



2. Pillar-cult of Zeus on a *krater* from Apulia (reverse).

See page 39 n. 2.







Pillar-cult of Zeus on a *krutis* from Lecce (the 'Cawdor vase').

See page 39.

Herakles is present as founder of the Olympic games. The *Áltis* or 'Grove' is indicated by a couple of tree-stumps to right and left, while the two doves hovering above them are probably the equivalent of Aphrodite and Eros in the last design<sup>1</sup>. It will be noticed that the four-sided pillar with its altar-base is now topped by a statue of Zeus, who stands clad in *chiton* and *himation*, his left hand leaning on a sceptre, his right raised as if to hurl a bolt<sup>2</sup>. A second *kratér* of the same sort, found in 1790 near Lecce and known as the 'Cawdor vase' because purchased for a thousand guineas by Lord Cawdor, is now in the Soane Museum at 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields. It exhibits a somewhat later moment—the sacrifice by Oinomaos (pl. v)<sup>3</sup>. Pelops and Hippodameia have started. But the king still stands at the altar, holding a *phiale*, a wreath and a flower in his right hand, a spear in his left, while a youth (Myrtilos?) brings up a ram for the sacrifice. On the right of this group sits a retainer with armour; on the left a female figure wearing diadem, ear-ring, and necklace (Sterope?) approaches with a basket, a fillet, and three *epichýseis*. The altar is horned, and above it rises a pillar with moulded top, on which is placed a small undraped image of Zeus advancing with uplifted bolt. Between Zeus and Oinomaos a small prophylactic wheel is seen suspended<sup>4</sup>.

Similarly on a Campanian *amphora* from Capua, now at Dresden, Orestes stabs Aigisthos in the presence of Elektra (fig. 11)<sup>5</sup>. Aigisthos has apparently fled for refuge to an altar-base of Zeus<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> In *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 272 I accepted Minervini's contention (*Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1858 vi. 148 f.) that these doves should be identified with those of the Dodonaean Zeus, who spoke his oracles *δισσω ἐκ πελειάδων* (Soph. *Trach.* 172 with schol. *ad loc.*). But, though Aphrodite's doves are ultimately comparable with those of Zeus, we must not suppose any such recondite significance here.

<sup>2</sup> The opposite side of the same vase, which depicts the capture of Troy, shows *inter alia* Neoptolemos stabbing Priamos as he clings to a very similar pillar-altar of Zeus (pl. iv, 2): *infra* n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Passeri *Picturae Etruscorum in Vasculis* Rome 1775 iii pl. 282 ff., H. Moses *A Collection of Vases*, London 1814 pl. 23, J. Britton *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* London 1827 p. 51 Title-page fig. 1. 6, *A general description of Sir John Soane's Museum* London 1876 p. 5 fig., T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1853 Phil.-hist. Classe pls. 1, 2 no. 5, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St Pétr.* 1863 p. 268 n. 1, 1868 p. 169, A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1864 xvii Anz. p. 165\*, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 6, 208 f., 602, A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 481.

My illustration of the top register (7½ inches high) was drawn over photographic blue-prints taken by Mr W. E. Gray of Bayswater.

<sup>4</sup> On these prophylactic wheels see *infra* ch. 1 § 6 (d) 1 (e).

<sup>5</sup> G. Treu in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 90, O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 969.

<sup>6</sup> The scene as conceived by the vase-painter differs from the literary tradition (cp.

whose archaic statue holding thunderbolt and eagle surmounts a pillar on the right<sup>1</sup>. Before it upon the wall hangs a shield.



Fig. 11.

These vases prove that the pillar-cult of Zeus as conceived in south Italy passed from the aniconic to the iconic stage without discarding the primitive pillar. They thus afford a fair parallel to the painting from Pompeii, though there we have Zeus *by* the pillar and here Zeus *on* the pillar.

It remains to speak of the blue *nimbus*. Despite the express denial of L. Stephani<sup>2</sup>, there is something to be urged for the view put forward by E. G. Schulz, that painters varied the colour of the *nimbus* in accordance with the character of the god they portrayed, and that a blue *nimbus* in particular suited Zeus as representative of the *aithér*<sup>3</sup>. It is—I would rather say—a naive device for depicting Zeus as a dweller in the blue sky, and is therefore no less suitable to other denizens of Olympos<sup>4</sup>.

Christian art retained the symbol with a like significance. A fourth century painting from the top of an *arcosolium* in the Roman Catacombs

shows Elias ascending to heaven in his chariot of fire. The saint

however (Lur. *El.* 839 ff.), it was perhaps inspired by the death of Priamos at the altar of Zeus *Herkeios* (*supra* p. 39 n. 2).

<sup>1</sup> A milder type of pillar-Zeus, with *phallós* in right hand and sceptre in left, occurs on a *kratér* from Gnathia, now at Bonn (*infra* ch. i § 6 (d) 1 (5)).

<sup>2</sup> L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz*. St Petersburg 1859 p. 96 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, VI Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 456).

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. d. Ind.* 1841 p. 103 'Tra le altre divinità e specialmente il Giove quasi sempre fregiato di quest' ornamento, al quale come ad una divinità universale e rappresentante l' etere viene per lo più attribuito il nimbo azzurro. Così lo vediamo tra altri esempj in un dipinto del Museo Etrusco ed in un altro esistente nel cavedio della casa delle Baccanti,' with n. 'Mus. Etrus. VI, 1 52.'

On the meaning of gold, silver, red, green, and black *nimbi* in later art see Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 91 f.

<sup>4</sup> Blue *nimbi* are attached to the following deities: Aphrodite (Hellag *Wandgem.* *Camp.* nos. 118<sup>2</sup>, 291, 317), Apollon (Hellag nos. 189<sup>2</sup>, 232, 4, *Sogghino Pitt. mur.*

has a blue *nimbus* about his beardless head and obviously perpetuates the type of Helios<sup>1</sup>. An interesting miniature on linen of about the same date comes from a priestly mitre found at Panopolis (*Achmim*). On it we see Christ as a youthful brown-haired figure, standing in a blue robe trimmed with carmine and holding a cross in his right hand: he too has a blue *nimbus* round his head<sup>2</sup>. A *clavus* of polychrome wool-work, found on the same site but in a Byzantine grave of the sixth century or thereabout, represents a white-robed saint between two trees: his left hand holds a staff, and his head is circled by a blue *nimbus*<sup>3</sup>. The magnificent mosaic on the triumphal arch of S. Paolo fuori le mura at Rome, which was designed in the middle of the fifth century but has undergone substantial restorations, culminates in the bust of Our Lord wearing a golden radiate *nimbus* rimmed with dark blue<sup>4</sup>.

## ii. *The Blue Globe.*

The blue *nimbus* marked Zeus as a dweller in the blue sky. More intimate is the connexion denoted by another symbol in the repertory of the Pompeian artist, the blue *orbis*<sup>5</sup> or globe.

*Comp.* no. 164?), Demeter (Hellag no. 176 'blaulich'), Dionysos (Hellag no. 388), Helios (Soghano no. 164<sup>2</sup>), Hypnos (Hellag no. 974 'blaulich, zackig'), Kirke (Hellag no. 1329), Leda (Hellag no. 143), Selene (Soghano no. 457 'azzurgnolo'), young god with white or golden star above him (Hellag nos. 964, 971), young radiate god (Hellag no. 969, Soghano no. 458, cp. Hellag no. 965 youth with blue radiate crown and white star above), mountain-nymphs (Hellag no. 971), wood-nymph (Soghano no. 119), radiate female figure with bat's wings (Soghano no. 499) or bird's wings (Soghano no. 500). See also Stephani *op. cit.* pp. 19, 22, 23, 47, 49, 65.

<sup>1</sup> J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 160, 2, *infra* ch. i § 5 (f).

<sup>2</sup> Forrer *Reallex.* p. 485 fig. 401.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 939 pl. 292, 1.

<sup>4</sup> G. B. de Rossi *Musaei cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma antiche al secolo vi* Roma 1899 pl. 13, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 n. 328 pl. 3 (after de Rossi), W. Lowie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1921 p. 311. On the blue *nimbus* in Christian art see further O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 682.

<sup>5</sup> The word is found in the description of a silver statue of Iupiter Victor, which stood on the Capitol of Cirta. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 6981 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4921<sup>1</sup> (Wilmanns *Ev. inscr. Lat.* no. 2736) SYNOPSIS | IOVIS • VICTOR • ARGENTEA • IN KAPITOLIO • HABENS • IN • CAPIT • CO • RONAM • ARGENTIAM • QUERQUEM | FOLIOR • XXV • IN QVA • GLANDES • S • XX • FE RLNS • IN MANV • DEXTRA • ORBEM • ARGENTIVM • ET VICTORIA • PALMAM • TERENTEM | [*spharai*?] • XX • ET • CORONAM • FOLIOR • XXX • <sup>1</sup> [*in manu*] SINISTRA • HASTAM • ARG • TENENS . . Cp., however, Amm. Marc. 21. 14. 1 *sphaeram* quam ipse (sc. Constantius II) dextera manu gestabat, 25. 10. 2 Maximiani statua Caesaris amisit repente *sphaeram* aeream formatam in speciem poli quam gestabat. Soud. s.v. *Ἰουστρινανός* also uses the term *σφαίρα* (*infra* p. 52 n. 4).

This occurs in a painting from the *Casa dei Dioscuri* (pl. vi)<sup>1</sup>. Against a red ground we see Zeus seated on a throne, which is draped in shimmering blue. Its arm-rests, of which one is visible, are supported by carved eagles. A violet-blue mantle with gold-embroidered border covers the lower part of his figure. The right hand resting on his knee holds a thunderbolt; the left is raised and leans on a sceptre banded with gold. Before him is his eagle looking up to him in an attitude of attention. Behind hovers Nike in a light violet *chiton*, with a green veil over her left arm, placing a golden bay-wreath on the head of the god. Beside him is a blue globe on a square base.

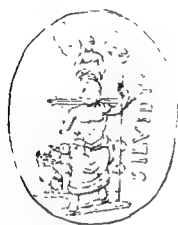


Fig. 12.

An engraved chalcedony of imperial date, now in the Berlin collection (fig. 12)<sup>2</sup>, repeats the *motif* with slight variations. The right foot, not the left, is advanced, and the globe is omitted, perhaps to leave room for the inscription.

With regard to this interesting composition two questions may be mooted. What were its antecedents? And what were its consequents?

The facing type is certainly suggestive of a cult-statue; and we observe, to begin with, that our figure bears a more than superficial resemblance to the Iupiter *Capitolinus* of Apollonios, a chryselephantine copy of Pheidias' Zeus made for the temple dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus in 69 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The main features of Apollonios' Iupiter were recovered by A. Michaelis from a torso at Naples and from sundry early drawings by Heemskerck, Giuliano da Sangallo, and dal Pozzo<sup>4</sup>. The right hand probably held a sceptre, but not high enough for the upper arm to assume a horizontal position. The left hand was lowered and probably grasped a thunderbolt. The right foot was thrust forward till it projected horizontally beyond the footstool of the

<sup>1</sup> Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 31 no. 102, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 346 no. 1461, W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente* etc. iii pl. 14 (coloured, but including Zahn's restoration of the head and wings of Nike), V. Duruy *History of Rome* English ed. London 1884 ii pl. 10 (coloured). Uncoloured drawings in the *Real Museo Borboneo Napoli* 1835 vi pl. 39, E. Braun *Vorshub der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 pl. 14, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus Atlas pl. 1, 40 (after Braun).

My pl. vi is a reduced copy of Zahn's colour-plate with a fresh restoration of Nike's head and wings.

<sup>2</sup> Furtwangler *Geschicht. Steine Berlin* p. 108 f. no. 2306 pl. 21, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 49 pl. 4, 12.

<sup>3</sup> H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2, 25 n. 24, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom* München 1901 p. 125, Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1534, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 61 f., *id. Gr. Plastik* ii. 431.

<sup>4</sup> A. Michaelis in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 192 ff.



Zeus in a wall-painting from the *Casa dei Dioscuri*.

See page 42 ff.







*Zeus enthroned on the ara Capitolina.*

*See page 43.*



throne. The left foot was drawn back till it rested only on its toes. The *himation* covered the top half of the god's left arm, and the end of it hung down between his knees. Now all, or almost all, these traits are to be found in an extant relief, the consideration of which would have materially strengthened Michaelis' case—I mean the principal face of the so-called *ara Capitolina*. This beautiful monument represents on its four sides scenes from the life of Zeus, and has by way of climax Zeus enthroned among the other denizens of Olympos (pl. vii)<sup>1</sup>. The form of the god is precisely that described by Michaelis, except for the unimportant circumstance that the sculptor has here chosen to bring forward the left rather than the right foot. The comparatively low position of the arm holding the sceptre, the somewhat unusual arrangement of a thunderbolt grasped by the left hand, the feet thrust forward and drawn back respectively, the *himation* swathing the whole of the upper arm—all these characteristics are present, together with a head of would-be fifth-century type admirably suited to a copy of the Olympian Zeus<sup>2</sup>. I take it, therefore, that the seated Zeus of the *ara Capitolina* is on the whole our best evidence for the aspect of Apollonios' Jupiter *Capitolinus*<sup>3</sup>. If this be so, it becomes probable that the latter, like the former, had a large globe placed on the left hand side of his throne.

Next we have to compare the type of Zeus attested by the Pompeian wall-painting and the intaglio at Berlin with that of Jupiter *Capitolinus* thus determined. The two types have undoubtedly much in common. Both show a seated Zeus half-draped in a *himation*, holding a sceptre in his raised, a thunderbolt in his lowered hand. The pose of the feet and legs is similar, not to say identical; and the Pompeian Zeus at least agrees with the

<sup>1</sup> Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rom.* i. 379 f. no. 515, Friederichs-Wolters *Gipsabguss* p. 815 f. no. 2142, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 170, 175 ff., Hera pp. 129, 137 ff., Atlas pl. 1, 49 (Zeus only), E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 pl. 5, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 2139 fig. 2397.

<sup>2</sup> The substitution of a fillet for a wreath is noteworthy, since Petillius Capitolinus was accused of carrying off the wreath of Jupiter *Capitolinus* (Acron and Porphyryon *ad Hor. sat.* i. 4. 94). This accusation was a time-honoured joke (Plaut. *Mun.* 941, *Trin.* 83 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> The colossal statue of Nerva seated as Jupiter in the Rotunda of the Vatican (Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rom.* i. 217 no. 303) looks like an adaptation of the same type, as Miss M. M. Hardie of Newnham College pointed out to me. But both arms with the mantle covering the left shoulder are restorations by Cavaceppi, and the lower half belongs to another seated male figure. A similar adaptation of the type may be seen in the Berlin 'Trajan' (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 144 no. 354), a seated emperor of the first century A.D. (head not belonging; arms, feet, etc. much restored). Cp. also the Augustus of Ankyra (*Gaz. Arch.* 1881–1882 vii. 73 ff. pl. 13).

the gable of which supports a solar chariot. Iupiter again holds a sceptre in his left hand, a globe in his right (fig. 15)<sup>1</sup>. It seems likely that in the Capitoline temple at Rome Victory still held her wreath over the head of the god; for not only do coins of Antoninus Pius and others show the emperor seated on a curule chair with a globe in one hand and a sceptre in the other<sup>2</sup>, but such coins sometimes add a Victory hovering behind him with a wreath in her outstretched hand (fig. 16)<sup>3</sup>. Gold coins of the later Roman emperors frequently exhibit a design of kindred origin. For example, Valentinianus i and his son sit side by side holding a starry globe between them, while Victory with spread wings is seen in the background behind their throne (fig. 17)<sup>4</sup>.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.

These representations imply on the one hand that the emperor has stepped into the shoes of Iupiter, on the other hand that his duties descend in unbroken succession from occupant to occupant of the imperial seat. Both conceptions could be further illustrated from Roman coinage. Frequently from the time of Commodus to that of Diocletian we find Iupiter delegating the globe to his human representative (fig. 18)<sup>5</sup>. Sometimes, as in the case of

<sup>1</sup> H. Norisius *Chronologia (Opera omnia - tomus secundus)* Veronae 1729 p. 338 fig., Eckhel *Dotr. num.* vol. 2 m. 329, Rasche *Lex. Num.* n. 341, Suppl. v. 1626. The specimen here figured after Norisius is a copper coin of Alexander Severus inscribed ΚΑΠΙΤΩ(ΛΙΕΩΝ) ΙΕΡ(ās) ΑΥ(τοῦ) ΑΥ(τοῦ) ΜΟΥ) ΗΡ (= the date, reckoned from 97/98 A.D.). The British Museum possesses a very similar specimen, but in poor preservation.

<sup>2</sup> K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribut des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Rasche *Lex. Num.* n. 1300. The illustration is from a first brass of Antoninus Pius in my collection — TR P P XV COS IIII and S C.

<sup>4</sup> From a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. See Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.* 2 viii. 93 no. 43, Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 867. VICTORIA AVE. and TR • OB •

<sup>5</sup> Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 1464, Sittl *op. cit.* p. 49. The illustration is from a coin of Probus in my collection. IOVI CONSERVATI(ori) and VXXVI.

Trajan and Hadrian, it is the emperor who passes on the symbol to his successor (fig. 19)<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.

Yet another modification of the same cult-statue produced the type of Jupiter enthroned with his left foot planted on the globe. This may be seen from sundry late sarcophagus-reliefs supposed to portray the birth of Apollon<sup>2</sup>. The best-preserved of them is that of a sarcophagus-lid in the Villa Borghese. The central scene (fig. 20)<sup>3</sup>, with which alone we are here concerned, shows Jupiter enthroned in heaven. Once more he sits facing us, with a sceptre in his raised left and a thunderbolt in his lowered right hand<sup>4</sup>. But this time the globe is transferred from his left side to a new position beneath his left foot. On either side of him are a boy and a girl interpreted as the youthful Apollon and Artemis<sup>5</sup>. They in turn are flanked by Iuno with her sceptre and Minerva with her helmet and spear. In short, we have before us the heavenly region represented by the three Capitoline deities and their new *protégés*.

That the Jupiter of this relief is in truth only a variation of the Vespasianic type, appears from a curious circumstance noted by

<sup>1</sup> Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 15, 1464, Sittl *op. cit.* p. 49. The illustration is from a coin of Hadrian in my collection. DAC • PARTHIC [O P • M • TR • P] • COS P P and S • C.

<sup>2</sup> Raoul Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 401 ff. pl. 74, 1 and 2 (birth and death of an Eleusian mystic), H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 21 f. pl. 16, 1—4 (the story of Eros and Psyche), C. Robert in *Hermes* 1887 xvii. 460—464, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v. 220 n. 6, *id.* *Sark.-Relfs.* iii. 1. 39 ff. pl. 6—7, 33, 33<sup>a</sup> (scenes relating to the birth of Apollon). Robert's view is accepted by Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 145 f. no. 921 and, in part at least, by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 368—370 Atlas pl. 3, 18, K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 108, B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1975 f. H. Steuding *ib.* ii. 2091, 2118.

<sup>3</sup> Redrawn from *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii pl. 16, 3 with the help of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Atlas pl. 3, 18. The lines of restoration are taken from Eichler's drawing in C. Robert *Sark.-Relfs.* iii. 1. 40 fig. 33.

<sup>4</sup> The thunderbolt is due to the restorer (Robert *op. cit.* iii. 1. 41), but is probably correct.

<sup>5</sup> Large parts of the Artemis are modern, viz. the head, the left fore-arm with its paws, the right fore-arm, the left leg, and the right foot.

Zoega. He states that on the background (between the head of the supposed Artemis and that of Iupiter) were still to be seen the

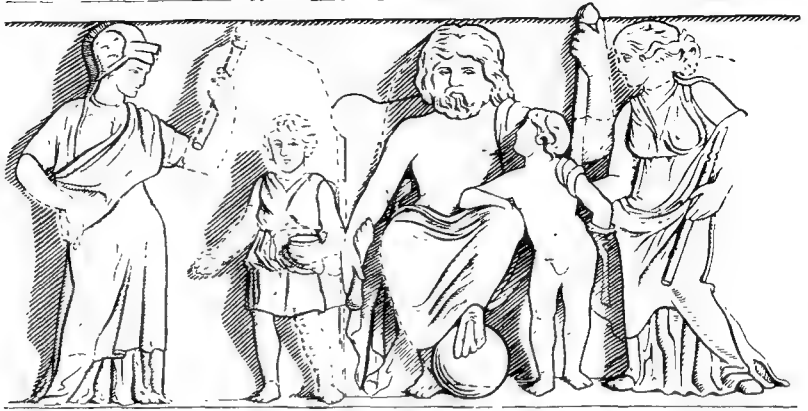


Fig. 20.

shoulder and bare right arm of some formerly existing figure<sup>1</sup>. These were subsequently chipped away by the zealous restorer. But



Fig. 21.

very fortunately the missing figure can be determined by means of a *replica* in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 21)<sup>2</sup>, which exhibits Victory

<sup>1</sup> Robert *op. cit.* m. 1. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* p. 401 ff. pl. 74, 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 172, Hera p. 131 Atlas pl. 10. 23. A drawing by Eichler is given in Robert *op. cit.* m. 1. 42.

holding a shield above Iupiter and the globe—later transformed into a vase—resting on a high base to the left of Iuno<sup>1</sup>. It would thus seem that the Iupiter *Capitolinus* of the Borghese relief presupposes a statue with Victory behind and a pedestalled globe at its side. That *Vorbild* can hardly have been other than the cult-image of Vespasian's temple.

The god enthroned with the globe as his footstool was a type readily adopted by Christian art. A gilded glass of the fourth century, found in one of the Roman catacombs (fig. 22)<sup>2</sup>, shows a beardless figure of Our Lord (CRISTVS) seated with his foot on a



Fig. 22.

starry globe. He takes a scroll from its case at his side and instructs S. Stephen (ISTEFANVS). The Godhead with a *nimbus* in the background, who raises his hands to bless both Master and disciple, recalls the Victory appearing behind Valentinianus i and his son.

<sup>1</sup> Robert in *Hermes* 1887 xmi. 463 f. and in his *Sark.-Relfs.* iii. 1. 42 f. condemns the whole work as a forgery, arguing that it was made about 1615 A.D. in free imitation of the Borghese relief. But in view of what is said by Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* p. 401 f. further investigation seems desirable. In any case the Capitoline *replica* may fairly be used (Robert uses it so himself) as evidence of the original aspect of the Borghese composition.

<sup>2</sup> F. Buonarroti *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro* Firenze 1716 p. 110 ff. pl. 17, 1. DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS CVM IVIS FELICITER.

A somewhat similar type, that of the Father or the Son seated on a large globe, occurs in church-mosaics of the fourth, fifth



Fig. 23.

and sixth centuries<sup>1</sup>. For example, the right lateral apse in the Mausoleo di S. Costanza near the Via Nomentana at Rome—a work



Fig. 24.

<sup>1</sup> J. Ciampinus *Vetera Monumenta Roma* 1747 i. 27 f. pl. 77 (S. Agatha in Subura . S. Agata dei Goti at Rome, 460-468 A.D.), ii. 72 f. pl. 19 (S. Vitalis=S. Vitale at



dated by de Rossi shortly after 360 A.D.—shows God the Father, not only with a blue *nimbus* and a blue robe, but also seated on a blue globe, as he presents the scroll of the law to Moses (fig. 23)<sup>1</sup>. Similarly the apse of the church of S. Teodoro at the foot of the Palatine—*circa*. 600 A.D.—has God the Son seated on a blue globe spangled with gold stars between St Peter, who presents S. Teodoro, and St Paul presenting another saint hard to identify (fig. 24)<sup>2</sup>. This type too in all probability derives from a pagan prototype<sup>3</sup>. Silver and copper coins of Ouranopolis, a town founded by Alexarchos, brother of Kassandros, on the peninsula of Akte, represent Aphrodite *Ourania* seated on a globe (fig. 25)<sup>4</sup>. On autonomous copper coins of Klazomenai the philosopher Anaxagoras is seen sitting on a globe (fig. 26)<sup>5</sup>: on an imperial copper of the same town he holds a small globe in his extended right hand, while he sets his left foot on a *cippus*<sup>6</sup>. A silver coin of Domitia Longina, wife of the emperor Domitian, shows a child seated on a globe and surrounded by seven stars (fig. 27)<sup>7</sup>. The child has been identified as the empress' son, who was born in 73 A.D. and died young<sup>8</sup>. He is here represented as the infant Zeus of Crete. A Cretan copper, struck under Trajan, has the



Fig. 25.



Fig. 26.

Ravenna, 547 A.D.), ii. 101 ff. pl. 28 (S. Laurentius in Agro Verano = S. Lorenzo fuori mura, 578—590 A.D.).

On the relation of the globe to the rainbow in early mediaeval art see O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 672.

<sup>1</sup> G. B. de Rossi *Mosaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI* Roma 1899 pl. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* ib. pl. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Demetrios Poliorketes was represented on the *proskénion* of the theatre at Athens ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀχούμενος (Douris frag. 31 = *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 477 Muller *ap.* Athen. 536 A, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 570, 9 f.). This, however, does not imply that Demetrios was seated on a globe (Sittl *op. cit.* p. 44), but that he was upborne by an anthropomorphic figure of *Oikouménē*: cp. the relief by Archelaos (*infra* ch. i § 5 (b)), the *gemma Augustea* at Vienna (Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 56, ii. 257), and above all the great Paris cameo (*Id.* ib. i pl. 60, ii. 269).

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedon etc. p. 133 f., Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 206. I figure a specimen in my possession.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 28 pl. 7, 4, J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 i. 118 Munztaf. 2, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 33 pl. 7, 9, Bernoulli *op. cit.* i. 118 Munztaf. 2, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dut. Rom. Coins* p. 341. My illustration is from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum.

<sup>8</sup> Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1513 f.



same *motif* (fig. 28)<sup>1</sup>: Zeus as a child sits on the globe with a goat at his side and seven stars above his head. The idea was popularised by coins of Antoninus Pius (fig. 29)<sup>2</sup> and Commodus, on which occurs the fine figure of Italia enthroned on a starry globe as mistress of the world.

The symbol of the globe was still further Christianised, when Valentinianus I added a cross on the top of it<sup>3</sup>. In this form it occurs on the coins of many of the later Roman emperors<sup>4</sup>. An obvious exception is afforded by Julian the Apostate, who sub-



Fig. 27.



Fig. 28.



Fig. 29.

stituted a small figure of Victory for the cross<sup>5</sup>. The *globus cruciger*, or globe and cross, is again a constant emblem of Christian sovereignty on Byzantine coins<sup>6</sup>. As the 'orb' of mediaeval and modern *regalia* it has survived to our own times<sup>7</sup>.

We have now passed in review the different conditions under which the globe is associated with Zeus. It remains to ask what was the origin of the symbol, and what was its significance.

Its origin appears to have been twofold. On the one hand, the

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 330 *Munstaf.* 5, 2, J. N. Svoronos *Nomismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 348 pl. 35, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1002 f., Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 488 fig. The illustration is from a first brass of Antoninus Pius in my collection.

<sup>3</sup> Sittl *op. cit.* p. 49 f. states that Constantine had already placed the Christian monogram upon the globe (but Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.* vii. 231 no. 14 was struck after his death). On coins of Nepotianus (350 A.D.) etc. we see Roma enthroned holding a globe surmounted by the monogram (Cohen *op. cit.* viii. 2 no. 2 fig., W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 241 fig. 82, a. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 153).

<sup>4</sup> A list is given by Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 1464. Cp. Soud. s.v. *Ἰουστινιανός*: καὶ ἐστήσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνα ἐπὶ κίονος ἐφιππων· καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ φέρει σφαῖραν, ἐμπειρηγὸς σταυροῦ ἐν αὐτῇ, ὑποσημαίνοντος ὡς διὰ τῆς εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν πίστεως τῆς γῆς ἐγκρατὴς γέγονε. σφαῖρα μὲν γάρ ἢ γῆ διὰ τὸ σφαιροειδὲς τοῦ αὐτῆς σχήματος, πίστις δὲ οὗ σταυροῦ διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ σαρκὶ προσηλωθέντα θεῶν

<sup>5</sup> Rasche *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Byz. Coins* ii. 654 s.v. 'Globus.'

<sup>7</sup> Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* ed. 1886 vi. 111 s.v. 'palla' cites from Godefridus Viterbiensis the couplet: Aureus ille Globus Pomum vel Palla vocatur, | Quando coronatur, Palla ferenda datur.

type of the infant Zeus seated on a globe surrounded by stars is of Greek extraction. On the other hand, most of the representations considered above can be legitimately derived from the cult-statue of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, which had at its left side a ball resting on a pedestal or pillar. This was a definitely Roman adjunct: it had no counterpart in the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

Enquiry might be pushed further. The temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus* was, as is well known, essentially an Etruscan building. Now a ball resting on a pedestal or pillar occurs in Etruscan art sometimes as a grave-stile<sup>1</sup>, sometimes as a sacred land-mark or boundary-stone<sup>2</sup>. Such monuments varied much in shape and size. A fine example from Orvieto, now in the Museum at Florence, consists of a rectangular moulded base topped by a spheroidal black stone (fig. 30)<sup>3</sup>. Another, in the Orvieto Museum, is a cone of tufa hollow inside, and bears an inscription (*Tinia Tinscvil*) which connects it with *Tinia*, the Etruscan Iupiter (fig. 31)<sup>4</sup>. Are we then to infer that in the *cella* of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, side by side with the most august statue in Rome, there was a grave-stile or a boundary stone? The fact is luckily beyond question<sup>5</sup>. When the foundations of the temple were first laid by Tarquinius Priscus, the god Terminus—otherwise known as Iupiter *Terminus*—was already in possession of the site and resisted the process of exauguration. Hence the ancient boundary-stone that passed as his image was allowed to remain in close proximity<sup>6</sup> to the statue of Iupiter *Capitolinus*. Moreover, a small opening was contrived in the roof above it, since sacrifices to Terminus had to take place in the open air. Lactantius asserts that the rude stone worshipped as Terminus

<sup>1</sup> Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.* p. 128 fig. 141, Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* pp. 141 n. 5, 402, 405. These balls on pillars were originally *Grabphalli* (Forrer *Reallex.* p. 297): see A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 6 ff. pl. 1, 1, A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde* Leipzig and Berlin 1905 p. 104 f.

<sup>2</sup> Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* p. 404 f. pl. 75 (a funeral urn in the museum at Volterra): G. Korte *I Riti e delle Urne Etrusche* Berlino 1890 in. 1. 97 pl. 38, 3 describes and figures the object on the pillar as 'un vaso tondo.' Cp. the stone balls on our lodges (see, however, S. Baring-Gould *Strange Survivals* London 1905 p. 53).

<sup>3</sup> L. A. Milani in the *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1900 ix. 295 fig. 4, *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica* Firenze 1902 i. 60 f. fig. 226.

A similar *Grabphall* from Orvieto, now at Berlin, is an elliptical block of polished serpentine resting on a moulded base of trachyte (*Int. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 481 no. 1244 fig.).

<sup>4</sup> Milani *loc. cit.* ix. 293 fig. 3 cp. *ib.* p. 294 'un cono tufaceo vuoto internamente,' i. 60 f. fig. 227. Cp. J. Six 'Der Aggieus des Mys' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 340 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The evidence is collected by Preller-Jordan *Rom. Myth.* i. 255 f., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Rom.* p. 124 f., C. Hulsen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1532.

<sup>6</sup> Dion. Hal. 3. 69 *παγίων τοῦ ἑδῶρος*.

was that which Saturn was said to have swallowed in place of Jupiter<sup>1</sup>. This confusion suggests that Terminus' stone had a round top to it<sup>2</sup>—as was in fact the case, if I am right in my conjecture with regard to the globe of Jupiter *Capitolinus*.



Fig. 30.

But, it will be asked, if this globe was originally the stone of Terminus, how came it to be regarded as a symbol of the sky? Partly, I suppose, because it was a round object standing under the clear sky; but partly also because a globe on a pillar was used by Greek astronomers as a model of the sky<sup>3</sup>. Thus imperial

<sup>1</sup> Lact. *div. inst.* i. 20.

<sup>2</sup> In Roman art the stone of Kronos is figured as a half-egg on the top of a short pillar (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (l)).

<sup>3</sup> See F. Hultsch in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1853 f.

copper coins of Samos figure Pythagoras seated or standing before a globe, which rests on a pillar, and pointing to it with a rod<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 31.

Enthroned as master in the realm of knowledge with a long sceptre in his left hand and a *himation* loosely wrapped about him

<sup>1</sup> L. Büchner in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1882 ix. 121 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* pp. 373, 376, 381, 390, 392, pl. 37, 14, J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Numismatik* München 1901 i. 75 Münztaf. 1, 21 and 23.

he is, as J. J. Bernoulli points out, a decidedly Zeus-like personage (fig. 32)<sup>1</sup>. Similar in pose and pretension is the figure of Hipparchos on imperial coppers of Nikaia in Bithynia<sup>2</sup>. And analogous scenes could be cited from Roman mosaics<sup>3</sup>.



Fig. 32.



Fig. 33.

Lastly—to pass from the origin to the significance of the symbol—we observe that the globe is coloured blue in the Pompeian painting<sup>4</sup>, blue<sup>5</sup> or blue-green<sup>6</sup> in the Roman mosaics. Obviously therefore it signifies the sky rather than the earth, a conclusion confirmed by the fact that it came to be banded with the astronomical zones (figs. 25, 27), or quartered into *templa* and spangled with stars (figs. 22, 24, 29, 33<sup>7</sup>).

### iii. The Blue Mantle.

A third method of characterising Zeus as god of the blue sky may perhaps be detected in the practice of giving him a blue or bluish mantle.

Zeus with the blue *nimbus* had his knees enveloped in a *himation* of gleaming violet lined with blue<sup>8</sup>. Zeus with the blue globe wore a violet-blue cloak with a blue gold-embroidered border and sat on a throne mantled in greenish blue<sup>9</sup>. A decorative panel

<sup>1</sup> Bernoulli *op. cit.* i. 75 'in zeusartiger Haltung' Munztaf. i. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. p. 167 pl. 33, 9, Bernoulli *op. cit.* i. Munztaf. 2, 15, ii. 186.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. one from Pompeii now at Naples, and another from Sarsina now in the Villa Albani (Bernoulli *op. cit.* ii 34 ff. figs. 3 f.). One at Brading in the Isle of Wight is published in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 1880–81 p. 138 f. with pl.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 42. Several other paintings of the same *procurator* represent a globe among the attributes of Zeus (eagle, thunderbolt, sceptre, wreath, mask of Zeus): see Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 31 f. nos. 105, 106, 108–112. Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 19 no. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 51, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii. 329 (*S. Agata dei Goti*).

<sup>6</sup> J. Ciampinus *Vetera Monumenta* Romæ 1747 ii. 101 ff. pl. 28 (*S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*).

<sup>7</sup> From a third brass of Constantine the Great (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.* vii. 231 f.) in my collection. The globe, with three stars above it, rests on an altar inscribed VOIS XX (*zōis zēonallibis*). The legend is BEATA TRANQUILLITAS. In the exergue SIR (*signata Treveris*) is the mint-mark of money struck at Treves. See further Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dut. Rom. Coins* p. 125.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 34.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 42.

with black ground from the *Casa dei bronzi* shows him clad in a sky-blue wrap and sitting on a seat which is draped in reddish brown<sup>1</sup>. An important painting of the *lucròs gámos* from the *Casa del poeta tragico* represents Zeus seated on a rock with a light violet robe hanging like a veil over his hair and thrown loosely round his shoulders, back, and legs<sup>2</sup>. Again, a picture of Zeus drawing lots has him enthroned with a peacock-blue *himátion* about his knees<sup>3</sup>. The splendid wall-painting of a youthful fair-haired Zeus found in the *Casa dei Vettii* similarly shows the god with a peacock-blue *himátion* round his legs<sup>4</sup>. Other Pompeian examples portray him seated, his legs wrapped in a red mantle with a blue<sup>5</sup> or green<sup>6</sup> border. A painting from Herculaneum gives him a whitish *nimbus* and drapes him from the waist downwards in a reddish *himátion*; but it is to be observed that here Zeus is represented as reclining among the clouds with a rainbow arched above him and a background of blue sky<sup>7</sup>. Finally, in a fresco of the Hadrianic age, found at Eleusis, he is once more seen on a throne, his legs swathed in a violet-blue *himátion* edged with green<sup>8</sup>.

It would seem, then, that Hellenistic art normally depicted Zeus as wearing a mantle of violet-blue. And this in all probability corresponded with cult-practice. Alexander the Great is known to have worn a purple cloak, when he masqueraded as Zeus *Ámmôn*<sup>9</sup>. Anaxenor, a famous musician of Magnesia on the Maiandros in the days of M. Antonius the triumvir, was clad in purple by his fellow-countrymen as priest of Zeus *Sosípolis*<sup>10</sup>. And

<sup>1</sup> So Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente* etc. ii pl. 54 (coloured). According to Hellbig *Wandgemälde* etc. p. 31 no. 103, his garment is reddish and his seat covered with a blue robe.

<sup>2</sup> Hellbig *op. cit.* p. 33 f. no. 114, *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) in.

<sup>3</sup> Sogliano *op. cit.* p. 19 f. no. 73, *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xvi. 35 pl. 4.

<sup>4</sup> So A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 263 f. fig. 11 ('le gambe coperte di mantello paonazzo'). A. Mau in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 23 had stated that the robe was red with a blue border ('in veste rossa con margine turchino'). A fine, though uncoloured, photographic reproduction is given by Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 46, 2. See further J. Six in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xvi. 155.

<sup>5</sup> Sogliano *op. cit.* p. 21 no. 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 20 no. 74.

<sup>7</sup> Hellbig *op. cit.* p. 32 f. no. 113, H. Roux-M. L. Bauré *Illustration et Pompei* Paris 1870 n. 184 f. pl. 54, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 289 no. 1259.

<sup>8</sup> 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1888 pl. 5, *supra* p. 2 n. 2, Collignon *Hist. d. la Sculpt. gr.* i. 528 says: 'le bas du corps couvert d'un himation bleu.'

<sup>9</sup> Ehippos *ap. Athen.* 537 Ε' Εφίππος δὲ φησιν ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρος καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δέλτοις, ὅτε μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἀμμωνος πορφύριδα καὶ περισχιδεῖς καὶ κέρατα καθάπερ ὁ θεός, ὅτε δὲ κ.τ.λ.

<sup>10</sup> Strab. 648, *infra* p. 58 n. 6.

a Roman dedication to Jupiter *Purpurio* may be taken to imply that the god wore a purple garb<sup>1</sup>.

The first and most obvious explanation of this conventional colouring is the fact that Zeus was king of all and, as such, would of course wear the purple or blue of royalty. If we pursue the enquiry and ask *why* royal robes were blue or purple, we enter the region of conjecture. In its origin perhaps the usage was prophylactic, red (*i.e.* blood-colour)<sup>2</sup> passing into purple, and purple into blue.

But, whatever the ultimate significance, it is probable that by Hellenistic times, if not earlier, a fresh meaning had been read into the ancient custom, the purple or blue robe of Zeus and of his earthly representative being interpreted as a symbol of the sky<sup>3</sup>. Hence in both cases it came to be spangled with golden stars. At Elis the god Sosipolis was painted as a boy clad in a starry *chlamys*<sup>4</sup>. His name recalls the Zeus *Sosipolis* of Magnesia on the Maiandros<sup>5</sup>, who is known to have had a sacred purple robe<sup>6</sup>. It is highly probable that these two divinities were alike related to the Cretan Zeus<sup>7</sup>. Again, Demetrios Poliorketes, who posed as Zeus<sup>8</sup>, had a dark-tinted *chlamys* inwoven with stars of gold and with the twelve signs of the zodiac<sup>9</sup>. Scipio, when he triumphed in 201 B.C., was 'dressed according to ancestral custom

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 424 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3040 (found at Rome near the Monte Testaccio):

LICINIA LICINIA OCTAVIA

QVINTA PURPURIS SATVRNIN

(A thunderbolt) (Three female figures standing) (A *patera*)

IOVI • OPTIMO • MAXIMO

PURPVRIONI

It is commonly assumed that Jupiter *Purpurio* took his name from one of the three dedicants, Licinia Purpuris (Preller-Jordan *Rom. Myth.*<sup>3</sup> i. 208 n. 1): it should be further assumed that the god was clad in purple.

<sup>2</sup> See my note in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii p. xlv f., W. Headlam *ib.* 1906 xxvi. 268 ff., F. von Duhn 'Rot und Tot' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This conception is illustrated with a wealth of examples from ancient, mediaeval, and modern life by Dr R. Eisler *Wellenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910, to whose diligent collection of materials I am much indebted, though I cannot always agree with his conclusions.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 6. 25. 4, cp. 6. 20. 2 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 553, 48, 51 f., Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 892.

<sup>6</sup> Anaxenor the *kithara*-player of Magnesia as a token of high honour was painted in the purple robe of Zeus Σωσιπόλις (Strab. 648), *supra* p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 142, p. 1526 n. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Plout. *v. Demetr.* 10, 42, Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 54. 6 p. 42, 24 ff. Stahlin. See *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 302 f.

<sup>9</sup> Douris *frag.* 31 (*frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 477) ap. Athen. 535 F, Plout. *v. Demetr.* 41.



in a purple garment with golden stars woven into it<sup>1</sup>; and, as triumphing general, he would be clad in the *tunica palmata* and the *toga picta* of Iupiter<sup>2</sup>. Nero after his Greek agonistic successes entered Rome in the triumphal car of Augustus, wearing a purple robe and a *chlamys* sprinkled with golden stars<sup>3</sup>. These are but a few out of many who in their day, as victorious kings or kingly victors, aped the style and claimed the honours of the sky-god. Martianus Capella in his high-flown way tells how Iupiter himself, when assuming his robes of state, 'over a garment of glittering white drew a glassy vesture, which, dotted here and there with starry eyes, shone with quick quivering fires<sup>4</sup>'.

In this connexion we may notice a representation of the sky, which appears repeatedly in Roman art<sup>5</sup>, but has been traced back to a Hellenistic source<sup>6</sup>. The half-length figure of a bearded man is seen holding a mantle arched above his head. E. Q. Visconti<sup>7</sup> proposed to name him 'le Ciel,' i.e. *Caelus*, the Latin rendering of the Greek *Ouranós*; and this proposal has been universally adopted, for the mantle-bearer, though never accompanied by an inscription, clearly symbolises the sky. He is, as Prof. von Duhn observes, a Zeus-like figure<sup>8</sup>. Indeed, the Roman writers from Ennius downwards make Caelus first the grandfather and then the father of Iupiter<sup>9</sup>. Nay more, oriental, especially Syrian<sup>10</sup>, worshippers identified him with Iupiter himself<sup>11</sup>. Hence his type affected that

<sup>1</sup> Appian. *Pun.* 66.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. 10. 7, 10, Suet. *Aug.* 94, Iuv. 10. 38 f., Ael. Lamprid. *Alexander Severus* 40. 8, Iul. Capitol. *Gordiani tres* 4. 4, Vopisc. *Probus* 7. 7. 4 f., Serv. in Verg. *ec.* 10. 27. See further Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 197 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *Ner.* 25. Dion Cass. 63. 20 calls it ἀλουργίδα χρυσόπαστον, which—as J. E. B. Mayor on Iuv. 10. 38 points out—is the phrase used by Plout. v. *Aem. Paul.* 34 of the triumphal robe.

<sup>4</sup> Mart. Cap. 66 dehinc vesti admodum candidae obducit amictus hyalinos, quos stellantibus oculis interstinctos crebri vibratus ignium luminabant.

<sup>5</sup> O. Jahn *Archaeologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 85 n. 28 and in the *Ber. sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1849 p. 63 ff., Matz-Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* ii. 185 no. 2711, 429 f. no. 3315 f., 445 ff. no. 3341, iii. 4 f. no. 3449, R. von Schneider in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1895 xviii. 185 f.

<sup>6</sup> H. Dressel *Fünf Goldmedaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir* Berlin 1906 pp. 25—31 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1906) makes it highly probable that the superb portrait of Alexander the Great on the obverse of a gold medallion found in Egypt (*ib.* p. 9 f. pl. 2, C), though executed in the third century A.D., reproduces with fidelity a cameo of the Hellenistic age. If so, then, as Eisler *op. cit.* i. 65 points out, the sky-god in the centre of Alexander's shield is our earliest monumental evidence of the type.

<sup>7</sup> Visconti *Mus. Pre-Clém.* iv. 159 f.

<sup>8</sup> Matz-Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 5.

<sup>9</sup> G. Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1276 f.

<sup>10</sup> F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 696 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 81 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3949 OPTIVMVS • MAXIMVS •

of Jupiter, who on the column of Trajan appears as a half-length figure with arched mantle launching a thunderbolt against the Dacians (fig. 34)<sup>1</sup>—a design destined to influence both Raphael<sup>2</sup> and Michelangelo<sup>3</sup>.

By a curious duplication, not to say triplication, Caelus with his mantle spread above him is seen immediately beneath the throne of Jupiter on a sarcophagus at Amalfi (fig. 35)<sup>4</sup> and on another in the Villa Medici at Rome<sup>5</sup>. This conception too was taken over by Christian art<sup>6</sup>. The famous sarcophagus of Iunius Bassus, a prefect of Rome who died in 359 A.D., shows the same



Fig. 34.

personification of the sky supporting, not Jupiter with a thunderbolt enthroned between Iuno and Minerva or between Sol and Luna, but Christ with a roll enthroned between Saint Peter and Saint Paul (fig. 36)<sup>7</sup>. Another fourth-century sarcophagus in the

CAELVS • ALTERNVS • IV[*p*] TER • IVNONI • REGINAL • | MINERVAL • IVSSVS • LIBEN[s] | DEDIT • PRO • SALVTIEM • SVAM • M • MODIVS • MAGNHO • FI • PR[*o*] LAVSII • PATRONI • HOMINIS • [s] LI • HELPIDIS • SVAS • CVM • [s*u*] | Des au, however, reads *optumus maximus* .. *Caelus aeternus, Iuff[*i*] ter*, and thinks that *optumus maximus* was a later addition intended to be taken with *Iuffiter*. He interprets [s] as [*anct*]. See further Cumont *Textes et mon., de Mithra* n. 104, 233 ff.

<sup>1</sup> C. Cichorius *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule* Berlin 1896 n. 116 f. pl. 19.

<sup>2</sup> A. P. Oppé *Raphael* London 1909 pl. 174, 2 'The third day' and pl. 182, 1 'God appearing to Isaac' in the Loggia of the Vatican.

<sup>3</sup> G. S. Davies *Michelangelo* London 1909 pl. 36 'The separation of land and sea' and pl. 37 'The creation of Adam' in the Sistine Chapel at Rome.

<sup>4</sup> M. Camera *Storia della città costantiniana* Amalfi Napoli 1836 p. 40 ff. pl. 3 (poor). E. Gerhard *Antike Bildwerke* München Stuttgart & Tübingen 1828-1844 p. 371 pl. 118 (Caelus with a rayed crown rises from the sea, adjoining which is the figure of Mother Earth.)

<sup>5</sup> O. Jahn in the *Ber. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1849 Phil.-hist. Classe pl. 4, *Wien. Vorlegh.* A pl. 11, 3, Robert *Sauv. Rel.* n. 13 ff. pl. 5, 11 and 11', Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 1625 f. figs. 10 and 10 a.

<sup>6</sup> See O. Jahn *Archaeologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 85 n. 28 and F. Papez *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1851 n. 44 ff.

<sup>7</sup> The sarcophagus stands now in the crypt of the Vatican and in such a position that

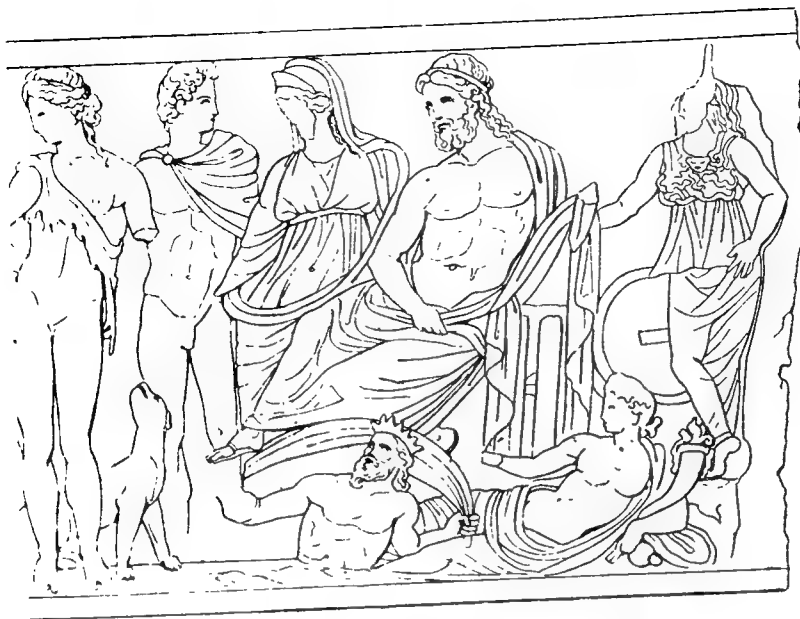


Fig. 35.



Fig. 36.

it cannot be well photographed. Illustrations of the whole front side are given e.g. by A. Bostio *Roma Sotterranea* Roma 1632 p. 45 (good), G. Bottari *Sculture e pitture sacre* Roma 1737 i. 35 ff. pl. 15 (fair), E. Pistolesi *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* Roma 1829-1838 ii pl. 19, L. Guhl and J. Caspar *Denkmäler der Kunst* etc. Stuttgart 1851 ii. 56 f. pl. 36, 8, W. Lowie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 262 fig. 100, K. Woermann *Geschichte der Kunst* Leipzig and Vienna 1905 ii. 58 pl. 10, and of the

Lateran Museum repeats the type<sup>1</sup>, which was probably a stock-pattern. A last trace of it may be detected in a painting at Lucca by Fra Bartolommeo. God the Father, enthroned in heaven, uplifts his right hand in blessing and holds in his left an open book inscribed A Ω. Beneath his feet is a small cherub over-arched by drapery<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 37.



Fig. 38.

That such drapery really represents the sky may be proved by the fact that on a coin commemorating the *consecratio* or apotheosis of the elder Faustina (fig. 37)<sup>3</sup> the empress, carried up to heaven by the eagle of Jupiter, has the same wind-blown mantle spangled with stars. Again, the drapery held by Caelus in a relief at Berlin (fig. 38)<sup>4</sup> is not merely an arc, but almost a complete circle enclosing other concentric circles—an obvious symbol of the sky.

central group in the upper register by F. Munter *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der Alten Christen* Altona 1825 ii. 85, A. N. Didron *Iconographie chrétienne* Paris 1843 p. 256.

<sup>1</sup> W. Lowrie *op. cit.* p. 266 f. fig. 102.

<sup>2</sup> S. Reinach *Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la renaissance* Paris 1905 i. 606, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> n. 427 no. 185 fig. My illustration is from a cast of a specimen in the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 364 f. no. 900, a fragmentary relief of white Italian marble. The subject is uncertain: two female figures approach Jupiter, and one of them clasps his knees (in supplication?); the god is seated on the top of a square pillar, Caelus appearing below his footstool.

### § 3. Zeus Lýkaios.

#### (a) Wolf-god or Light-god?

On the summit of Mount Lykaion in Arkadia was a far-famed cult of Zeus *Lýkaios*. Tradition said that *Lykáon*, son of Pelasgos, had founded the town of *Lykósoura* high up on the slopes of the mountain, had given to Zeus the surname of *Lýkaios*, and had instituted the festival called *Lýkaia*<sup>1</sup>. On the significance of this group of names scholars are by no means agreed. Some take them to be pre-Greek or non-Greek<sup>2</sup>. Thus Fick maintains that they represent a Hittite tribe to be identified with the Lycaonians and Lycians of Asia Minor<sup>3</sup>, while Bérard argues for a Phoenician cult comparable with that of Baal<sup>4</sup>. Most critics, noting the essentially Greek aspect of the names in question, are content to seek an explanation in the language of Greece. But even here opinions are divided. Some, starting from the undeniable fact that the wolf (*lýkos*) plays a part in the local myths<sup>5</sup>, hold that Zeus *Lýkaios* was in some sense a 'Wolf-god'. This view, however, is open to a grave objection. The word *Lýkaios* cannot

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 2. 1, Aristot. *frag.* 594 Rose *ap. schol. Aristeid.* p. 323, 12 f. Dindorf, *schol. Eur. Or.* 1647, *marm. Par. cf.* 17 p. 8 Jacoby, *Plin. nat. hist.* 7. 205.

<sup>2</sup> P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2173.

<sup>3</sup> A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 92, 132.

<sup>4</sup> V. Bérard *De l'origine des cultes arcadiens* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* Paris 1894 lxxvii) pp. 48-93. Cp. also J. A. Hartung *Die Religion und Mythologie der Griechen* Leipzig 1865-1866 iii. 6, 26 ff., W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1904-1905 ii. 342, 346.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra* pp. 70 ff., 77 ff.

<sup>6</sup> F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*<sup>1</sup> Leipzig und Darmstadt 1841 iii. 76 f. *Λύκαος* = *Λυκάεργος*, *Lupercus*, 'Protector against the Wolf.' J. A. Hartung *op. cit.* iii. 6, 27 n. 45 *Λυκάος*, 'Wolf-god,' the wolf (*λύκος* connected with *λύσσα*) denoting fierceness. O. Jahn 'Über Lykoreus' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1847 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 423 drew a parallel between Zeus *Λύκαος* of Mt. Lykaion and Zeus *Λυκάεργος* of Mt. Parnassos (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Λυκάεργα*), pointing out that in the myths of both localities the 'wolf' symbolises the exiled founder of the cult. W. Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* i. 21 ff. and W. H. Roscher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 705 follow O. Jahn. O. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 805 likewise takes Zeus *Λύκαος* to be Zeus god of 'wolves' i.e. exiles (*ib.* p. 918 n. 7). H. D. Müller *Über den Zeus Lykaos* Göttingen 1851 p. 13 ff. and in his *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1857-1861 ii. 78 ff. *Λυκάος*, 'Wolf-god,' the wolf being a symbol of his chthonian character (*ib.* p. 93 f.). V. Jurgiewicz *De fore Lycae* Odessæ 1859 pp. 1-32 reaches the same conclusions as H. D. Müller, adding Slavonic and Germanic parallels (*ib.* p. 19 ff.).

Others with more circumspection abandon the slippery path of symbolism. W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*<sup>2</sup> ii. 336 ff. explains the *Λύκαία* as a solstice-festival involving a procession of 'Harvest-wolves' (cp. the *Hirpi Sorani*). W. Robertson Smith in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*<sup>9</sup> Edinburgh 1886 xvi. 136 s.v. 'Sacrifice,' *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup> London 1907 p. 366 n. 5, regards Zeus *Λύκαος* as the god

be derived from *lykos*: it must be an adjective formed from a substantive *lyke*<sup>1</sup>. But there is in Greek no such word as \**lyke*, 'wolf'; and, if there were, it would mean 'a she-wolf'; whereas the myths of Mount Lykaion mention none but he-wolves. Far more probable is the theory of those who understand *Lýkaios* as 'god of Light'. The word *lyke* is quoted by Macrobius as an old Greek word for 'day-break', and its compound *amphi-lyke* is used in the *Iliad* of 'twi-light'. They belong to a well-known family of words with

of a totemic Wolf-clan. L. R. Farnell *Cult. of Gr. States* i. 41 is disposed to accept his theory. J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 7 (iv. 386) says: 'The connexion of Lycaean Zeus with wolves is too firmly established to allow us seriously to doubt that he is the wolf-god.' C. W. Vollgraff *De Orudi mythologiae* Berolm 1901 pp. 5—36 holds that the ritual of Zeus *Lýkaios* and the myth of *Λυκάων* presuppose the Arcadian cult of a sacred wolf, to which human victims were offered.

<sup>1</sup> Adjectives in *-aios* naturally derive from *a-* stems. The only exceptions are words like *ὄδαίος*, *νηπαίος*, *κηπαίος*, which have been formed on the analogy of *ἀγοπαίος* etc. and so go back to locatives in *-ai* (K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*<sup>1</sup> München 1900 p. 181; see also F. Bechtel in *Collutz-Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 507 no. 5295 and O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen* Göttingen 1906 p. 173 f.). But *Λύκαίος*, even if we write it as *Λυκαίος*, can hardly be thus explained as a locative formation.

<sup>2</sup> 'A she-wolf' is regularly *λύκαινα* (cp. *κάπραινα*), never \**λύκη*. See W. Pape *Etymologische Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache, zur Übersicht der Wortbildung nach den Endsyllben* Berlin 1836 p. 36. *Lyk. Al.* 481 *λυκαινομόρφων* Νεκτίμου κρεανόμων is criticized as a gross blunder by *Tzetzes ad loc.* ὁ τράγος (sic) κακῶς ἔφη· λυκομόρφων γὰρ ἀφελὲν εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ λύκαιναί, ἀλλὰ λύκοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Λυκάωνος παῖδες κατὰ τοῦτον.

<sup>3</sup> C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Dorian Race* trans. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis Oxford 1830 i. 326 ff., *id.* *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* Göttingen 1825 p. 290 f., J. I. Lauer *System der griechischen Mythologie* Berlin 1853 p. 180 ff., Geihard *Gr. Myth.* p. 161 f., K. Schwenck *Die Mythologie der Griechen* Frankfurt a/M. 1843 p. 19, *id.* in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1839 vi. 541 f., Welcker *Gr. Gotterl.* i. 210, L.-F. A. Maury *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique* Paris 1857—1859 i. 58 ff., L. Preller in Pauly *Real-Enc.* iv. 589, P. Welzel *De Iove et Pane dis Arcadiis* Vratislaviae 1879 pp. 4. 22 ('huc enim clarius est Iovem *Ἀυάριον* eundem esse ac Diespitem et *Λυκαῖον* eundem ac *Λυκτεῖον*' cp. Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 15. 14), Preller-Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 127. E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle 1892 i. 61 (followed by C. Albers *De dis in locis editis cultis apud Graecos* Zutphaniae 1901 p. 33 f.) argues that 'ein in Wolfsgestalt verehrter Gott zum Lichtgott Zeus geworden ist,' but that the names *Λύκαίος*, *Λυκάων*, etc. 'sind Ableitungen von dem verschollenen nomen *λυκα* (*λυκη*) "Licht (Tag?)" und haben mit *λυκο-s* nichts zu thun.' The latest and most efficient champion of the 'light-theory' is H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 177—216, who holds that *Λύκος* was an ancient god of light replaced by Zeus *Λυκαῖος* and Apollon *Λύκειος* or *Λύκειος*.

<sup>4</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 17. 37 ff. *prisci Graecorum primam lucem, quae praecedat solis exortus, λυκην appellaverunt ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ* id temporis hodieque *λυκόφως* cognominant. Etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* 7. 433 *ἦμος δ' οὔτ' ἄρ' πω ἠώς. ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλύκη νύξ* with schol. A. D. V. *τὸ καλούμενον λυκόφως, τὸ πρὸς ὄρθρον. τούτέστιν ὁ βαθὺς ὄρθρος, παρὰ τὴν λύκην (λύγην D. V.), ὃ ἐστὶ σκοτίαν (σκιάν V.), οἷοντι λυκόφως τι ὄν, τὸ μὴ καθαρὸν φῶς ἀλλ' ἔτι σκοτώδες, schol. T. παρὰ τὴν λύγην, ὃ ἐστὶ σκιάν καὶ λυκόφως τὸ μεταξὺ σκότους καὶ φωτός, and Eustath. iii *Il.* p. 689. 15 ff. *τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν ἰδιωτικώτερον λεγόμενον λυκόφως*, adding derivations from *λύγη* 'darkness' and *λυκή* 'a wolf-skin' as also *ib.* p. 809, 40 ff.*

numerous relatives in both Greek and Latin<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, our word 'light' is of kindred origin.

But etymology, unless supported by ritual and myth, can afford no certain clue to the nature of an ancient deity. Fortunately in the present case that support is forthcoming. Zeus *Lýkaios* was sometimes at least conceived as a sky-god, for his priest acted as rain-maker to the district<sup>2</sup>. Again, Achaios the tragedian, a younger contemporary of Sophokles, appears to have spoken of Zeus *Lýkaios* as 'starry-eyed' (*astérōpos*)<sup>3</sup>. An epithet of similar formation and of the same meaning (*asterōpós*) is used by Euripides of the *aithér* or 'burning sky' in connexion with Zeus<sup>4</sup>. This suggests that Zeus *Lýkaios* was a god of the *aithér*. Indeed, Creuzer long since pointed out that Zeus *Lýkaios* is none other than the Arcadian Zeus<sup>5</sup>, whom Cicero and Ampelius describe as the son of *Aether*<sup>6</sup>. H. Usener further observes that, just as a Boeotian myth makes Lykos succeed his brother Nykteus on the throne<sup>7</sup>, so the Arcadian myth makes Lykaon succeeded by his son Nyktimos, the inference being that both pairs of names denote the alternation of 'daylight' (*lyk-*) and 'darkness' (*nykt-*). If Zeus *Lýkaios* was thus a god of daylight, certain statements made by Pausanias *à propos* of his cult gain a fresh significance. *Lýkósoura* founded by *Lýkadon* was 'the first city that ever the sun beheld'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 266, 275 cites for the stronger form of the root the Latin *lūa*, *lūco*, *lūna*, for the weaker the Greek ἀφελέκη, λυκάδας 'year' (lit. 'light-circuit'; Fick in the *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1894 clvi. 240 cp. Hesych. ἄβα' τροχός), λυκαυγής 'twi-light,' λυκόφως 'twi-light,' λέχος 'lamp,' etc. See further L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 519 ff., who adds λυκόψια 'twi-light,' and Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* s.v. *lūco* p. 349 f., who connects λυγδός 'white marble' with the same group of words.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Achaios *Atmos frag.* 2 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap. schol. Eur. Or.* 383 τῆς ἀστερόπου (MSS. ἀστεροπού) Ζηνὸς θεσίας, cp. F. G. Welcker *Die Griechischen Tragödien* Bonn 1841 iii. 963. Arcad. p. 67, 13 Barker vouches for the accent ἀστέροπος; the analogy of χαμοπός, 'bright-eyed,' suggests ἀστεροπός, cp. ἀστερωπός.

W. H. Roscher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 705 supposes that ἀστέροπος denotes 'the god of lightning' (ἀστραπή, ἀστεροπή).

<sup>4</sup> Eur. *Ion* 10781. Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς | ἀνεχόμευσεν αἰθέρ, cp. Kintias *Sisyphus frag.* 1, 3, 3; Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap. Plout. de plu. phil.* 1. 6 and Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 54 τὸ τ' ἀστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ σέλας (so Plout., *de mas* Sext.).

<sup>5</sup> F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*<sup>3</sup> Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 741.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *de nat. dor.* 3. 53, Ampel. 9. Cp. *supra* p. 27 n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra* ch. i § 7 (d).

<sup>8</sup> H. Usener *Götternamen* p. 199. The myths are collected and analysed in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2169 ff., 2183 ff., iii. 492 ff., 498 f. W. H. Roscher *Söhne und Verwandte* Leipzig 1890 p. 140 ff. regards Nykteus and Lykos as personifications of the Evening- and the Morning-star: he is followed by Womer in the *Lex. Myth.* iii. 496 f.

<sup>9</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 1.

On the very top of Mount *Lykaion* was a mound of earth, known as the altar of Zeus *Lykaeos*, from which the greater part of the Peloponnese was visible: before the altar stood two columns bearing gilded eagles and 'facing the sun-rise'.<sup>1</sup> Finally, Pausanias says: 'Of the wonderful things to be seen on Mount *Lykaion* the most wonderful is this. There is a precinct of Zeus *Lykaeos* on the mountain, and no man is allowed to enter it. Should any one disregard the rule and enter, he cannot possibly live longer than a year. It was said too that within the precinct all things, both beasts and men, alike cast no shadow. Consequently, when a beast takes refuge in the precinct, the hunter will not break in along with it, but waits outside and looking at the beast sees no shadow cast by it. Now at Syene on the frontier of Aithiopia, so long as the sun is in the sign of Cancer, shadows are cast neither by trees nor by animals; but in the precinct on Mount *Lykaion* there is the same lack of shadows at all times and seasons'.<sup>2</sup> This marvel, which is attested by other grave and respectable authors<sup>3</sup>, though sceptics were not wanting<sup>4</sup>, probably hangs together with the Pythagorean belief that 'the souls of the dead cast no shadow and do not wink'.<sup>5</sup> The shadowless creature would on this showing be the man or beast already devoted to death. Dr Frazer, commenting on the passage quoted above from Pausanias, writes: 'Untutored people often regard the shadow as a vital part of a man and its loss as fatal. This belief is still current in Greece. It is thought that to give stability to a new building the life of an animal or a man is necessary. Hence an animal is killed and its blood allowed to flow on the foundation stone, or the builder secretly measures a man's shadow and buries the measure under the foundation stone, or the foundation stone is laid upon a man's shadow. It is supposed that the man will die within a year—obviously because his shadow is believed to be buried under the

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 7, cp. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 152 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* and *ad Nem.* 10. 87, Polyb. 4. 33. 2, and *infra* p. 83 f. L.-F. A. Maury *Religions de la Grèce* 1. 59, following K. O. Müller *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* Göttingen 1825 p. 290 f. and W. Baumeister in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumsforschung* 1839 vi. 1193, inferred that Zeus *Λυκαῖος* was a solar god. But K. Schwenck in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1839 vi. 541 f. already urged that he was a light-god rather than a sun-god.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Theopompus *ap.* Polyb. 16. 12. 7 quoted below, schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 13 πᾶν ζῶον εἰσὶν ἐκεῖ (sc. to the birth-place of Zeus on the mountain in Parhasia) μεμολυσμένον ἄγονον ἐγγίγντο καὶ σκιάν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι ἐποίει.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. 16. 12. 7, Plout. *quæst. Gr.* 39.

<sup>5</sup> Plout. *ib.* On shadowless ghosts see J. von Negelein in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1902 v. 18 ff.



building<sup>1</sup>. Trespassers on the precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios* not only lost their shadows, but were actually put to death<sup>2</sup>. Plutarch states that such persons were called 'deer' (*elaphoi*)<sup>3</sup>, that if they had entered the precinct voluntarily they were stoned to death, and that if they had entered it through ignorance they were sent away to Eleutherai<sup>4</sup>. But, if the ultimate explanation of the shadowless precinct on Mount *Lýkaion* lies in the connexion once thought to exist between shadow and soul, it by no means follows that this was the explanation given by Greeks of the classical period. They may well have forgotten the real meaning of a belief to which they still clung and have attributed it to some irrelevant cause. That is what in point of fact they did. Polybios the historian, who as a native of Megalopolis would take a personal interest in matters Arcadian, writes as follows anent certain Carian superstitions: 'It appears to me that such tales are only fit to amuse children, when they transgress not merely the limits of probability but those of possibility as well. For instance, to assert that some bodies when placed in light cast no shadow argues a state of extreme obtuseness. Yet Theopompos has done this; for he declares that those who enter the holy precinct of Zeus in Arkadia cast no shadow, which is on a par with the statements that I mentioned just now<sup>5</sup>. Theopompos, then, the historian of Chios, explained the miracle of Mount *Lýkaion* by saying that beasts and men on the summit cast no shadow because they were there 'placed in light<sup>6</sup>'. This can only mean that a divine light encircled the mountain-top and made all shadows impossible. Mount *Lýkaion*, in fact, resembled

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 6 (iv. 384), citing B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 196 f. See also *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) vi. The way for this explanation was prepared by Plout. *loc. cit.*, F. G. Welcker *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1850 iii. 161, E. L. Rochholz *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit* Berlin 1867 i. 119, H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1869 ii. 96 f. On the identification of soul with shadow see further E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*<sup>3</sup> London 1891 i. 430 f., cp. 85 f., W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 40 ff., 84 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pseudo-Eratosth. *catavt.* i, schol. *Arat phaen.* 91, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratav* p. 381, 16 ff. Eyssenhardt, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1. 2. 4.

<sup>3</sup> They may have been dressed as deer before being chased or killed. To the examples of human *ἐλαφοί* that I collected in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 133 ff. should be added the stag-mummies of Syracuse (schol. Theokr. π. τῆς εὐρέσεως τῶν βορκολεκῶν p. 5, 7 ff. Ahrens) and the man disguised as a stag, slain and eaten, in an epic fragment dealing with Dionysos (F. G. Kenyon in H. van Heerwerden's *Album Gratulatorium Trajecti ad Rhenum* 1902 p. 137 ff. and A. Ludwig in the *Berl. philol. Week.* Jan. 3, 1903 p. 27 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Plout. *quaest. Gr.* 39.

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. 16. 12. 6 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* 16. 12. 7 ἐν φωτὶ τιθέμενα.

Olympos as described in the *Odyssey*<sup>1</sup>, and was itself called Olympus. Pausanias says: 'They speak of it also as Olympus, while others of the Arcadians name it the Sacred Peak.' This Olympic glory, though not, as Theopompos presumably held and as Roscher<sup>2</sup> certainly holds, the true explanation of the shadowless precinct, would be in thorough keeping with the character of Zeus *Lykaïos* as a god of light.

### (b) Peloponnesian coin-types of Zeus *Lykaïos*.

It is almost certainly Zeus *Lykaïos* whose figure appears on the federal silver coinage of Arkadia throughout the greater part of the fifth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> These coins bear on their reverse side the legend *Arkadikón*, more or less abbreviated, and appear to have been struck by the Heraeans as presidents of the national Arcadian games held on Mount *Lykaion*<sup>4</sup>. Early specimens show Zeus seated on a throne with a *himation* wrapped about his waist: he holds a sceptre in one hand, and over the other flies an eagle (figs. 39, 40)<sup>5</sup>. On later specimens the back of the throne terminates in a swan's neck (figs. 41, 42)<sup>6</sup>, and the eagle occasionally flies *towards* Zeus (fig. 43)<sup>7</sup>. Sometimes a thunderbolt is held on the lap of the god (figs. 43, 44)<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes, but rarely, he is repre-

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 6, 41 ff. Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1550, 63 αἰγλήεντα γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ μεστὰ αἰθέρης καὶ νεφέλαις ἀστράσσεια.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 8, 38, 2. An Arcadian Olympus is mentioned by schol. Ap. Rhod. 1, 598, cp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 8, 352. Hyg. *fab.* 225 p. 132 f. Schmidt. Roscher (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 706) and Mackrodt (Roscher *Lev. Myth.* iii. 848, 24 f.) understand Apollod. 2, 5, 8 τὸ λεγόμενον ὄρος Ὀλύμπου of Mount *Lykaion*, cp. Pechas. 21.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Roscher 'Die Schattenlosigkeit des Zeus-abakons auf dem Lykaion' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 701-709.

<sup>4</sup> Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 447 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1, 843 ff. pl. 38, 8-18, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 169 ff. pl. 31, 11-24, pl. 32, 1-9, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* pl. 3, 15, 16, 43, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 26 f., 155, *Munztaf.* 2, 1-3. Cp. *infra* p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> This was first shown by Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 196.

<sup>6</sup> Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1, 843 ff. pl. 38, 8, 9, 12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 169 f. pl. 31, 11-15, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* pl. 3, 43. I figure two specimens from my collection.

<sup>7</sup> Fig. 41 is from a specimen in the British Museum, fig. 42 from another in my collection.

<sup>8</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 171 f. pl. 31, 23 (fig. 43), pl. 32, 3, Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.* (1871) pl. 2, 76, *id.* in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 291 pl. 7, 3 and 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus *Munztaf.* 2, 2 a.

<sup>9</sup> Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1, 845 ff. pl. 38, 13 describes a specimen in the Launes collection on which Zeus holds corn ears (fig. 44). I take the object in his right hand to be a thunderbolt, as did F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 290 pl. 7, 2.

## Peloponnesian coin-types of Zeus *Lýkaios* 69

sented as standing with *himútion*, sceptre and eagle (fig. 45)<sup>1</sup>. After the victory of Epameinondas at Leuktra in 371 B.C. the Arcadian League was reconstituted and issued coins with the types of Zeus



Fig. 39.



Fig. 40.



Fig. 41.



Fig. 42.



Fig. 43.



Fig. 44.



Fig. 45.

*Lýkaios* and Pan *Lýkaios*<sup>2</sup>. The obverse design of the silver *statér* (fig. 46) is a magnificent head of Zeus wearing a bay-wreath: the reverse (figs. 47, 48) is Pan seated on a rock, over which he has



Fig. 46.



Fig. 47.



Fig. 48.



Fig. 49.

spread his cloak; he is human except for his horns and holds in his right hand a throwing-stick (*lagobólon*), while a pipe (*syrix*) lies at his feet. The rock is inscribed *Oly-* (OΛY) or *Olym-* (OΛYM)<sup>3</sup>, and in one die (fig. 49) *Chari-* (ΧΑΡΙ)<sup>4</sup>. There can be no doubt that the laureate head is that of Zeus *Lýkaios*. It used to

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 169 pl. 31. 10 (fig. 45). Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 849 f. pl. 38. 18. F. Imhoof-Blumer publishes a similar specimen in his *Chor. de monn. gr.* 1871 pl. 2, 79 and in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 292 pl. 7. 7.

<sup>2</sup> On Pan *Arkaios* see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2168, 20 ff., iii. 1350 f.

<sup>3</sup> Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 444 f., 450. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* pp. lix. 173. pl. 32. 10. P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* pl. 8, 32 and 37. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 93, 105 f. G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 72 f., pl. 5. 37. Figs. 46–47 and fig. 48 are drawn from two specimens in the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 128 n. 3, *ib.* 1876 iii. 288 f. pl. 7, 1 (in the Hague collection), *cp. ib.* 1875 ii. 6, 139 ff., 246 ff., and in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1884 xvi. 264 pl. 5. 7 (at Klagenfurt, from the same die). I figure the latter specimen.

## 70 Peloponnesian coin-types of Zeus *Lýkaios*

be commonly supposed that the rock inscribed *Oly-* or *Olym-* was the Arcadian Olympos, *i.e.* Mount *Lýkaion*. Prof. Brunn alone maintained that the inscription was the signature of the die-engraver<sup>1</sup>. Since the publication of the specimens reading *Chari-* Brunn's view has met with almost universal acceptance<sup>2</sup>. Recently, however, Dr Head has suggested that *Olym-* and *Chari-* may be abbreviated names of festivals for which the coins were issued<sup>3</sup>. Still, the old view is not definitely disproved. It remains possible that the name of the mountain, placed on the coin for purposes of identification<sup>4</sup>, was afterwards replaced by the name of a self-satisfied engraver.

### (c) Human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*.

Across the brightness of Mount Lykaion we have already seen one cloudlet pass. Such was its awful sanctity that the wilful intruder upon the holy ground was doomed to die, while even the unintentional trespasser must needs be banished. But those who knew more intimately the ritual of the mountain-top were aware that a gloom far deeper than this habitually hung about it. There is indeed a persistent rumour of human sacrifice in connexion with the cult. For the said ghastly tradition Platon is at once our earliest and our most explicit authority. Sokrates in the *Republic* remarks that at the sanctuary of Zeus *Lýkaios* he who tasted the one human entrail, which was cut up and mixed with the entrails of other victims, was believed to become a wolf<sup>5</sup>. The author of the Platonic *Minos* implies that human sacrifice occurred on Mount Lykaion<sup>6</sup>; Theophrastos—as quoted by Porphyrios and Eusebios—states that it was offered at the festival of the Lykaia<sup>7</sup>. Pausanias

<sup>1</sup> H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künster* Stuttgart 1859 II. 437.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. F. Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.*, Head *Hist. num.* I p. 373.

<sup>3</sup> Head *Hist. num.* II p. 445 cp. ΟΛΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ on coins of Elis, and suggests the 104th Olympiad celebrated by the Arcadians in 364 B.C. He interprets ΧΑΡΙ of the Charisia or Chantesia, festivals of the Charites, and notes that Chantisios was the founder of Charsiai in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 3. 4).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. ΠΕΙΩΝ on a coin of Ephesos figured *infra* ch. 1 § 5 (b). It should also be noticed that the reverse-type of a unique tetradrachm of Messana, now at Berlin, shows a similar figure of Pan, with his *hæchdon* and a hare (symbol of the city): the god is seated on a rock, over which he has thrown his fawn-skin, and by him is the inscription ΠΑΝ (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 130 f. pl. 8, 15). If ΠΑΝ describes Pan, presumably ΟΛΥΜ may describe Olympos.

<sup>5</sup> Plat. *rep.* 565 D, cp. Polyb. 7. 13. 7, Isid. *orig.* 8. 9. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Plat. *Mim.* 315 c.

<sup>7</sup> Theophr. *ap.* Porphyr. *de abst.* 2. 27 and Euseb. *præp. ev.* 4. 16. 10. But see *infra* p. 76 n. 3.

veils the ugly fact by a decent circumlocution: 'On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is and has been from the beginning!'

The concurrent testimony of these writers may be held to prove that Zeus *Lýkaios* was indeed served with human flesh, but it hardly enables us to determine how long this hideous custom survived. Theophrastos, who succeeded Aristoteles as head of the Peripatetic school in 322 B.C., says—'up to the present time'; and he is in general a trustworthy witness. But whether we can infer from the guarded language of Pausanias that five centuries later, in the reign of the refined and philosophical Marcus Aurelius, the same gruesome rite was still kept up seems to me at least very questionable<sup>1</sup>. It would of course be talked about for many generations after it had been as an actual practice mitigated, superseded, or simply discontinued.

We should like to know more of the cannibal who was turned into a wolf. And here fortunately further evidence is forthcoming. We have in fact three parallel accounts, which deserve to be studied side by side. They unfold a most remarkable sequel:

PLINY  
*nat. hist.* 8. 81—82.

'Euanthes, who holds a high place among the authors of Greece, reports the following tradition as derived from Arcadian writings. A man belonging to a clan descended from a certain Anthos is chosen by lot and led to a particular pool in that locality. Here he hangs his clothes on an oak-tree, swims across, and goes off into desert places, where he is transformed into a wolf and for nine years associates with

SAINT AUGUSTINE  
*de civ. Dei* 18. 17.

'To prove this, Varro narrates other equally incredible tales—that of the notorious magician Kirke, who likewise changed the comrades of Odysseus into animals, and that of the Arcadians, who were taken by lot, went across a particular pool, and there turning into wolves lived with beasts like themselves in the desert places of that locality. But, if they did not feed on human flesh, then

PAUSANIAS  
6. 8. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 7 trans. J. G. Frazer.

<sup>2</sup> From Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 82 Scopas qui Olympionicas scripsit narrat Demaenetum Parrhasium in sacrificio, quod Arcades Iovi Lycaeum humana etiamtum hostia faciebant, immolati pueri exta degustasse etc. (*infra* p. 72 n. 3) E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle 1892 i. 53 n. 1 infers that the human sacrifice, still kept up in the days of Demaenetus, had been already abandoned when the *Olympionicae* was written.

## 72 Human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*

PLINY  
*nat. hist.* 8. 81—82.

SAINT AUGUSTINE  
*de civ. Dei* 18. 17.

PAUSANIAS  
6. 8. 2.

other wolves of the same sort. If during this time he has abstained from attacking men, he returns to the same pool and, having swum across it, gets back his shape looking nine years older than before. The story adds that he resumes the same clothing. The lengths to which Greek credulity will run are really amazing. Any falsehood, however outrageous, has its due attestation.

Again, Skopas, writer of a work on *Olympic Victors*, relates that Demametos the Parrhasian at a human sacrifice, which the Arcadians were even in his day making to Zeus *Lýkaios*, tasted the entrails of the boy that had been immolated and thereupon turned into a wolf; but that in the tenth year he was restored to athletics, came back, and won a victory in the boxing-match at Olympia.

after nine years had gone by they swam once more across the same pool and were transformed into men again.

In conclusion he has actually mentioned by name a certain Demametos, asserting that he, having tasted the sacrifice of an immolated boy, which the Arcadians were wont to make to their god *Lýkaios*, was thereupon changed into a wolf; and that in the tenth year he was restored to his own form, practised boxing, and won in a match at Olympia.

‘As to a certain boxer named Damarchos, a Parrhasian of Arkadia by race, I was not prepared to believe—with the exception of his victory at Olympia—the story told by sundry braggarts. For they say that he changed from a man into a wolf at the sacrifice of Zeus *Lýkaios*, and that in the tenth year afterwards he became a man again.’

Pliny and Saint Augustine are obviously drawing from the same well, viz. Varro<sup>1</sup>. Only, whereas Pliny cites Varro’s sources without Varro’s name, Saint Augustine cites Varro’s name without Varro’s sources. The sources in question are both satisfactory for our purpose—the ascertaining of popular belief. Euanthes was an author of repute, and moreover bore a name which is known to have occurred in Arkadia<sup>2</sup>, he professedly follows Arcadian writers. Skopas<sup>3</sup> was probably wrong about the victor’s name;

<sup>1</sup> Varro *de gente populi Romani frag.* 17 (*Hist. Rom. frag.*, p. 233 f. Peter).

<sup>2</sup> Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 357 no. 1247 B 3 cp. 20.

C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 11 no. 33 would read *Neanthes* for *Euanthes*. But see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 846.

<sup>3</sup> C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 407 suggests that Pausanias derived the story of

for Pausanias read and copied the actual inscription on the man's statue-base<sup>1</sup>. But whether the name was Demainetos or Damarchos makes no difference to us: the story told of him is identical.

Varro's statement, as evidenced by the foregoing extracts, is twofold. It contains on the one hand Euanthes' general account of the Arcadian custom, on the other Skopas' particular exemplification of it. Comparing the two, we at once detect a discrepancy. Both agree that a man became a wolf for a period of nine years, after which he returned to human shape. But, whereas Euanthes speaks of him as having been chosen by lot, Skopas describes him as having tasted the entrails of an immolated boy. This discrepancy would indeed vanish altogether, if we assumed that the method of selection indicated by Platon in a passage already quoted—'he who tasted the one human entrail,' etc.—might be viewed as a kind of cleromancy or sortition. But it is better to suppose that the casting of lots was a later and more civilised substitute for the arbitrament of the cannibal feast.

Be that as it may, Euanthes has preserved various details of primitive import. He tells us that those who thus cast lots among themselves (and therefore, presumably, those who at an earlier date gathered about the banquet of human flesh) belonged to a clan descended from a certain Anthos. Now H. W. Stoll<sup>2</sup> and J. Topffer<sup>3</sup> have pointed out that the names *Ánthos*, *Ánthas*, *Ánthes*, *Ánthens* were given in sundry parts of the Greek world to mythical figures of a common type—the handsome youth who comes early to a cruel death just because he personifies the short-lived vegetation of the year<sup>4</sup>. One of these 'Flower'-heroes, Anthas or

Damarchos from Euanoridas of Elis, whose *Ἐλευσινονίκαι* he had just mentioned (Paus. 6. 8. 1). Muller further conjectures that in Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 82 we should read *itaque Euanoridas qui Olympionicas scripsit* (MSS. *ita* or *ita* or *itaque* *ωφας*, whence Jan. *εφας*, Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 896 *Harporas*, Gelenius *Agriofas*). But again see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 845, and cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* index to 8 *Euanthe* *αφοα* or *αφοα* (so MSS.; *εφας* Jan. *Agriofas* Gelenius, *Agriofas* vulg.) *qui Ἐλευσινονίκας*. Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Dokad.* p. 13 f. pushes Muller's speculation one stage further and proposes to identify Euanthes with Euanoridas, whom he calls 'Euanoridas-Euagriopas-Euanthes-Agrippa'.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 6. 8. 2. Both *Δαμάρκτος* (Collitz-Beechell *op. cit.* i. 352 no. 1231 B 26, 38, C 42) and *Δάμαρχος* (*ib.* i. 341 no. 1189 A minor 15, 358 no. 1246 D 4) are Arcadian names.

<sup>2</sup> H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 369 f.

<sup>3</sup> J. Topffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2358.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Anthos, son of Hippodameia and Autonoos the ruler of a neglected and therefore barren land, was attacked and eaten by his father's horses, which he had driven from their scanty pasture: he was transformed by Zeus and Apollon into the bird *ánthos*, and as such still retains his hostility to horses (Ant. Lib. 7: see also D'Arcy W.

## 74 Human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*

Anthes, the son of Poseidon, was driven out of Troizen and founded Halikarnassos<sup>1</sup>. His descendants the Anthheadai<sup>2</sup> formed a priestly clan which, as we happen to know from an inscription found at Halikarnassos<sup>3</sup>, managed the cult of Poseidon in that city for over five hundred years. Poseidon was worshipped at the mother-city Troizen as Poseidon *Phytálmios*<sup>4</sup>, so that the functions of the Anthheadai were almost certainly concerned with the propagation of vegetable life<sup>5</sup>. Arguing from analogy, I conclude that in Arkadia likewise the descendants of Anthos were a priestly clan charged with the upkeep of vegetation in connexion with the cult of Zeus *Lýkaios*<sup>6</sup>.

That the 'Flower'-hero might be associated with Zeus no less than with Poseidon we see from an inscription of Roman date found at Athens<sup>7</sup>. It is a list of persons combining to build a gymnasium 'for Zeus *Keraíōs* and Anthas.' Mr J. G. C. Anderson, who published this inscription with a careful commentary, remarked that many of the contributing members bore Boeotian names. He therefore proposed to identify Zeus *Keraíōs* with Zeus *Ammon* of Thebes<sup>8</sup> and to regard Anthas either as a separate personage, the

Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford 1895 p. 33). Anthos, eponym of Anthedon or Anthedonia the old name of Kalaureia, was lost as a child but found again by his brother Hyperes acting as cup-bearer to Akastos or Adrastus at Pherai (Mnasigeiton *ap. Plout. quæst. Gr.* 19). Anthes, son of Poseidon and eponym of Anthana, was slain by Kleomenes, brother of Leonidas, who flayed him and wrote on his skin τοῖς χρησμοῖς τηρεῖσθαι (Philostephanos *frag.* 8 *ap. Steph. Byz.* s.v. Ἀνθήνα; but see C. Müller's note in *Fræg. hist. Gr.* iii. 30). Anthias, son of Eumelos, was killed by falling from the car of Triptolemos (*infra* ch. 1 § 6 (d) 1 (3)). Antheus, son of Antenor, was a beautiful youth loved by Deiphobos and Alexandros, but accidentally struck and slain by the latter (Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 132). Antheus, a prince of Halikarnassos, served as a hostage under Phobios, ruler of Miletos. Kleobolia or Philuchme, wife of Phobios, loved him and, unable to compass her desires, asked him to recover a tame partridge or a golden trunk for her from a deep well, and while he was doing it dropped a heavy stone on the top of him (Panthen. *narr. am.* 14).

<sup>1</sup> Strab. 374, 656, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀλικαρνασσός.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀνθηῖναι.

<sup>3</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2655, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 608, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. Gr.* no. 877.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 2. 32. 8, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 98 no. 18; see further O. Hofst. in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2490. The inscription from Halikarnassos records the priests τοῦ Ποσειδῶνι vos τοῦ κατιδρωθέντος ὑπο τῶν τῆν ἀποικι[αν] καὶ Τροι(ς)ήνος ἀγαγόντων Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀπόλλ(ω)νι.

<sup>5</sup> See J. Topffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Kl.-Bibl.* i. 2358 ff.

<sup>6</sup> On Zeus *Lýkaios* with corn-ears see *infra* p. 68 n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896-1897 iii. 106 ff. no. 1 Συνθήται οἱ κατασκευάσαντες τὸ γυμνάσιον Διὶ Κεραίῳ καὶ Ἀνθαῖ κ.τ.λ.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. 9. 16. 1, cp. Kibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 833. 1 Ἀμμωνος κεραίοιο (Alexandria), no. 835. 5 Ἀμμωνος κεραοῦ (Beirut), Pharistos *ap. schol. Pind. Pyth.* 4. 28 Ζεὺς Λιβύης Ἀμμων κερατηφόρος.



eponym of Anthedon in Boiotia<sup>1</sup>, or more probably as a cult-title of Zeus comparable with that of Zeus *Anthalcús*, who is mentioned in a sacrificial calendar from the Epakria district<sup>2</sup>. The cult would thus be one of a Zeus presiding over animal and vegetable fertility, a god presumably worshipped by a guild of farmers. Mr Anderson's conclusion is sound, though his premises are shaky. I doubt whether Zeus *Keraiós* is a mere synonym of Zeus *Ammon*. His 'horns' may be those of a bull, not a ram. In that case he resembled Zeus *Ólbios*, a god of fertility who in northern Greece had bovine horns<sup>3</sup>, or Zeus *Xénios* (?) of Kypros, to whom the horned *Kerástai* were wont to sacrifice strangers till Aphrodite, offended at their savagery, changed them all into bullocks<sup>4</sup>. Again, O. Hofer objects that, if Anthas had been merely a cult-epithet, we should have expected a repetition of the name Zeus before it<sup>5</sup>. But this objection only brings into clearer light the indisputable fact that in Attike the hero Anthas stood in intimate relation to Zeus. Anthos occupied a like position on Mount Lykaion.

Now Anthos, son of Autonooos and Hippodameia, deprived his father's horses of their pasture and was therefore devoured by them<sup>6</sup>—a fate recalling that of Lykourgos, king of the Thracian Edonoi, who in order that his land might not remain barren was taken by his subjects to Mount Pangaion and there destroyed by horses<sup>7</sup>. That a similar end overtook Anthos on Mount Lykaion is at least a permissible conjecture; for the charred bones found nowadays on the summit of this mountain<sup>8</sup> are said by the peasants to be 'the bones of men whom the ancients caused to be here trampled to death by horses, as corn is trodden by horses on a threshing-floor'<sup>9</sup>.

Conjecture apart, there is good reason to think that in time of

<sup>1</sup> He is called Anthas (Paus. 9. 22. 5, Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ανθηδών), Anthos (schol. *Il.* 2. 508, Eustath. in *Il.* 271, 13 ff.), Anthedon (Steph. Byz. and Eustath. loc. cit.), and Anthes (Herakleid. Pont. ap. Plout. *de mensura* 3); for all these local heroes are obviously one and the same.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 210, J. de Prot. *Leges Græcorum sacræ* Lipsiæ 1896 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26, 47. *ἐκ τῶν Δ. Δι' Ἀνθαλέϊ οἷς Δ.*, *ἱερῶν τε*.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (5).

<sup>4</sup> *Or. met.* 10. 220 ff., Iact. *Plac. nar. fab.* 10. 6, *infra* loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2491.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 73 n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Apollod. 3. 5. 1, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 312 f. Other examples of men done to death by horses with a like intent are cited in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 82, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 388 n. 92. See further S. Reinach 'Hippolyte' in the *Archiv. f. Rel.* 1907 x. 47—60 = *id.* *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 54—67.

<sup>8</sup> *Infra* p. 82.

<sup>9</sup> J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 2 (iv. 382).

## 76 Human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*

drought Zeus *Lýkaios* was placated with the sacrifice of a boy. Theophrastos indeed is reported to have said that this took place 'at the Lykaia'<sup>1</sup>—an expression which, strictly taken, denotes the regular festival celebrated probably at the beginning of May<sup>2</sup>. But the context of that very passage implies that human sacrifice, at least as exemplified by the cults of the Arcadian Zeus and the Carthaginian Kronos, was not a rite recurring at stated intervals but the last resort of a starving populace, practised only when crops failed and famine was imminent<sup>3</sup>. Even then the responsible clan devolved its blood-guiltiness upon a single man, who expiated his crime by disappearing from the neighbourhood. He hung his clothes upon a certain oak, swam across an adjoining pool, and was lost to sight in the wilderness beyond. What happened to him there nobody knew. It was whispered that he became a were-wolf.

The same combination of drought, oak-tree, and water occurs again in Pausanias' account of rain-magic on Mount Lykaion. It appears that, when the ground was parched and the trees blasted by the heat, the priest of Zeus *Lýkaios* took the branch of an oak-tree, stirred with it the water of the spring Hagno, and so caused the long-desired shower to fall<sup>4</sup>. It can hardly be doubted that the oak-tree and the pool of the one case are the oak-tree and the spring of the other. If so, we have every right to say that

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 70 n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> P. Wachl *Die Feste et Feste des Arcadiens* Vratislaviae 1879 p. 23 n. 5 on the strength of Xen. i. 2. 10 ἐνταῦθ' (at Paltai) ἐμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αὐτῇ ἑνιαυτῇ ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια εἶθε καὶ ἀγῶνα εἴθε· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἦσαν σπληγγίδες χροναὶ· εθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῆρος. See also Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 20 f.

<sup>3</sup> Theophrast. *op. Porph. de abst.* 2. 27 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μὲν γὰρ αἱ τῶν καρπῶν ἐγίνοντο τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίαι· χρόνῳ δὲ τῆς οὐσιότητος ἡμῶν εξαμελησάντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν ἐσπάνισαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς νομίμου τροφῆς ἐνδείαν εἰς τὸ σαργοφαγεῖν ἀλλήλων ὥρμησαν, τότε μετὰ πολλῶν λιτῶν ἱκετευόντες τὸ δαιμόνιον σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπῆρξαντο τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον, οὐ μόνον οὐ καλλίστον ἐνὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς θεοῖς καθοσιούντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρα τῶν καλλίστων προσεπιλαμβάνοντες τοῦ γένους· ἀπ' οὐ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μόνον τοῖς Λυκαίοις οὐδ' ἐν Καρχηδόνι τῷ Κρόνῳ κοινῇ παντες ἀνθρωποθητούσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ περίοδον, τῆς τοῦ νομίμου χάριν μνήμης. ἐμφύλιον αἷμα βάνουσι πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς, καίπερ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς οσίας ἐκτεροχόησης τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς περὶ ἀνθρωπίνους· καὶ κληρύματι, εἰ τις αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου μεταίτιος. The excerpt in Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 10 agrees with this *in part*, but is shorter, including only ἀπ' οὐ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς. The words τοῖς Λυκαίοις are, I think, either a loose expression for 'in the rites of Zeus *Lýkaios*' or—less probably—a blunder for τῷ Λυκαίῳ Δίῳ, due to haste and inattention on the part of Porphyrios, who did not realise that τῷ Λυκαίῳ Δίῳ is needed to balance τῷ Κρόνῳ and that both together are contrasted as extraordinary sacrifices with the ordinary ritual described in the words κατὰ περίοδον *κ.τ.λ.* On the other hand M. Mayer in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 1503 f. holds that the words κατὰ περίοδον are corrupt and have expelled the name of some locality.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (a) iii

an oak-tree sacred to Zeus *Lykaios* grew beside the spring Hagno. The primitive cults of Greece, as of other lands, constantly associated a holy tree with a holy well.

The simple folk of Arkadia were acorn-eaters<sup>1</sup>. Pelasgos, their first king,—says Pausanias<sup>2</sup>—introduced as food the fruit of oak-trees, not of all oaks, but only the acorns of the *phugós* oak. Since his time some of the people have adhered so closely to this diet that even the Pythian priestess, in forbidding the Lacedaemonians to touch the land of the Arcadians, spoke the following verses:—

There are many acorn-eating men in Arcadia  
Who will prevent you: though I do not grudge it you.

Plutarch goes further and declares that there was 'a certain kinship' between the Arcadians and the oak-tree: they believed that they were the first of men to spring from the ground, just as it was the first of trees<sup>3</sup>. But the relation of the oak to Zeus on the one hand and to his devotees on the other is a subject to which we shall have to return. For the present I pass on, noting merely that the existence of a clan whose business it was to promote vegetation at an ancient centre of oak-worship, if viewed in connexion with this alleged 'kinship' between the worshippers and the tree, is a phenomenon curiously suggestive of totemism.

A rite so unusual and impressive as the human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion had of course its explanatory myth. I quote again the garrulous but profoundly interesting Pausanias. From Pelasgos, introducer of the acorn-diet, he slips on to Pelasgos' son Lykaon, who gave to Zeus the surname *Lykaios* and founded the Lycaean games. 'In my opinion,' he continues, 'Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops, king of Athens, but the two were not equally sage in the matter of religion. For Cecrops was the first who gave to Zeus the surname of Supreme, and he refused to sacrifice anything that had life; but he burned on the altar the

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 1. 66, Paus. 8. 1. 638. 42, Ail. var. hist. 3. 39, Plout. v. *Coriol.* 3, Artemid. *onarov.* 2. 25 (citing Alkaios frag. 91 Bergk<sup>1</sup> "Ἀρκάδες ἔσσαν βάλανηφαγῶι), Philost. 7. *Apoll.* 8. 7 p. 320 Kayser, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 287, Galen. *de alimentorum facultatibus* 2. 38 (vi. 621 Kuhn), *ep. de probis praeisque alimentorum suis* 4 (vi. 778 Kuhn). See further P. Wagler *Die Enke in alter und neuer Zeit* Würzen 1891 i. 34 ff. Acorns figure frequently on coins of Mantinea (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 184 f. pl. 34. 19—22, 24—28).

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 8. 1. 6 trans. J. G. Frazer.

<sup>3</sup> Plout. *quai. st. Rom.* 92 ἡ παλαιὸν ἀπ' Ἀρκάδων τὸ ἔθος, οἷς ἔστι τις συγγένεια πρὸς τὴν δρῦν: πρῶτοι γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γεγενῆσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐκ γῆς, ὡς περ ἡ δρῦς τῶν φυτῶν. That this 'kinship' with the oak was no mere metaphor appears from Lykophron's mention of the Arcadians as ἐγγόνων δρύος (*L.* 480: Tzet. *ad loc.* has ἐκγόνων δρύος) and the myth of Arkas and the oak-nymph Chrysopeleia (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 185).

## 78 Human sacrifice to Zeus *Lykaeos*

national cakes which the Athenians to this day call *pelanoi*. Whereas Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, and poured out the blood on the altar; and they say that immediately after the sacrifice he was turned into a wolf. For my own part I believe the tale: it has been handed down among the Arcadians from antiquity, and probability is in its favour. For the men of that time, by reason of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods, and sat with them at table; the gods openly visited the good with honour, and the bad with their displeasure. Indeed men were raised to the rank of gods in those days, and are worshipped down to the present time...But in the present age, when wickedness is growing to such a height, and spreading over every land and every city, men are changed into gods no more, save in the hollow rhetoric which flattery addresses to power; and the wrath of the gods at the wicked is reserved for a distant future when they shall have gone hence. In the long course of the ages, many events in the past and not a few in the present have been brought into general discredit by persons who build a super-structure of falsehood on a foundation of truth. For example, they say that from the time of Lycaon downwards a man has always been turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus, but that the transformation is not for life; for if, while he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, in the ninth year afterwards he changes back into a man, but if he has tasted human flesh he remains a beast for ever<sup>1</sup>.

The myth of Lycaon has come down to us through various channels with a corresponding variety of detail. A useful conspectus is drawn up by O. Gruppe<sup>2</sup>, from which it appears that the sacrifice was offered either by Lycaon himself (this was the common tale)<sup>3</sup> or by his sons<sup>4</sup> (a variant meant to save the face of Lycaon). The victim is described occasionally as a guest of Lycaon<sup>5</sup>, or a Molossian hostage<sup>6</sup>, more often as a child<sup>7</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8, 2, 2-6.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Kzl.* p. 920 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> It went back to Hesiod (pseudo-Eratosth. *catacl.* 8, schol. Arat. *phain.* 27, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 302, 18 f. Cp. Hes. *frags.* 136 Flach).

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. 3, 8, 1; Hyg. *fab.* 176; Nikolaos Damask. *frags.* 43 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* m. 378 Muller), Soud. 17; *Arctav.* schol. Lyk. *Il.* 481, pseudo-Hecat. *frags.* 375 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* 1, 31 Muller) *ap. Natal. Com.* 9, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 1, 731, *Myth. Vat.* 2, 60.

<sup>6</sup> Ov. *met.* 1, 226 f.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. 8, 2, 3 *βρέφος ἀνθρώπου*, Nikol. Dam. and Soud. *loc. cit.* *θύσαντες τινα παῖδα*.

neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>, more often still as Lykaon's son<sup>2</sup> Nyktimos<sup>3</sup> or grandson Arkas<sup>4</sup>. The child was according to one account sacrificed on the altar of Zeus<sup>5</sup>, but according to the usual version dished up for his consumption at table<sup>6</sup>. Punishment for this impious act fell on Lykaon, who was transformed into a wolf<sup>7</sup>, or struck by lightning<sup>8</sup>, or had his house struck by lightning while he himself became a wolf<sup>9</sup>. Some said that his sons suffered with him, all alike being killed by lightning<sup>10</sup>, or that they were killed by lightning and he changed into a wolf<sup>11</sup>; some even said that the sons were punished as guilty and not the father<sup>12</sup>. Many added that the flood followed in consequence of the crime<sup>13</sup>.

These rilllets of tradition cross and recross one another with such complexity that it is difficult to map them or to make out which after all is the main stream. Nevertheless it seems certain that many, if not most, of them derive from distant sources of genuine folk-lore. Probably we shall not be far wrong, if—anticipating the results of a later section—we attempt to rewrite the story thus. Lykaon, king of the country and representative of Zeus *Lykaïos*, was as such held responsible for the weather and the crops<sup>14</sup>. If the land were distressed with drought, the king, in accordance with primitive custom<sup>15</sup>, must be put to death, passing on his divine rights and duties to a less impotent successor. In course of time this stern rule was modified<sup>16</sup>. The king might

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. 3. 8. 1 *ἐν τῶν ἐπιχώριων παῖδα*, Tzet. in Lyk. *Al.* 481 *ἐπιχώριον παῖδα*, pseudo-Hekat. *loc. cit.* *ἐν τῶν ἐγχωρίων παιδαρίων*.

<sup>2</sup> Interp. Serv. in Verg. *ed.* 6. 41, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. *Al. protr.* 2. 36. 5 p. 27. 19 ff. Stahlm. Nonn. *Thon.* 18. 20 ff., schol. Lyk. *Al.* 481.

<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 8, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 89.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 8. 2. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Zeus had come in the guise of a working-man (Apollod. 3. 8. 1, Tzet. in Lyk. *Al.* 481, pseudo-Hekat. *loc. cit.*) or stranger (Nikol. Dam. and Soud. *loc. cit.*).

<sup>7</sup> Paus. 8. 2. 3, Serv. in Verg. *Ann.* 1. 731, Myth. Vat. 1. 17. 2. 60.

<sup>8</sup> Interp. Serv. in Verg. *ed.* 6. 41.

<sup>9</sup> Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 8, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 89, Ov. *met.* 1. 230 ff., Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Phil.* 11. 128.

<sup>10</sup> Apollod. 3. 81, Tzet. in Lyk. *Al.* 481. The youngest, Nyktimos, escaped, for Ge held up her hands, clasped the right hand of Zeus, and assuaged his anger.

<sup>11</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 176.

<sup>12</sup> Nikol. Dam. and Soud. *loc. cit.*, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 481. A second version given by schol. Lyk. *ib.* states that Zeus destroyed the sons of Lykaon with lightning till Ge stretched forth her hand and interceded for them, and that he turned some of them into wolves (cp. pseudo-Hekat. *loc. cit.*).

<sup>13</sup> Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Tzet. in Lyk. *Al.* 481, interp. Serv. in Verg. *ed.* 6. 41, Myth. Vat. 1. 189.

<sup>14</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough* 2 i. 154 ff., <sup>15</sup>The Magic Art i. 396 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Id. ib.* 2 i. 158 f., <sup>17</sup>The Magic Art i. 352 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Id. ib.* 2 ii. 551., <sup>19</sup>The Dying God p. 160 ff. See also *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 392 ff.

## 80 Human sacrifice to Zeus *Lykaïos*

sacrifice his son, or grandson, or the son of one of his subjects, or even, by a further relaxation, a stranger from afar in lieu of his own life. He thus discharged his original debt: but only to incur another of equal magnitude. For by slaying his son or grandson or subject he would render himself liable to the early law of bloodshed<sup>1</sup>. If a man slew a member of an alien tribe or city, he must either be slain himself in return or else pay a sufficient blood-price. But if he slew a member of his own tribe or city, no blood-price was allowed: he must be put to death, or—it was the only possible alternative—flee into perpetual exile. The king, therefore, taken in this dilemma, sought to escape by the expedient of the common feast, which enabled him to share his guilt with others. The feasters in turn transferred it to a single member of the 'Flower'-clan. And he had forthwith to pay the penalty otherwise incumbent on the king; he had, that is, either to die the death or to flee the country.

It would seem, then, that the myth of Lykaon has in effect preserved the first stages of a custom whose final form is given in the statements of Skopas and Euanthes. Not often does an aetiological myth supply so satisfactory an *action*. Viewing the story as a whole, we cannot but feel that the connexion of Zeus *Lykaïos* with the light sky is a more fundamental feature of it than the transformation of his worshippers into wolves. He as god of the light sky normally bestowed the sunshine and ripened the crops. They on certain rare and exceptional occasions incurred bloodguiltiness in his service and had to disappear. They might be killed, or they might be exiled. Some of our authorities declare that Zeus struck them with lightning—an appropriate end for worshippers of a sky-god<sup>2</sup>. Others state that they became were-wolves—again an appropriate fate for exiles and vagabonds<sup>3</sup>. This belief in were-wolves, which has from time immemorial prevailed throughout Europe<sup>4</sup> and is even now to be traced in

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Seebohm *On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society* London 1895 p. 41 ff. ('The Liability for Bloodshed'). Moreover, 'the sanctity of the stranger-guest, who as early as Homer and probably much earlier was placed under the protection of Zeus, was almost as great as the sanctity of the kinsman's life, and to slay him was a religious sin, for which, according to one legend, Heracles was sold into slavery to Omphale' (Farnell *Cults of Greek States* i. 73 with note d).

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 385 f., 1905 xvi. 324 f.

<sup>3</sup> See the facts collected by Gruppe *Griech. Myth. Rel.* p. 918 n. 7.

Note also that, according to Macrini *De ralle Hadhrant* Bonn 1866 p. 19 f. (quoted by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup> London 1907 p. 88, R. Campbell Thompson *Semite Myth* London 1908 p. 57 n. 1), the Serai in Hadhrant can change to were-wolves in time of drought.

<sup>4</sup> Recent monographs on the subject are S. Baring-Gould *The Book of Were-Wolves*

Arkadia<sup>1</sup>, naturally attached itself to the rite of eating human flesh<sup>2</sup>. And lycanthropy often involved metamorphosis for a given term of years, after which the were-wolf returned to human shape<sup>3</sup>. But nowhere else, so far as I am aware, did this superstition stand in any special relation to the cult of Zeus. I conclude, therefore, that Zeus *Lýkaios* was not essentially, but only as it were by accident, a 'Wolf'-god. His original character was that of a 'Light'-god controlling the sunshine, the rain, and the crops.

#### (d) The Precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*.

In 1903 Mr K. Kourouniotes trenched the altar and laid bare the precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*. I will here summarise the results of the excavation<sup>4</sup>.

The top of Mount Lykaion (fig. 50)<sup>5</sup> has three crests—*Stropháni*, the highest point (about 4615 ft above sea-level); *Áe Liás*, somewhat lower (about 4550 ft); and *Diaphórti*, on which is a ruined tower, probably Turkish in origin. It is with *Áe Liás* that we are concerned. This summit takes its name from Saint Elías<sup>6</sup>, whose little chapel stands on the south-east edge of a small level space adjoining the crest on its south side. The level is known locally as *Tabérna* from a shop, which was once established here to supply necessities for the saint's festival.

London 1865, W. Hertz *Der Werwolf* Stuttgart 1862, W. Fischer *Dämonische Wesen, Vampir u. Werwolf, in Geschichte und Sage (Aberglaube alter Zeiten in)* Stuttgart 1906. See also R. Leubuscher *Dissertatio de Lycanthropia Medio aevi* Berlin 1850, F. G. Welcker 'Lycanthropie ein Aberglaube und eine Krankheit' in his *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1850 iii. 157—184, W. H. Roscher 'Das von der "Kynanthropie" handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side' in the *Abh. d. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 xvii. 3. 1—92.

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 240. On the were-wolf in modern Greece generally consult N. G. Polites *περὶ Λυκοανθρώπων* in the journal *Παρθένα* 1866 xvi. 453 f., *Μελετὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 67 ff., and *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 ii. 1240 ff., where a full bibliography is given.

<sup>2</sup> Hertz *op. cit.* p. 39 (quoted by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 920 n. 3) adduces Indian and German examples of men transformed into beasts after tasting human flesh.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* pp. 58 (Ireland: seven years), 59 ('Ossynian' *etc.*: seven years), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 55 (Normandy: seven years, sometimes three).

<sup>4</sup> K. Kourouniotes in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 pp. 153—214. See also F. H. Marshall in the *Class. Rev.* 1905 xix. 280 f. Kourouniotes has further excavated the hippodrome etc. on Mt Lykaion (Ἱπποκ. ἀρχ. *etc.* 1909 pp. 185—200 with figs., *cp. Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1911 xv. 417).

<sup>5</sup> From a photograph kindly sent to me by Mr Kourouniotes, through whose generosity I am enabled also to make use of the unpublished photograph (pl. viii) and the illustrations in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Ἁγ. Λιάς = Ἁγιος Ἠλίας.

## 82      The Precinct of Zeus *Lýkaeos*

The altar of Zeus forms the apex of *Ac Liás*. It is circular in shape and flat like a threshing-floor, measuring 97 ft 6 ins. across. It is composed mainly of the remains of sacrifices, the rock being covered to a depth of 5 ft with a layer of ashes etc. In this layer are numerous bones, mostly those of small animals, but also of oxen and pigs: no human bones were recognised. All the bones had been burnt. Among the débris are large charred stones at



Fig. 50.

irregular intervals, lying singly or gathered together in small heaps. These served to prevent the ashes from being blown away from the exposed and wind-swept height<sup>1</sup>. Small fragments of *phiailai* and *skyphoi* dating from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were found in the sacrificial stratum, also two small *kotyliskoi*, sundry portions of lamps, chips of roof-tiles—one inscribed <sup>AP</sup> <sub>(O)EI</sub> in lettering of the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Plin. nat. hist.* 2. 240 in Lacinae Iunonis ara sub diu sita cinerem immobilem esse perflantibus undique procellis (quoted by Kourouniotes) and the evidence collected *infra* p. 103 nn. 1-4, with regard to the summits of Olympus, Kyllene, and Athos.

Proof of the sanctity attaching to ashes has come to light at Orchomenos in Boiotia. Inside the houses of the second pre-Mycenaean stratum H. Bulle found numerous *βόθροι*, carefully lined with yellow clay. These pits were circular in plan and U-shaped in vertical section. They were for the most part filled with ashes, which appear to have been kept for religious reasons (H. Bulle *Orchomenos* Munchen 1907 i. 25 ff.).







The summit of Mount Lykaon. In the foreground are the bases of the two eagle-bearing columns of Zeus.  
*See pages 83 f., ch. page 81 n. 5.*

fourth century—and an almost shapeless terra cotta bird. The metal finds included a silver coin of Aigina (c. 500 B.C.), two small tripods of beaten bronze, and an iron knife—altogether a meagre and disappointing collection.

The precinct, which occupies the level called *Tabérna*, is approximately 180 ft broad by 400 ft long. It is marked out by a line of unworked stones, a boundary that men or beasts could easily cross<sup>1</sup>. The earth here is blackish, but has no bones in it. Kourouniotes believes that the dis-coloration is due to the blood of animals slain as it were on the *próthysis* before they were burnt on the altar. Perhaps a geologist or an analytical chemist could supply a less gruesome explanation. In the soil of the precinct were found fragments of roof-tiles, part of an iron chain, a large key, a greave decorated with swans and serpents in relief and inscribed ΕΝΔΑΣΑΝΕ... ΔΙΑΘΑΝΑΙ<sup>2</sup>, a bronze statuette-base, and two bronze statuettes. One of these was a beardless Hermes (c. 490—470 B.C.) in *chitoniskos*, *chlamýs*, *pílos*, and winged boots; the other a later figure, probably of the same god, with *chlamýs* and *pétasos*<sup>3</sup>.

A little lower down than the eastern limit of the precinct Kontopoulos had discovered in 1897 two large bases about 23 ft apart, undoubtedly those of the two eagle-bearing columns mentioned by Pausanias<sup>4</sup>. In a gully north-east of the summit he had found also one marble drum from a Doric column of twenty flutes, and had erected it on the southern base (pl. viii)<sup>5</sup>. Kourouniotes continued the search, and was rewarded for his pains. He obtained other blocks belonging to the bases, which were thus proved to have resembled the three-stepped statue-bases of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The columns themselves were still standing in Pausanias' day, but the gilded eagles had gone<sup>6</sup>. Kourouniotes accounts for their disappearance as follows. He points out that in the market-place at Megalopolis Pausanias saw an enclosure of stones and a sanctuary of Zeus *Lýkaios* containing altars, two tables, and two eagles<sup>7</sup>; and he suggests that these

<sup>1</sup> Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 p. 159 f. fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Kourouniotes restores [Εὐτ]ελιδας ἀνέ[θηκε τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀθάνῃ.

<sup>3</sup> Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 pl. 9--10.

<sup>4</sup> *Συγγραμ.* p. 66 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 p. 173 f. fig. 7, c). pl. 8, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 7 πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ κίονες δύο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνίσχοντα ἐστήκασιν ἥλιον, ἀετοὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχρῖνται τὰ γὰρ ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐπεποιήντο.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. 8. 30. 2 περίβολος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ λιθῶν καὶ ἱερὸν Λυκαίου Διός, ἐσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι· τὰ γὰρ ἐντός ἐστι δὴ σύνοπτα, βωμοὶ τέ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τράπεζαι δύο καὶ ἀετοὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἴσοι.

## 84      The Precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*

eagles had been carried off from the precinct on Mount Lykaion. However that may be, digging close to the northern base on the mountain-side, Kourouniotes came upon an interesting series of bronze statuettes illustrative of the cult<sup>1</sup>.

The earliest of them, which he refers to the seventh century B.C., is a clumsy figure of Zeus with short legs and long body. The god stands erect. His raised right hand grasps a thunderbolt, his outstretched left has an eagle perched upon it (fig. 51)<sup>2</sup>.

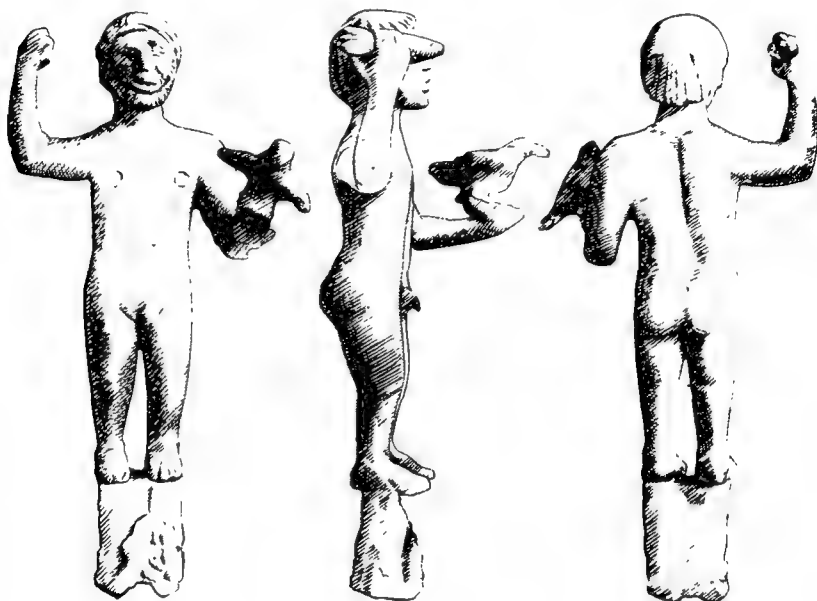


Fig. 51.

The second statuette shows Zeus striding forward with uplifted right hand and extended left. In the former there was once a bolt, in the latter perhaps an eagle (fig. 52)<sup>3</sup>. Similar statuettes, which

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the bronzes here described there were found two figures of Hermes, showing traces of Polykleitos' style ('*Εφ. Αρχ.*' 1904 p. 200 ff. figs. 20-22), another in the attitude of a runner (*ib.* p. 206 fig. 24), a coiled snake with two heads (*ib.* p. 211 fig. 27), and a votive *ἀσκός* (*ib.* p. 212 fig. 28). The fact that at least three, probably four, statuettes of Hermes were found in or near the precinct requires explanation. Was there a cult of Hermes on the spot? For the dedication of one deity in the temple of another see the careful collection of facts in W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 391 ff. But, as Miss Harrison has pointed out to me, T. Zielinski in the *Arch. f. Rel.* 1906 viii. 321 ff. ix. 25 ff. shows that the Hermes of the Hermetic cosmogony came to Kyrene from Arkadia. The remaining finds included ten engraved rings, one of bronze, the rest of iron.

<sup>2</sup> '*Εφ. Αρχ.*' 1904 p. 181 f. figs. 8-10

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* p. 185 fig. 11.



Fig. 54.



Fig. 53.

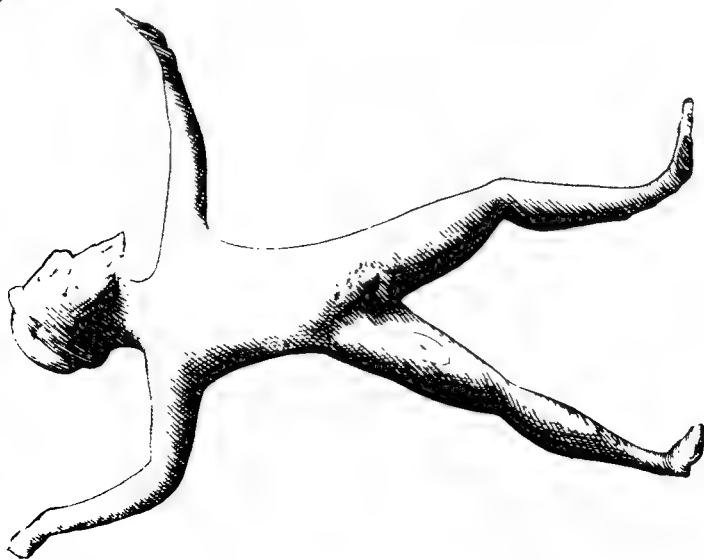


Fig. 52.

## 86 The Precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*

exemplify a type current about 480 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, have been found at Olympia (fig. 53)<sup>2</sup> and at Dodona (fig. 54)<sup>3</sup>.

Thirdly (fig. 55)<sup>4</sup> we have Zeus seated squarely on a throne, which is now lost. His hair is long and falls over his back; his beard is pointed; and his lips are drawn up in the usual archaic expression. He wears a *chiton* with short sleeves, and a *himation* draped under his right arm and over his left shoulder. His feet, which are bare, rest on a footstool. Both arms are bent at the elbow, and both hands hold attributes. In the left is the lower

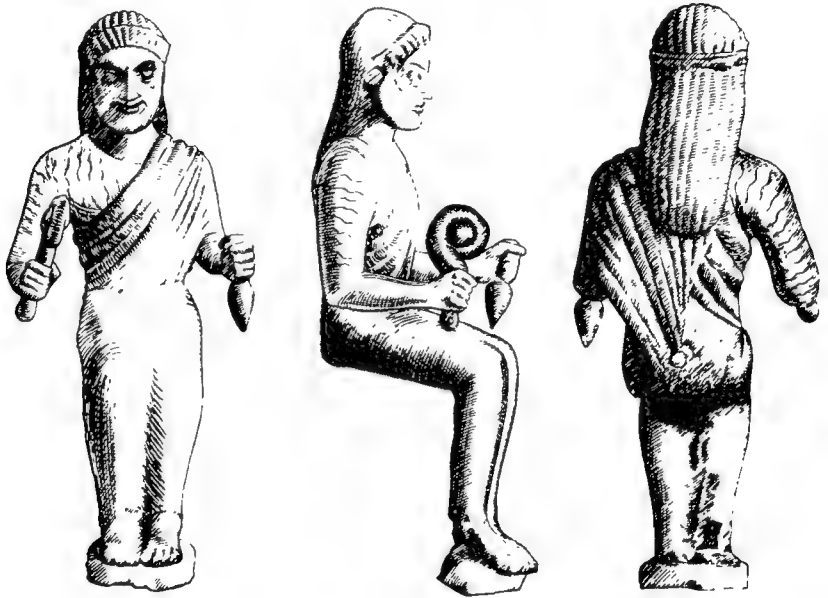


Fig. 55.

half of a thunderbolt; in the right—not, as we should have expected, a sceptre—but a short rod with a knob at the bottom and a crook at the top closely resembling the Roman *lituus*, the direct ancestor of the pastoral staff still borne by our ecclesiastical hierarchy<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See the discussion by Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 III. 149—152 pl. 10, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia* IV. 18 f. nos. 43—45 pl. 7, 43, 45, pl. 8, 44. See *infra* ch. II § 3 (c) iv (a).

<sup>3</sup> C. Carapanos *Dodoni et ses ruines* Paris 1878 pl. 12, 4, *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*<sup>2</sup> p. 362 no. 31. The finest specimen of this type is at Berlin: R. Kekulé von Stradonitz and H. Winnefeld *Bronzen aus Dodona in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 1909 pl. 1, A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 p. 187 f. figs. 12—14, A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1906 XIX. 170 f.

<sup>5</sup> On the derivation of the pastoral staff from the *lituus* see the Rev. H. T. Annfield in Smith-Cheetham *Diet. Chr. Ant.* II. 1565 ff.

Kourouniotes reminds us that, according to tradition<sup>1</sup>, Euandros, son of Hermes, led a colony from Pallantion in Arkadia into Italy, where he built a town Pallantion on the Palatine, and introduced the cult of Pan *Lýkaios* and the festival of the Lykaia, later known as the Lupercalia. This tradition points to an early connexion between Arkadia and Italy; and it is open to us to believe that the use of the *lituos* came to the latter from the former. But what exactly was the *lituos*? In shape it differs but little from that of the ordinary crooked stick carried by old-fashioned Greeks<sup>2</sup>. Monsieur H. Thédénat, after a review of the evidence, concludes—on the strength of a note by Servius<sup>3</sup>—that the augur's *lituos* may have been a royal sceptre<sup>4</sup>. This conclusion is borne out by the Hittite rock-carvings of Boghaz-Keui (c. 1271 B.C.), where the priestly king carries a large reversed *lituos*<sup>5</sup>. I would venture one step further and suggest that the *lituos* is ultimately the conventionalised branch of a sacred tree<sup>6</sup>. If Zeus *Lýkaios* bears a *lituos*, it is because his sceptre, so to speak, was an oak-branch. His priest—we have seen—took an oak-branch in hand, when he acted as rain-maker on Mount Lykaion<sup>7</sup>. But, whether the *lituos* represents an original branch or not, it certainly serves as a quasi-sceptre. For this statuette (c. 550—500 B.C.) can hardly be dissociated from the fifth-century coinage of Arkadia, which—we have said<sup>8</sup>—shows Zeus *Lýkaios* seated on a throne with a sceptre in his hand. In all probability both the statuette and the coins represent the cult image of the god<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 839 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. Saglio in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 639 ff. A black-figured *amphora* shows Zeus enthroned with a crooked stick as sceptre (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 48, 2, 2 b).

<sup>3</sup> Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 7. 187 *lituum*, id est regnum baculum, in quo potestas esset dirimendarum litum.

<sup>4</sup> H. Thédénat in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1277 l. L. Siret in *L'Anthropologie* 1910 xvi. 303 would connect it with neolithic axe-handles: he sees in its form and theirs the arm of a cuttle-fish!

<sup>5</sup> J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 217, 229 pls. 68, 71.

<sup>6</sup> Walde *Lat. etym. Worterb.* p. 345 derives *lituus*, Gothic *līpus*, Old High German *lūf*, 'limb,' from a root \**li-t-*, 'to crook or bend,' which with another determinative gives the Old Icelandic *lim*, 'limb,' *lm*, 'branch,' and the Anglo-Saxon *līm*, 'limb, branch.'

On the royal sceptre as a conventionalised tree see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 370 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 65; *infra* ch. ii § 9 (a) iii.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 68. Specimens were found by Kourouniotes on Mt Lykaion.

<sup>9</sup> The *lituos* is not elsewhere known as an attribute of Zeus. A bronze statuette found at Olympia shows him holding in his left hand a broken object, which ends below in a stud or knob. This Furtwangler *Olympia* iv. 17 pl. 7, 40. 40 a took to be the handle of a sword: Kourouniotes would restore it as a *lituos* (so also Stais *Marbres et Bronzes d'Athènes* p. 289 f. no. 6163).

## 88      The Precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*

A fourth figure, more clumsy in style, gives us Zeus standing on a square base. He is clothed in a long *himation*. In his clenched right hand he holds the remains of a thunderbolt; in his clenched left, no attribute at all (fig. 56)<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 56.

A few other fragments—a right hand grasping part of a bolt<sup>2</sup>, the fore-part of a right foot<sup>3</sup>, and an eagle with spread wings (fig. 57 *a, b*)<sup>4</sup>—possibly belong to a larger statue, or statues, of Zeus, and may be assigned to the early fifth century<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 p. 193 fig. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 194 fig. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 194 fig. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 195 f. figs. 18—19.

<sup>5</sup> It may here be mentioned that the British Museum possesses a silver mgot, said to have been found in Sicily, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣΛΥΚΑ on one side, ΤΡΥΓΩΝ on the other, and was doubtless dedicated to Zeus *Lýkaios* by one Trygon (*Brit. Mus. Guide Gk. Rom. Life* 1908 p. 37 f. no. 70, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 597). The romance imagined by Rochl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 523 is baseless.



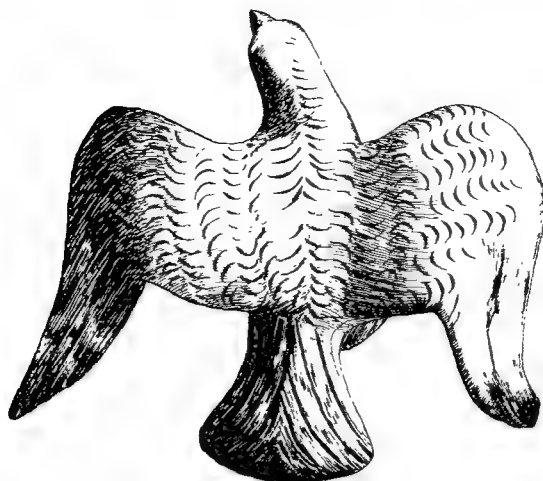


Fig. 57 *a*.

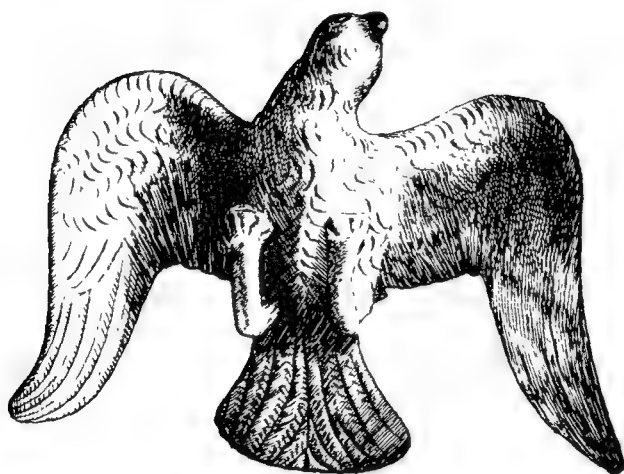


Fig. 57 *b*.

(e) The Cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* at Kyrene.

The cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* spread from Arkadia to Kyrene. There appears, indeed, to have been some ancestral link between these two places; for more than once Arcadians were called in to settle with authority political disputes that had arisen at Kyrene<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 4. 161 (Demonax of Mantinea, shortly after 550 B.C.), Polyb. 10. 22. 2 f. and Plout. 7. *Philoform.* 1 (Ekdemios and Demophanes, or Megalophanes, of Megalopolis, in the third century B.C.). See also *Archiv. f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 42 n. 1.

## 90 The Cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* at Kyrene

Herodotos relates that the Persian army, on its return from the capture of Barke (512 B.C.), encamped upon the 'hill of Zeus *Lýkaios*' near Kyrene<sup>1</sup>. This certainly implies a Cyrenaic cult of that deity. Moreover, Ludvig Müller pointed out that the figure of Zeus *Lýkaios* on the early silver coins of Arkadia (fig. 43)<sup>2</sup> is reproduced on a gold *statér* of Kyrene (fig. 58)<sup>3</sup>. Here too we see the god enthroned towards the left with a sceptre in his right hand, while an eagle flies directly towards him. Other specimens of the Cyrenaic *statér* vary, as did the Arcadian coins, only with more freedom, the position of the eagle, which sometimes flies before Zeus with a snake in its talons<sup>4</sup>, sometimes rests on the



Fig. 58.



Fig. 59.



Fig. 60.



Fig. 61.



Fig. 62.



Fig. 63.

right hand of the god<sup>5</sup>, sometimes perches behind him on a stem or branch curved like a *lituos* (figs. 59, 60)<sup>6</sup>, and sometimes is absent altogether<sup>7</sup>. The remarkable adjunct of the eagle on a *lituos*-shaped branch cannot, so far as I know, be precisely paralleled.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 4. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *supra* p. 68 f.

<sup>3</sup> L. Müller *Numismatique de l'Antienne Afrique* Copenhagen 1860 i. 48 no. 184 fig. 184, *ib.* p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* *ib.* i. 49 no. 188, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 568 (cp. *ib.* pl. 92, 2).

<sup>5</sup> L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 no. 190, Supplément p. 9 pl. 1, 190, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 ii. 95 no. 717, *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 104 no. 801 pl. 10.

<sup>6</sup> L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 nos. 185—187 fig. 185 (my fig. 59). Fig. 60 is from a specimen in the British Museum.

In the *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 104 no. 799 pl. 10 the eagle appears to be seated on a rock. Cp. *O'Hagan Sale Catalogue* 1908 p. 79 no. 786 (?).

<sup>7</sup> L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 no. 189 fig. 189.

## The Cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* at Kyrene 91

An eagle above and in contact with a transverse *lituos* is said to occur on a late bronze coin of Panormos (fig. 61)<sup>1</sup>. But a better analogy is afforded by the eagle on a pine-tree before the seated figure of Zeus *Aitnaíos*, which appears on a unique tetradrachm of Aitne (fig. 62)<sup>2</sup>, or by the eagle on a crooked bough, probably representing the oaks of Zeus *Strátios*, which is found on imperial bronze coins of Amaseia (fig. 63)<sup>3</sup>. In view of the fact that the eagle and the *lituos* were both attributes of Zeus at the precinct on Mount Lykaion<sup>4</sup> the combination of the two furnishes an additional reason for believing that the throned Zeus of Kyrene was indeed Zeus *Lýkaios*<sup>5</sup>.



Fig. 64.

In one detail the Zeus of these Cyrenaic coins differs from the Zeus of the Arcadian coins. His free arm is consistently shown resting on the low back of his seat in an attitude of easy indolence. Now this is a trait which is not seen in any other representation of Zeus on Greek coins. In fact, the only close parallel to it<sup>6</sup> in the whole range of ancient Zeus-types is the careless and yet majestic

<sup>1</sup> P. Paruta *Smitha Numismatica Lugduni Batavorum* 1723 pl. 3, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* Append. B Sicily.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus etc.* 8 pl. 1, 15; 11 pl. 2, 7 (=my fig. 63) Waddington —Babelon—Reinach *Mém. gr. d'As. Mus.* i. 35 pl. 5, 11; 40 pl. 6, 5. On the oaks of Zeus *Strátios* see *Clav. R.* 7, 1904 xviii, 79 f., 372 fig. 5, *Jahrb.-Lanc* 1904 xv, 296, 306 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 83 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Head Hist. num.* i. p. 729, *ib.* 2 p. 869 says 'Zeus Ammon' — a curious blunder.

<sup>6</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 161

pose of Zeus in the Parthenon frieze (fig. 64)<sup>1</sup>. It is, therefore, highly probable that the cult-statue of Zeus *Lýkaios* existing at Kyrene in the period to which the gold coins belong was the work, if not of Pheidias himself, at least of some sculptor much under his influence. If further evidence be required, one may point to the fact that in a temple of Helios and Selene at Byzantion there was preserved as late as the eleventh century a white marble statue of Zeus ascribed to Pheidias, of which we are told that it 'seemed to be seated on a sofa'<sup>2</sup>. Whether the product of Pheidias art or not, Zeus at Kyrene reclined on his throne in an attitude of unusual repose. This, if I am not mistaken, earned for him the curious *sobriquet* of *Elinýmenos*<sup>3</sup>, Zeus 'Taking his *Siesta*'.

#### (f) Zeus *Lýkaios* on a Spartan ('Cyrenaic') *Kýlix*.

F. Studniczka<sup>4</sup> in dealing with the cults of Kyrene observed that a seated Zeus on a 'Cyrenaic' *kýlix* in the Louvre (fig. 65)<sup>5</sup> bore a striking resemblance to the seated Zeus of the Arcadian coins, and proposed to identify the former with the latter as Zeus *Lýkaios*. And such he may well be. For the force of Studniczka's comparison is in no way weakened by Mr J. P. Droop's discovery that the original home of 'Cyrenaic' ware was not Kyrene but Sparta<sup>6</sup>. From Mount Lykaion to the Eurotas valley was no far

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 pl. 34, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909 pl. 127, 30. Cp. Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 29 pl. 10 no. 6 after Bartoli-Bellori *Admir. Rem. ant.* pl. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 c (i. 567 Bekker) αὐτοῦ δὲ πρὸς γῆν ἣν βρέτας Διὸς ἐκ νευκοῦ λίθου, ἔργον Φειδίου, ἰσάνον τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ κλίνης.

<sup>3</sup> Hesych. Ἐλινύμενος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ.

<sup>4</sup> Hesych. Ἐλινύων· ἀναπαύμενος. L. Muller *op. cit.* i. 67 f. regards the *litnos*-shaped branch of the Cyrenaic coins as a vine-shoot, and conjectures that Zeus Ἐλινύμενος meant not only 'le dieu qui repose' but also the god 'of the Vine-shoot' (*cf. miz.* p. 330, 39 f. ἔλινός· τὸν κλάδον τῆς ἀμπέλου). But the epithet is obviously a participle.

<sup>5</sup> F. Studniczka *Kyrene* Leipzig 1890 p. 14 f.

<sup>6</sup> Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 529, *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2<sup>e</sup> Série Paris 1901 p. 63 no. E 668, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 p. 237 ff. pl. 12, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907-1908 xiv. 2, 44 ff. See also R. M. Dawkins in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 322 f. and in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1908 p. 17, A. J. B. Wace *ib.* 1909 p. 48 f. W. Klein *Euphronios*<sup>2</sup> Wien 1886 p. 77 had previously conjectured that the 'Cyrenaic' vases were made in Lakonike.

The subject cannot here be discussed in detail. But we must bear in mind that Sparta, as the mother of Thera, was the grandmother of Kyrene. It would not therefore be surprising to find that a ware originating in Sparta was made at Kyrene also. And this seems on the whole to be the simplest assumption in the case of the Arkasidas *kýlix* (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 98 ff. no. 189). See J. R. Wheeler *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology* New York etc. 1909 p. 468 n. 1.

ry; and, if Alkman the great lyric poet of Sparta composed a hymn to Zeus *Lýkaios*<sup>1</sup>, the Spartan potters very possibly represented the same deity on their cups. The Louvre *kýlix* is on this showing the artistic counterpart of Alkman's poem. Zeus, wearing a *chiton* and tightly swathed in an ornamental *himation*, is seated on his altar—a large stepped structure of stone blocks<sup>2</sup>—, while his eagle wings its way directly towards him. The god's long hair hangs over his back, and his upper lip is shaved in genuine Spartan style<sup>3</sup>.



Fig. 65.

Another 'Cypriatic' *kýlix*, now in the Royal Museum at Cassel, shows a male figure enthroned in conversation with Hermes (fig. 66)<sup>4</sup>. It is at first sight tempting to regard this too as a representation of Zeus *Lýkaios*, in whose precinct sundry statuettes of Hermes were

<sup>1</sup> Alkman *fr.* 111. Bergk<sup>1</sup>. Hymn. 9. 5. 3 (Alkman) ἐν ἄρχαν μὲν διὰ τῆς Σπάρτης  
<sup>2</sup> *Zeus Lykaion* *καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>3</sup> See W. Reichel *Über die Kunst der Griechen*, Wien 1897 p. 40 f.

<sup>4</sup> W. Ridgeway in *Antiquarian Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford  
 1907 p. 305.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquarian Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor*, 1898 and Arch. Anz. p. 189 f. figs. 2—3.



Fig. 66.



Fig. 67.

found<sup>1</sup>. But the bird behind the throne is, as J. Boehlau remarked<sup>2</sup>, merely put in to fill up the blank space and cannot pass muster as the eagle of Zeus. Moreover the vase is not to be dissociated from two others of the same sort. One of these, a *kýlix* in the Munich collection, again depicts a male figure on a lion-legged throne, conversing with similar gestures. His interlocutor is a female figure, conceived on a smaller scale and enthroned over against him. The supports of the larger throne are in the shapes of a tree and an animal—species difficult to determine (fig. 67)<sup>3</sup>. The second vase, a fragmentary *kýlix* in the British Museum, once more shows a man on a lion-footed throne. Before him stands a woman, who raises her left hand with a gesture of reverence and in her right hand presents a pomegranate (fig. 68)<sup>4</sup>. This last vase fortunately enables us to fix the character of the other two; for its resemblance to the contemporary funeral reliefs of Lakonike<sup>5</sup> is quite unmistakable. Indeed, further inspection reveals numerous points of contact between all three vases and the reliefs in question. I conclude, therefore, that what the reliefs were in sculpture the vases were in ceramic art—a memorial of the divinised dead. This satisfactorily accounts for the enthronement



Fig. 68.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrb. cl. u. alt.*

<sup>3</sup> *Jahn Vasensamm. München* p. 229 f. no. 737, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix pl. 13, 5, F. Studniczka *op. cit.* p. 8 fig. 3.

This vase is commonly thought to represent a *gourai* scene—a man talking with a woman. But on 'Cyrenaic' ware religious or mythological types predominate (H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 341), and we may fairly suspect a deeper meaning. Studniczka *op. cit.* p. 23 suggests Apollon with the Hesperid Kyrene.

The animal supporting the throne has been variously interpreted as a hare (O. Jahn *loc. cit.*) or a dog (A. Dumont E. Potier *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1884 i. 302, Remach *R. f. Vascul.* 434).

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 51 no. B 6 (Apollon? and Kyrene), Studniczka *op. cit.* p. 23 fig. 18 (Apollon or Aristaios? or Battos<sup>22</sup> and Kyrene) and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1729 (Battos and Kyrene).

<sup>5</sup> The best collection of facts concerning these reliefs is that given by M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Spartan Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 102 ff.

## 96 Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb

of the man and the woman, for the presence of Hermes the 'Conductor of Souls,' for the reverential attitude of the worshipper, and for her gift of a pomegranate. Finally, just as the funereal



Fig. 69.

reliefs tended towards simplification of type', so a 'Cyrenaic' *kylix* in the National Museum at Athens reduces the whole scene of the enthroned dead to a mere head and shoulders (fig. 69)<sup>2</sup>.

### (g) Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb.

A small bronze statuette, found in the Rhine-district and procured by F. G. Welcker for the Museum of National Antiquities at Bonn, was believed by J. Overbeck to represent Zeus *Lykaïos*. The god stands erect holding a deep bowl or pot in his outstretched right hand and leaning with his raised left hand on some object now lost. He is clad over head, shoulders, and back in a wolf-skin, the fore-paws of which have been cut off, sewn on inside, and

<sup>1</sup> M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 107 f.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Droop in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 176 ff. figs. 1 b--4.





Fig. 70.



Fig. 71.



Fig. 72.



Fig. 73.

knotted round the wearer's neck (fig. 70)<sup>1</sup>. It will not be denied that this interesting bronze shows a Zeus-like god wearing a wolf-skin. But we shall not venture to describe him as Zeus *Lýkaïos*. For there is neither literary nor epigraphic evidence to prove that the Arcadian Zeus travelled as far north as he did south. And, even if that had been the case, his cult-type was widely different from this. Rather we shall agree with S. Reinach<sup>2</sup>, who ranges the Bonn statuette<sup>3</sup> along with a whole series of bronzes representing the Gallo-Roman *Dis pater*, the ancestor—Caesar tells us<sup>4</sup>—of all the Gauls. Such figures regularly hold a bowl in one hand and rest the other on a long-handled mallet. Many of them also wear a wolf-skin hood (fig. 71)<sup>5</sup>, though the nature of the skin is seldom so clearly marked as in this example. Reinach himself suggests that the Gaulish mallet-god may have got his wolf-skin from some Greek identification of him with the Arcadian Zeus *Lýkaïos*<sup>6</sup>. But it must not be forgotten that in Etruscan tomb-paintings at Orvieto (fig. 72)<sup>7</sup> and Corneto (fig. 73)<sup>8</sup> Hades likewise is coifed in a wolf-skin<sup>9</sup>; and from the Etruscan Hades to the Gallo-Roman *Dis pater* there is but a short step.

<sup>1</sup> J. Overbeck in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1851 xvii. 69—74 pl. 2, *id. Katalog der konigl. preuss. rhein. Mus. vaterland. Alterthümer* Bonn 1851 p. 98 no. 5, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 266 f. Overbeck is followed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* pp. 137—185.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 6. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Drawn from a cast of the bronze found at Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Drome) and now in the Museum at Avignon (Remach *op. cit.* p. 141 no. 146, *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 no. 8). Another fine specimen from Vienne (Isère) is in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 142 no. 788, *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 178 pl. 26).

<sup>6</sup> Remach *op. cit.* p. 141 n. 2, *op. cit.* p. 162 n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> G. Conestabile *Pitture murali e suppellettili etrusche scoperte presso Orvieto nel 1863 da Domenico Golinì* Firenze 1865 pl. 11, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1807 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pls. 15 and 15 a, W. Hellag in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 27. C. Scheier in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1805.

<sup>9</sup> W. H. Roscher in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 xvii. 3. 44 f., 60 f. compares Lykas the hero of Temesa, who was 'horribly black' and wore a wolf-skin (Paus. 6. 6. 11) and Lykos the hero of Athens, who had the form of a wolf (Eratosth. *ap. Harpok.* v. 7. *δελιάων, αὐτῷ*), arguing that in Greece as elsewhere 'die Foltengeister Wolfsgestalt annehmen.' A gold pendant seal of the sixth century B.C. from Kypros shows a male figure with the head and tail of a wolf thrusting a sword through a panther or lion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 167 no. 1599 fig. 49 pl. 26). Furtwangler *Mastigophora of Ak. Sculpt.* p. 80 n. 1 recognises as Thanatos a winged youth with a wolf-skin or dog-skin cap, who carries off a girl on an Attic statuette-vase belonging to the end of the fifth century B.C. (*Ath. Mitt.* 1882 vii. 381 ff. pl. 12). A beardless head wearing a wolf-skin occurs on a copper coin of Smope (H. Dressel in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxi. 218 pl. 5. 6, Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 196 pl. 26, 153); but this, to judge from a copper coin of Amisos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus etc.* xvi. 20 pl. 4. 3, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 497 (Amazon Lykasta2), Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 46 pl. 3. 20), is probably female. Furtwangler *loc. cit.* interprets

# 100 The cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos

## § 4. *Zeus and Olympos.*

### (a) The cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos.

*Olympos* was an ancient, perhaps a pre-Greek<sup>1</sup>, name for a whole series of mountains in Greece and Asia Minor. Of the Arcadian Olympos I have already spoken. Lakonike had its Olympos near the town of Sellasia<sup>2</sup>. Pisa in Elis was situated between two mountains named Ossa and Olympos<sup>3</sup>, homonyms of the greater Ossa and Olympos in Thessaly and Makedonia. A mountain near Laurion in Attike is still called Olympos<sup>4</sup>, as is another and loftier height near Eretria in Euboia<sup>5</sup>, and a third in Skyros<sup>6</sup>. A mountain-village in Karpathos bears the same name<sup>7</sup>. The Mysian Olympos is a mountain-chain forming the boundary between Bithynia and Mysia. It was sometimes confused with Mount Ide: indeed four peaks of Mount Ide opposite to the town of Antandros bore the name Olympos<sup>8</sup>. There was another Olympos in Galatia<sup>9</sup>, unless we should identify it with the Mysian range, another in Lydia<sup>10</sup>, another in Lykia<sup>11</sup>, yet another in Kilikia<sup>12</sup>. Lesbos too had its Mount Olympos<sup>13</sup>, and Kypros had two heights that bore that name<sup>14</sup>. Finally Panchaia, the fabulous island of Euhemerus, had an Olympos of its own<sup>15</sup>.

the head on the Amisos coin as that of Perseus wearing the cap of Hades, and similarly explains the wolf-skin or dog-skin cap of Athena in the Villa Albani (Heflag *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* II 46 no. 781, Brunn-Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 226) and on two Roman monuments found near Treves (F. Hettner *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* 1893 p. 20 f. no. 27 d, p. 40 f. no. 55). Cp. also the antefixes from Ruvo (*Mon. d. Inst.* III pl. 8, b, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 VI 225 ff.) and Tarentum (British Museum, Terracotta Room, case 43—uncatalogued) showing the Gorgon's head in a skin cap. For a late (v. or vi) relief of a man with a wolf's or dog's head see O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 160 fig. 92.

<sup>1</sup> A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 77, 127, 164 suggests that it may have been a Phrygian name. Id. *Hittiten und Dardaner in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 prefers to regard it as Pelasgian.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. 2. 65, 8 f., 66, 8 and 10, 69, 3, 5, 24, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. 356, Eustath. in Dionys. p. 409, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 598.

<sup>4</sup> K. Baedeker *Griechenland* Leipzig 1889 p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> K. Baedeker *op. cit.* p. 202, J. Murray *Greece* London 1900 pp. 702, 734.

<sup>6</sup> *General-Karte von Griechenland* Wien 1885 pl. 5.

<sup>7</sup> R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 188 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Strab. 470, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 27, 44 f.

<sup>9</sup> Polyb. 21. 37, 9, Liv. 38. 18 II, Val. Max. 6. 1. 2 *ext.*, Flor. 1. 27, 5, Oros. 4. 20. 25, Amm. Marc. 26. 9, 2, Sev. Ruf. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Athen. 381, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 118, Val. Max. 1. 7, 4 *ext.*

<sup>11</sup> Strab. 666, Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 31, Phot. *bibl.* p. 298 b 23 f. Bekker. See further De Vit. *Onomasticon* IV. 796 f.

<sup>12</sup> Strab. 671, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 598.

<sup>13</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 140.

<sup>14</sup> Strab. 682 f., Eustath. in *Il.* p. 27, 40 f.

<sup>15</sup> Diod. 5. 44

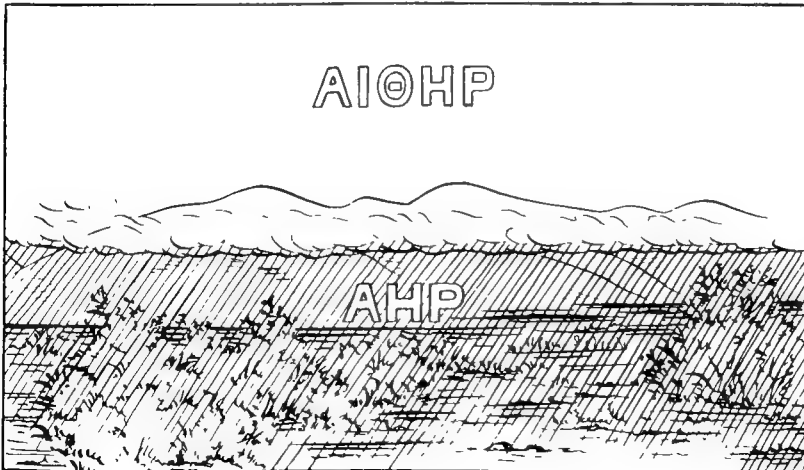


I

Mount Olympus the Homeric *μακρὸς Ὀλύμπος* from the port of Litokhoro.

[This photograph was taken by Mr A. J. B. Wace about 7.30 o'clock on an August morning, when there was still a little snow on the summit.]

*See page 101.*



2

Diagram showing Mount Olympus rising through the *air* into the *aether*.

*See page 101 ff.*



## The cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos 101

Of all these mountains the most important, from a religious and mythological point of view, is the great Macedonian ridge that culminates in a peak still known as *Élymbo*<sup>1</sup>. Soaring to a height of 9,754 feet above sea-level, it affords a wide panorama: the eye travels south to Mount Parnassos, south-west to the range of Pindos, north to the confines of Makedonia, east to Mount Athos and the sea beyond<sup>2</sup>. Equally striking is the view of the mountain from below<sup>3</sup>. Dr Holland, who saw it from *Litókhoros*, writes: 'We had not before been aware of the extreme vicinity of the town to the base of Olympus: but when leaving it...and accidentally looking back, we saw through an opening in the fog, a faint outline of vast precipices, seeming almost to overhang the place; and so aerial in their aspect, that for a few minutes we doubted whether it might not be a delusion to the eye. The fog, however, dispersed yet more on this side, and partial openings were made; through which, as through arches, we saw the sunbeams resting on the snowy summits of Olympus<sup>4</sup>.' Dr Holland adds that these summits 'rose into a dark blue sky, far above the belt of clouds and mist that hung upon the sides of the mountain'

The ancients were much impressed by the fact that Olympus rears its crest above the rain-clouds<sup>5</sup>. They fancied that birds could not fly over it<sup>6</sup>, and that at such an altitude the air was too thin to support human life<sup>7</sup>. In short, Olympus penetrated the *aër* or 'moist sky' and reached the *aithër* or 'burning sky' (pl. ix 1, 2)<sup>8</sup>. It was in the Greek sense of the term an 'aetherial'

<sup>1</sup> E. Dodwell *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* London 1819 ii. 106, W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1835 iii. 342, 349, 407, A. Fick *Vergriechische Ortsnamen* p. 77.

The same form of the name *Élymbo* or *Lymbo* is given by the modern Greeks to the mountains in Attike and Euboea (*σῆρα* p. 100 nn. 4, 5).

<sup>2</sup> L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Asie mine* Paris 1860 p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> E. Dodwell *Views in Greece* London 1821 ii. 105 has a coloured plate of *Élymbo* as seen from the south between Larissa and Baba. The views given in most books of travel and topography are very inadequate. Heuzey devotes a large illustrated volume to the mountain, but provides no picture of it at all!

<sup>4</sup> H. Holland *Travels in the Ionian Isls.* Etc. London 1815 p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> Plout. *frag.* 96 Dubner *ap.* Philop. in Aristot. *met.* i p. 82, Lucan. 2. 271, Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3. 262, Claud. *de cons. Mall. Theod.* 206 ff., Vib. Seq. p. 31 Oberlin, Aug. *de Genesi ad litt. imperf.* 1. 14, *de Genesi ad litt.* 3. 2, *de civ. Dei* 15. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Apul. *de do Soc.* p. 138 Oudendorp, Aug. *de Genesi locc. cit.*, cp. Mart. Cap. 149.

<sup>7</sup> Aug. *de Genesi ad litt.* 3. 2.

<sup>8</sup> The schol. A. T. II. 8. 13 gives the diagram here reproduced (fig. 74).

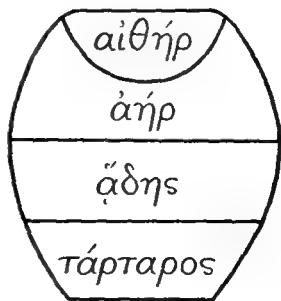


Fig. 74.

## 102 The cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos

height<sup>1</sup>, and therefore formed a fitting abode for Zeus the 'aetherial' god<sup>2</sup>. It is sometimes stated<sup>3</sup> that the only evidence of a Zeus-cult on Mount Olympos is the name of the town *Díon*<sup>4</sup> at its foot. But that is a mistake. Maximus Tyrius informs us that 'in primitive times men dedicated to Zeus likewise, in place of statues, the tops of mountains, Olympos and Ide and any other mountain that nears the sky<sup>5</sup>'. An anonymous Latin mythographer records an actual cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos<sup>6</sup>. And sundry details concerning it are mentioned by Solinus, Plutarch and Augustine. On the summit of the mountain there was an altar to Zeus, and it was believed that offerings left upon it would not be affected by

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *aethiærus* used of *Olympus* by Veig. *Ann.* 8. 319. 10. 621, 11. 867, Mart. *Ep.* 9. 3. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* 1. 51.

<sup>4</sup> At *Díon* Archelaos king of Makedonia established a festival of Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* (Diod. 17. 16, Arrian. 1. 11. 1, Ulp. in Dem. *de fals. leg.* p. 242, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Δίον*, Dion Chrys. *or.* 2 p. 73 Reiske), which was celebrated also by Philippos II (Dem. *de fals. leg.* 192, Diod. 16. 55, Dion Chrys. *or.* 2 p. 73 Reiske), and by Alexandros III (Diod. 17. 16, cp. Arrian. 1. 11. 1), who intended to rebuild the temple there (Diod. 18. 4). The existing temple was pillaged by a band of Aetolians under Skopas in the reign of Philippos V (Polyb. 4. 62, 5. 9). In 169 B.C. the Romans under the consul Philippus treated the temple with greater respect (Liv. 44. 7). Later a Roman colony was founded at *Dium* (Ptolem. 3. 13, 15, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 35); and coins struck there in imperial times show Zeus standing with *phulx*, sceptre, and eagle (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 71, Rasche *Lev. Num.* iii. 349 f. cp. 351, Suppl. ii. 605 ff.), with a snake erect before him (fig. 84) or on either side of him (Rasche *op. cit.* iii. 350, Suppl. ii. 607), with thunderbolt and sceptre (*id. ib.* Suppl. ii. 606), standing in a distyle temple (*id. ib.* iii. 349 f., Suppl. ii. 606). The snakes occur also with the figure of Athena (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 71, Rasche *op. cit.* iii. 350, Suppl. ii. 605 f., 608). L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 268 identify the site of the temple of Zeus at Dion with that of the church of *Παγλία-Παρακένι*.

<sup>5</sup> Max. Tyr. *disc.* 8. 1 Dubner *ἐπεφύμισαν δὲ καὶ Διὶ ἀγάλματα οἱ πρῶτοι ἄνθρωποι κορινφᾶς ὄρων, "Ὀλυμπον καὶ Ἰδην καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο ὄρος πλησιάζει τῷ οὐρανῷ*, cp. Loukian. *de sac.* 10.

We must distinguish from this dedication of a mountain to a definite deity the old and originally zotic belief that the mountain had a divine life of its own: Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 405 f. Reiske *πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πενία τε καὶ ἀπορία τέχνης ὄρη θεοὺς ἐκονομάζονσι*. Max. Tyr. *disc.* 8. 8 Dubner *ὅρος Καππαδόκαις καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὄρκος καὶ ἀγάλμα*, cp. the *ἀγάλμα* of Mount Argaios on coins of Kaisareia in Kappadokia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia etc. p. xxxviii, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 167 ff., 216). On the later personification of mountains in general see A. Gerbet *Die Berge in der Poesie und Kunst der Alten* Munchen 1882, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1059 n. 2, and on that of the Mysian Olympos in particular, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 859 f. Fig. 75 shows M1 Σιγύλος on a copper coin of Magnesia ad Sipylum in my collection (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 141 f.); the type is probably derived from that of Zeus. (*see ib.* p. 139 f. pl. 16, 2 f.).

<sup>6</sup> Myth. Vat. 1. 192 Iovis Olympici, id est caelestis; qui dictus Olympicus ab Olympo monte, ubi colebatur, et poetæ pro caelo ponere solent; est enim muae altitudinis.



Fig. 75.



## The cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos 103

wind or weather, but would be found again after a year's interval precisely as they had been left<sup>1</sup>. Every year victims were led in procession up the mountain-side, and those who led them, on reaching the top, found intact certain letters formed in the ashes on the occasion of their last visit<sup>2</sup>. The same beliefs attached to Mount Kyllene in Arkadia<sup>3</sup> and to Mount Athos in Chalkidike<sup>4</sup>. The Zeus-cult of Mount Olympos has even survived, in a modified form, to the present day. On the highest peak of the mountain is a small chapel of Saint Elias, built of rude stones collected on the spot. To it once a year go the monks from the monastery of Saint Dionysios in the ravine of *Litókhoro*. Their procession starts at night by torch-light, and they say a mass in the chapel on the summit<sup>5</sup>. Here, as elsewhere<sup>6</sup>, Zeus himself has been replaced by Saint Elias. But his eagle still haunts the height, at least in the popular imagination. A folk-song heard by Mr J. S. Stuart-Glennie, when ascending from the pass of Petra, makes Olympos exclaim:

<sup>1</sup> Solin. 8. 6 ara est in cacumine Iovi dicata, cuius altariibus si qua de extis inferuntur, nec diffilantur ventosis spiritibus nec pluvius diluuntur, sed volvente anno cuiusmodi relicta fuerint eiusmodi reperiuntur: et omnibus tempestatibus a corruptelis aurarum vindicator quicquid ibi semel est deo consecratum. After *consecratum* codd. A. P., two good manuscripts, insert *litterae in cinere scriptae usque ad (ad usque P.) alteram anni ceremoniam permanant*. Th. Mommsen does not admit this addition into his text (Berolini 1864); but at least it agrees with the authorities cited *infra* n. 2. See further *supra* p. 82 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Plout. *fiat.* 96 Dübner *ap.* Philop. in Aristot. *met.* 1 p. 82 τὰ γὰρ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρῶν ὑπερρεφῆ τέ ἐστι καὶ ὑπερήνεμα. τέφραν γὰρ ἐν τισι τούτων ἀποθέμενοι τινες ἢ καὶ ἐκ θισίων τῶν ἐν ἐκεinois γενομένων ἀπολελοιπότες, μετὰ πλείστοις ἐνιαυτοῦς περιεργασάμενοι, κειμένην ἔχον αὐτὴν οὔτως ὡς ἔθεσαν. καὶ ἐν Κιλλήνῃ δὲ φασιν ('Αρκαδίας δ' ὄρος) βληθεῖσαν, μήτε ὑπὸ πνευμάτων διασκορπισμένην. ἱστορεῖ δὲ Πλούταρχος καὶ γράμματα μένειν εἰς ἑτέραν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνάβαντι ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ Μακεδονικῷ, Aug. *de Genesi ad litt.* *imp.* 1. 14 in illo autem neque nubes concrecere asseruntur neque aliquid procellosum existere, quippe ubi ventus adeo nullus est, ut in vertice Olympi montis, qui spatia huius humidi aënis excedere dicitur, quaedam literae in pulvere solere fieri perhibeantur et post annum integrae atque illaesae inveniri ab eis qui solemniter memoratum montem ascendebant.

Probably omens were drawn not only from the flame and the smoke of the sacrifice (L.-F. A. Maury *Recherches de la Grèce* Paris 1857 II. 444 II.), but also from the accidental arrangement of the ashes on the altar. It was customary to leave these undisturbed from one sacrifice to the next (Pers. *sat.* 6. 44 f., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 240).

<sup>3</sup> Plout. *loc. cit.*, Gemin. *elem. astr.* 1. 14 (the thigh-pieces and ashes of the yearly sacrifice to Hermes on the top of Mount Kyllene are found undisturbed by those who take part in the next year's procession, because the summit is cloudless and windless).

<sup>4</sup> Solin. 11. 33 (Mount Athos is believed to be too high for rain to fall on its summit, because the altars there have none of their ashes washed away and lose nothing of their bulk).

<sup>5</sup> H. Holland *Travels in the Ionian Isles*, Etc. p. 303. L. Hewley *Le Mont Olympe et l'Asie mine* pp. 135, 138.

<sup>6</sup> *Antea* ch. 1 § 5 (f).

## 104 Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus

I seventy mountain-summits have, and two-and-sixty fountains:  
To every bush an Armatole, to every branch a Klephte  
And perched upon my highest peak there sits a mighty eagle:  
A mirror, in his talon grasped, he holds on high exalted,  
And in it he his charms admires, and on his beauty gaves<sup>1</sup>

### (b) Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos.

The Zeus of Olympos was associated with other mountain powers. Such were the Muses, whose name—as Prof. J. Wackernagel has shown—is most simply derived from *mont-* 'mountain'.<sup>2</sup> According to the orthodox tradition, the Muses were daughters of Zeus<sup>3</sup>, the Zeus of Olympos<sup>4</sup>, by Mnemosyne<sup>5</sup>; but variants are not wanting<sup>6</sup>, and it is permissible to suppose that in the far past Zeus had as his consort the *Moisa* or 'Mountain'-mother, whose pipes and timbrels were borne by a band of inspired female followers. Zeus, says Ovid<sup>7</sup>, took the form of a shepherd when he met Mnemosyne—a tale which recalls that of Attis and Kybele; indeed hundreds of terra-cottas representing Attis as a shepherd

<sup>1</sup> I. M. J. Garnett -f. S. Stuart-Gleennie *Greek Folk Poetry* London 1896 i. 51 f.

The mirror probably stands for the sun. The eagle's test of its genuine offspring was that it should look straight at the sun (D'Arey W. Thompson *A Library of Greek Birds*, Oxford 1892 p. 6 collects the evidence, from Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 34. 620 a ff. onwards); and certain philosophers, very possibly following popular belief, conceived the sun to be a sort of mirror (so Philolaos the Pythagorean in Stobaeus *el. phys.* i. 25. 3 d Wachsmuth and in Plout. *de phis. phys.* 2. 20 *εσοπτροειδής*, Empedokles *frag.* 44 Diels *ap.* Plout. *de phys. phys.* 12, cp. Plout. *de phis. phys.* 2. 20 and *ap.* Lausch *privatim* i. 1. 8. 101).

<sup>2</sup> J. Wackernagel in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 571—574, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 393.

This derivation (which occurred independently to Di Gales, to myself, and doubtless to others also) is supported by the fact that all the most important cult-centres of the Muses were on mountains or hills. O. Bie in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3239 ff. shows that their worship originated on Olympos and spread thence to Helikon (Strab. 471, Paus. 9. 29. 1—4), Delphi, Athens, etc. Gruppe *Gri. Myth. Kgl.* p. 1077 n., though not accepting the derivation from *ἴοντι* 'mountain,' cites in its support Cornut. *theol.* 14 p. 17, 16 Lang *εν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσιν φασι χομεῖναι, κ.τ.λ.* Cp. also Hes. *theog.* 54 *Μνημοσύνη γοινοῖσιν Ἑλευθῆρος μεδέονσα* with schol.

<sup>3</sup> Already in the Homeric poems they are *κούραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο* (*Il.* 2. 598), *κούραι Κρονίδω Διὸς* (*h. Hel.* 2), *κούραι Διὸς, ἀγλαὰ τέκνα* (Hom. *ep.* 4. 8), *Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, θεογατρὸς* (*Il.* 2. 491 f.), *Διὸς θεογάτηρ μεγαλοιο* (*h. mel. th.* 2), *Διὸς παῖς* (*Od.* 8. 488).

<sup>4</sup> *Ὀλυμπιάδες* (*Il.* 2. 491 and Zenodot. in *Il.* 2. 484), *Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι* (*Il.* 2. 484, 11. 218, 14. 508, 16. 112).

<sup>5</sup> First in Hes. *theog.* 915 ff., *h. Herm.* 429 f., Eumelos *frag.* 16 Kinkel *Μνημοσύνη καὶ Ζηρὸς Ὀλυμπίων ἐννέα κούραι* *ap.* Clem. *Al. Strom.* 6. 2 p. 430, 9 f. Stahlin, *alib.*

<sup>6</sup> See Gruppe *Gri. Myth. Kgl.* p. 1075 n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> It was as a shepherd that Zeus wooed Mnemosyne (Ov. *met.* 6. 114, Clem. *Rom. hom.* 5. 14 (n. 184 Migne), with whom he passed nine nights (Hes. *theog.* 56 f. with schol., Cornut. *theol.* 14 p. 17, 20 ff. Lang, *Nom. Duon.* 31. 168 ff.).

were found by Monsieur P. Perdrizet at Amphipolis<sup>1</sup>. Again, not only in the Muse-mother Mnemosyne, but also in the prominence originally accorded to *one* of the Muses, Kalliope<sup>2</sup> or Thaleia<sup>3</sup>, we may detect a trace of the ancient goddess, whose glory had paled before the rising light of Zeus. Kalliope was said by some to have borne children to Zeus<sup>4</sup>. And as to Thaleia we have evidence both monumental and literary. A red-figured vase-painting from Nola



Figs. 76.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix, 534; Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii, 2906 f.

<sup>2</sup> O. Bie in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii, 3243 notes that in Hes. *theog.* 79 Kalliope is *προφειρεστέρα ἀπασέων*, and that on the François-vase (600—550 B.C.) she is distinguished from the other Muses by her full-face position and her *εἴμι* (Fuitwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i, 5 pl. 1–2 Ἰ.ΚΑΛΙΟΠΕ). She is not named by Homer (*h. Hel.* 1 f. is late), though Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 10, 9 f. and 161, 32 ff. cp. *Il.* i. 604 ὅτι καλῆ.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* p. 105 f.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. 472, *infra* p. 106

## 106 Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus

formerly in the Hamilton collection (fig. 76)<sup>1</sup> shows Zeus as a mighty eagle in a blaze of celestial splendour carrying Thaleia from earth to heaven. The maiden has been playing at ball and picking flowers on a mountain-side. The mountain is indicated by the little Satyr on high ground. To the right are the ball and the basket of Thaleia, to the left, the flowers and the altar of Zeus, too near to which she had ventured. The myth, as preserved for us by Clement of Rome<sup>2</sup>, Rufinus<sup>3</sup>, and Servius<sup>4</sup>, makes this Thaleia a nymph of Mount Aitne in Sicily, whom Zeus in the form of a vulture (or eagle?) wooed and won. He subsequently entrusted her to the earth-goddess, in whose domain she brought forth the twin Palikoi. In all probability Thaleia the mountain-nymph is only the romanticised Sicilian form of Thaleia the mountain-muse; and, if so, her story hints at a relationship between Zeus and the Muses other than that of the Homeric and Hesiodic tradition.

Thaleia the muse became by Apollon mother of the Korybantes<sup>5</sup>. Another account made their parents Zeus and Kalliope, and explained that the Korybantes were one with the mystic Kabeiroi<sup>6</sup>. Others declared that Korybas, eponym of the Korybantes, was a son of Iasion by Kybele<sup>7</sup>, the Asiatic mountain-goddess. Others again—for the theme had many variations<sup>8</sup>—spoke of the

<sup>1</sup> Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* i. 90 ff. pl. 26, Lenormant—de Witte *Et. mon. chr.* i. 31 ff. pl. 16, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 401 f., 418 f. Atlas pl. 6, 6, Muller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 64 f. pl. 6, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Ἐρσαίου νύμφη, γενόμενος γυψ, ἐξ ἧς οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ πάλαι σοφοί. Ἐρσαίου has been amended into Αἰτναιά (Valckenaer) or Αἰτνῆ (Migne) or Ἡφαίστων (Bloch) or Ἐρσαία (Lévy); πάλαι σοφοί, into Παλικοί.

<sup>3</sup> Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 Thalam Aetnam nympham mutatus in vulturem, ex qua nascuntur apud Siciliam Paliker.

<sup>4</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 9. 584 Aetnam nympham [vel ut quidam volunt Thalam] Iuppiter cum vitasset et fecisset gravidam, timens Iunonem, secundum alios ipsam puellam, Terrae commendavit, et illic enixa est. Etc. Interp. Serv. *ib.* alii dicunt Iovem hunc Palicum propter Iunonis inacidiam in aquilam commutasse. On the frequent confusion of eagles and vultures see D. Arcey W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 3 f.

For Zeus ~ Thaleia see further Aisch. *Actnæar frag.* 6 f. Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap.* Macrobi. *Sat.* 5. 19. 17, 24, and Steph. Byz. s.v. Παλική; and for Zeus ~ Aitne, Iact. Plac. in Stat. *Thib.* 12. 156, Myth. Vat. 1. 190, 2. 45. The best account of the Palikoi is that by L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1281—1295.

<sup>5</sup> Apollod. 1. 3. 4, *Tzet.* in Lyk. *Il.* 78.

<sup>6</sup> Strab. 472.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. 5. 49, cp. interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 111.

<sup>8</sup> The Korybantes were sons of Kronos and Rhea (Strab. 472 ἐτε δὲ Κρόνον τιτὶς· καὶ Πέας·: the last two words have been expelled by τοὺς Κορύβαντας repeated from the line below. Cp. schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 558 ἦσαν δὲ τῆς Πέας παῖδες·: Sound. s.v. Κορύβαντες), sons of Apollon and Rhytia (Pherekyd. *ap.* Strab. 472: see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 127), sons of Helios and Athena (a Rhodian version *ap.* Strab. 472), sons of Sokos and Kombe (Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 135 ff.). Korybas was the son of Kore without a father (interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 111).

Korybantes as the first men, who had sprung from the ground in the shape of trees<sup>1</sup>. It all comes to the same thing. The Korybantes were akin to the great mountain-goddess or earth-mother, whom they served with wild enthusiastic rites. Their name, if I am not mistaken, is derived from \**korybē* the Macedonian form of *korymbē*, 'a mountain-peak,' and means the 'Peak'-men<sup>2</sup>. In Roman times, if not earlier, the Korybantes were connected with Mount Olympus. According to Clement of Alexandria<sup>3</sup>, they were three brothers, two of whom slew the third, wrapped his head in a crimson cloak<sup>4</sup>, decked it with a wreath and buried it, bearing it on a bronze shield to the foot of Olympus. Bloodshed and burial were the essential features of their mysteries<sup>5</sup>. The priests of the mystics, who were known as *Anaktotekstai*<sup>6</sup> or 'initiates of the Kings'<sup>7</sup>, forbade wild celery (*silinon*) with its roots to be placed on the table, believing it to be sprung from the blood of the slain Korybas<sup>8</sup>. Further, these Korybantes—says Clement—were called Kabeiroi; and the story told of them was that the two fratricides took up the basket containing the member of Dionysos and brought it to Etruria<sup>9</sup>, where they lived in exile teaching the Etruscans to worship the

<sup>1</sup> *Εἰς, α ἡ* A. 84 Bergk<sup>1</sup> (33 Hüller), 6 f. *ap.* Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 97 Miller ἡ Φωγιοὶ Κορυβάντες. οἷς Ἄλιος πρῶτοις ἐπέιδεν δένδροφνεῖς ἀναβλαστόντας. Cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 25 f. Ἐγγενης Κορυβάντες θυγαῖδες, ὡν ποτὲ Ρεῖη | ἐκ χθονὸς αὐτοτέλεστος ἀναβλαστήσῃ γενεῇθη.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Giles, whom I consulted on the matter, writes (July 15, 1911) 'Κορυβάντες might as you say be Macedonian. The formation is odd. It looks like a participle from κορυβαῖν—not κορυφαῖν—if, as Hoffmann argues, Macedonian was a kind of Aeolic.'

A. F. Pitt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1858 vii. 241 ff. derived Κορυβάντες from κορυφή, 'crown of the head,' and rendered the word: 'im wirbel sich drehend,' 'taumelnd,' 'in orbem saltantes' (cp. Κερβας, κέρβεϊς). He is followed by O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1607. Gruppe too (*Gri. Myth. Rel.* p. 257 n. 12, p. 599 n. 1) favours the connexion of Κορυβας with κορυφή, but appears to interpret the name of a 'peaked' head-dress. He compares the alternative form Κερβας (Soph. *frag.* 778 Nauck, Kallim. *h. Zeus* 46, Lyk. *h.* 78, Strab. 472, Orph. *h. Korymb.* 39. 2, Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 35, Soud. s. v. Κερβας, Hesych. s. v. Κόρυβαντες, *et. mag.* p. 547. 39 ff.) with κερβάσια (used of a cock's crest, the upright tiara of the Persian king, the conical cap of the Sahr, etc.; see Stephanius *Ph.* i. *Gri. Lex.* iv. 2137 A—C).

<sup>3</sup> Clem. *Al. Strom.* 2. 19. 1—4 p. 15. 111 Stahlm. Cp. the abbreviated accounts in Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19, Firm. Mat. 11.

<sup>4</sup> So the Korybantes found the infant Bacchos, left as a horned child among the rocks, πορφύρεῳ κεκαλμμενον οἰοσι πέπλῳ (Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 139).

<sup>5</sup> Orph. *h. Korymb.* 39. 6 φονίων, αἰναχθέντα κασιγνητῶν ὑπὸ δισσῶν.

<sup>6</sup> Hesych. ἀνακτοτέλεται (leg. ἀνακτοτέλεσται): οἱ τὰς τελευτὰς ἐπιτελοῦντες τῶν ἱερῶν (2 leg. τῶν Καβήρων οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνακτῶν—).

<sup>7</sup> Orph. *h. Korymb.* 39. 1 βασιλῆα μεγιστον, 5 ἀνακτα. On the Ἄνακες, Ἄναλοι, Ἀνακτες see O. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2033 f., Gruppe *Gri. Myth. Rel.* p. 718 f.

<sup>8</sup> The wreath of σελινον worn by the Nemean and Isthmian victors perhaps originally marked them out as re-incarnations of the dead—a point to which I must return.

<sup>9</sup> See further Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1621 f.

## 108 Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus

basket and its contents<sup>1</sup>. Note that the dead Kabeiros is here termed Dionysos and that a portion of him is kept in a basket to serve as a nucleus of fresh life.

Firmicus Maternus adds that the slain brother 'consecrated beneath the roots of Mount Olympos' was 'the Kabeiros to whom the inhabitants of Thessalonike used to make supplication with blood-stained mouth and blood-stained hands<sup>2</sup>'. This Kabeiros is known to us from coins (figs. 77, 78)<sup>3</sup> as a young man with a



Fig. 77.



Fig. 78.



Fig. 79.

large ring or rings round his throat, who holds a species of double-axe and a *rhytôn* or drinking-horn. The *rhytôn* ends in the forepart of a goat<sup>4</sup>—a fact which leads us to conjecture that it was a *cornu copiae*, like the horn of Amaltheia<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, a horn or horns must have been part of the ritual furniture of the cult; for some coins show the Kabeiros with a horn apparently planted in the ground beside him (fig. 79)<sup>6</sup>, others with a horn erect on a base to the right and a flaming altar to the left (fig. 80)<sup>7</sup>, others again with a pair of horns set in bases on either hand (fig. 81)<sup>8</sup>. The double-axe, the

<sup>1</sup> When the usurper Amphilochus was besieging the sons of Leodamas at Assesos, ἀφικνούμενοι νεανίσκοι. Τότε τῆς καὶ "Ουρανίας, ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἱερὰ εἰσάγοντες Καβείρων ἐν κίστῃ κεκαλυμμένα, taught the people then rites and helped them to rout the besiegers: see Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 54 (*frag. h. t. Gr.* iii. 388f. Mullet)

<sup>2</sup> Firm. Mat. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 113 figs. pp. 114, 121 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 368f., 373 ff., pl. 25, 5; Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2534 fig. 1, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 770 fig. 911 (Nero as Kabeiros).

<sup>4</sup> T. Panofka *Die griechischen Trinkhörner und ihre Verzierung*, Berlin 1851 p. 1 pl. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> On the horn of plenty held, not only by Amaltheia, but also by Hades, Ge, the chthonian Hermes, the Horai, the Hesperides, the Naiades, river-gods, Eumaios, the Agathos Daimon, Tyche, Sospolis, etc., see K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-En.* i. 1721 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 114 no. 54. Cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 375 Gordianus iii.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 123 Maximus, p. 125 Gordianus iii, p. 129 Salonina, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 374 Maximus, *Ant. Mus.: Berlin* Paconia etc. ii. 152 Maximus fig. 154 Gordianus iii. I figure an uncatalogued specimen (Julia Mamaea) in the British Museum.

<sup>8</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 121 Caracalla, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 373 Elagabalus, *Ant. Mus.: Berlin* Paconia etc. ii. 152 f. Maximus.

horns, the goat, the feast of raw flesh, all suggest a religious context resembling that of the Cretan Kouretes.



Fig. 80.



Fig. 81.

Elsewhere too the Kabeiroi were marked by the same characteristics. One of Strabon's sources, after identifying the Korybantes, children of Zeus by Kalliope, with the Kabeiroi, states that the latter departed to Samothrace, previously called Melite, and adds that their doings were of a mystical nature<sup>1</sup>. The names borne by the Samothracian Kabeiroi—Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos—are probably to be connected with a word for 'axe'<sup>2</sup>. An amulet found at Vindonissa (*Windisch*) represents the head of a double-axe or hammer inscribed with these three names reduced in each case to the significant abbreviation AXI (fig. 82)<sup>3</sup>. The initiates wore purple waist-bands<sup>4</sup> and rings of iron and gold<sup>5</sup>. Statius definitely compares the sacred dances of the Samothracians to those of the Kouretes<sup>6</sup>. A relief of imperial date from Hierapolis in Phrygia, now at Berlin (fig. 83)<sup>7</sup>, shows three youths advancing side by side: they have bushy hair, a thick ring round the neck, a loin-cloth about the waist, and a heavy double-axe or hammer resting on the right shoulder: part of a fourth youth is visible beside them. O. Kern

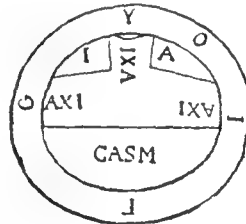


Fig. 82.

<sup>1</sup> Strab. 472. See further R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar egeo' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Serie Quinta, Roma 1909 XII, 635 ff. summarised by R. Wunsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 XIV, 575 f.

<sup>2</sup> So at least I have argued in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress to the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 II, 194, *infra* ch. II § 3 (c) 1 (b).

<sup>3</sup> Orelli *Inscr. Lat. cl.* no. 440. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* I, 742. Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* I, 739 fig. 900. Besides the threefold AXI (= *Axieros*, *Axiokersa*, *Axiokersos*) the amulet is inscribed CASM (= *Casopius*) and, in scattered letters, ΥΓΙΕΙΑ (*Hygieia*). F. Mommsen in the *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich* 1854 X, 115 no. 30 says: 'vide ne lusus magis quam fraus subsit huic Cabirorum enumerationi.'

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Ap. Rhod. I, 917 cod. Paris.

<sup>5</sup> Lucr. 6, 1044. Plin. *nat. hist.* 33, 23. Isid. *orig.* 19, 32, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Stat. *l. l.* I, 831 f. (2, 157 f.).

<sup>7</sup> *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 386 f. no. 953, inscribed . . . Φιλομενος and ἀππᾶς.

in 1900 recognised these youths as the Kabeiroi wearing their Samothracian rings: their loin-cloths too are clearly the Samothracian bands. Kern further adduced another relief, which he had



Fig. 83.

seen in 1893 at *Uzumlu* a village near Magnesia on the Maiandros: this represented four nude males, each carrying a hammer on the right shoulder and moving to the left, led by a fifth, draped and hammerless<sup>1</sup>. A. Conze<sup>2</sup> and O. Puchstein<sup>3</sup> have made it probable that yet another Kabeiros swinging a double-axe or hammer is to be seen in the nude bearded god attacking a bovine giant on the southern frieze of the great Pergamene altar<sup>4</sup>. At Pergamon, as Puchstein observes, the Kabeiroi were said to have witnessed the birth of Zeus<sup>5</sup>. Their general resemblance to the Cretan Kouretes

is, in fact, beyond dispute, and we are free to contend that in the district of Olympos the Korybantēs and Kabeiroi were essentially Curetic.

Their cult was flourishing in the third Christian century. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, was as a youth of fifteen initiated for forty days on Mount Olympos by seven hierophants into certain obscure mysteries<sup>6</sup>. In this home of the gods he was taught the meaning of musical notes and sounds. He had a vision of tree-trunks and herbs of divine potency. He witnessed the

<sup>1</sup> O. Kern in the *Strona Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 p. 158 f. He cp. the coins of Thessalonike, a bronze at Rumeli-Hissar, and the frieze of the Pergamene altar.

<sup>2</sup> A. Conze in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1881 p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> O. Puchstein *ib.* 1889 p. 330 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Pergamon* iii. 2. 20 f. fig. 1, 148 f., pl. 3, *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pl. 7, Overbeck *op. Plastik* ii. 277.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538. 17 ff., *infra* Append. B Myra.

<sup>6</sup> *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland, Septembris vii. 222 ('Confessio S. Cypriani' 1-2) ἐξερύρην καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ ὄρει, τῶν θεῶν ὡς λεγούσων οἰκητηρίῳ, καὶ ἐνωθήην ἤχοις ὀριλίων (leg. οὐιλίων) καὶ ψόφῳ διήγησιν. εἶδον ἐκεῖ φανταζόμενα πρέμνα καὶ πύας ἐνεργεῖν δοκούσας θεῶν ἐπισκοπαῖς. εἶδον ἐκεῖ ὡρῶν διαδοχάς, πνευματικῶν ὑπαλλασσόντων, καὶ ἡμερῶν διαφορότητα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἐναντίων συνισταμένων. εἶδον ἐκεῖ χοροὺς δαιμόνων ἑρμῶντων καὶ ἄλλων πολεμοῦντων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐνδρμῶντων, ἀπατώντων, σιγχιώντων, καὶ ἐκαστοὶ θεοὶ καὶ θεᾶς ἐθεασθην ἐκεῖ τὴν φαλαγγα, μινὸς σιτότη ἡμέρος τίσταρα-λόντα. ὁπόθεν ὡς ἐκ βασιλείων ἀποστελλόνται τὰ πνεύματα, ἐνεργεῖν ἐκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν πασὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσι. καὶ ἐπιτοίμην ἀκρόδῳμα μόνον μετὰ δίσκῳ ἡλίον, καὶ ὅη ὧν ἔτι τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἑρμῶντων τὴν ἐκαστοὶ αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖαν ὑπο τῶν ἐπὶ αἰεροφαντῶν. λίαν γὰρ οἱ ἑμοὶ γονεῖς ἐσπεύδον με ἐπιγινῶναι τὰ γῆς, ἀέρος καὶ θαλάσσης, οὐ μόνον τὰ κατὰ φῶσιν φθοῖας καὶ γενεάς ποσῶν καὶ πρέμνων καὶ σομάτων (leg. σωμάτων), ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐνεργείας, ὥς ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου ἐνετυπώσω, ἐναντιόμηνος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διατίπωσιν.



## Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus III

cession of seasons and the difference of days, the changing moods that caused the former and the opposing influences that terminated the latter. He beheld choruses of *daïmones* chanting, spring, lying in ambush, deceiving and confounding each other. He saw too the phalanx of each several god and goddess. After sundown he fed on fruits (not meat). And, generally speaking, he was initiated into the decay and birth of herbs, trees, and bodies. This altogether a singular recital, but we can hardly be wrong in supposing that these were puberty-rites, Corybantic or Cabiric in character<sup>1</sup>.

It would seem, then, that from first to last certain orgiastic quasi-Dionysiac elements appear in the cults of Olympus, and it is highly probable that throughout the worship of Zeus was affected by them. In early days the Muses were to Zeus what the mountain-roaming Maenads were to Dionysos. This explains Hesychios' statement that the Macedonians called the Muses *theoirides*<sup>2</sup>—a name elsewhere given to the Maenads<sup>3</sup>. Eustathios' assertion that the Muses, like the Maenads, were nurses to Dionysos<sup>4</sup> may be a Byzantine blunder<sup>5</sup>; but the very possibility of such blundering proves the similarity of Muse and Maenad. At Dodona<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> L. Preller in *Philologus* 1846 i. 349 ff. argues that the reference is to Orphic rites in the neighbourhood of Olympus. Orphic admixture is indeed likely enough. Orpheus, himself the son of one of the Muses, played for them on Olympus (*Eur. Bacch.* 560 ff.), there he taught Midas (*Konon narr.* 11), and there according to many met his death (*Hyg. Astr.* 2. 7) and was buried (*Antiq. Pal.* 7. 9. 1 f. Damagetos, ep. Apollod. 1. 3. 2); see further O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1082 f. L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Malacoe, en* Paris 1876 Texte p. 270 f. identify Orpheus' tomb with a mausoleum near the village of *Karriza*.

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. *θεοῖριδες* νῦμφαι, μοῖσαι Μακεδόνες.

<sup>3</sup> O. Hoffmann *Die Mäliaden* Göttingen 1906 p. 97 n. 132 argues that *θεοῖριδες* is a Thessalian or Macedonian form of *θεωρίδες* (Hesych. *θεωρίδες*: αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον νύμφαι, ep. Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 261 and probably Soph. *Trach.* 698 Nauck<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>a</sup>. Athen. 592 B).

<sup>4</sup> Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1816. 4 ff. *Λέγονται δὲ φασὶ καὶ Μοῖσαι Διονύσου τροφοί, νύμφαι τρεφούσαι καὶ αἰταί, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Ἀλικαρνοῦσι εἴρηται*.

<sup>5</sup> Yet Dionysos was often associated with the Muses. See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* i. 76 n. 9, 113 f., 245 n. 6, 743 n. 3, 829 n. 3, 1427 n. 7, 1435 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Six nymphs of Dodona, identified with the Hyades and named Kisses, Nysa, Eubo, Erphra, Bromie, Polyhymoe, or Arsmoe, Ambrosie, Bromie, Kisses, Koronis, Eubo, Erphra, Bromie, Polyhymoe, or Arsmoe, were by some apparently regarded as the nurses of Zeus (*Hyg. Astr.* 182), though others explained that Zeus had given them Dionysos to tend (*Pherekyd. trag.* 46 *Trag. hist.* 1. 1. 84 Molleri 2<sup>a</sup>, schol. *Tr.* 18. 486 *Myth. Vat.* 1. 120. 2<sup>a</sup> 1). See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 825 n. 4. 'Die Hyaden sind Erzieherinnen des Bakchos'; in verschiedenen Dodonäischen Legenden vollencht auch des Zeus, wie ihre Gleichsetzung mit den Dodonäischen and der N. der Hyade-Diemonen belegen.

<sup>7</sup> Strab. 329 relates on the authority of Soudas the historian (— *Kineas* *ἱστ.* 3 (*Trag. Hist. Gr.* ii. 463 Molleri) that the cult of the Dodonian Zeus came originally from the Pelasgic district about Skotoussa, that most of the women of Skotoussa followed along with it, and that the priestesses of Dodona were descended from them.

## 112 Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus

at Tegea<sup>1</sup>, at Megalopolis<sup>2</sup>, on Mount Ide near Gortyna<sup>3</sup>, on Mount Ide in Phrygia<sup>4</sup>, on Mount Arkton near Kyzikos<sup>5</sup>, Zeus had his troop of nursing nymphs. Why not on the slopes of Mount Olympus? In late times the Dionysiac connexion was intensified. Korymbantes and Kabeiroi came to the fore; and certain shrewd persons recorded their conviction that the original Kabeiroi had been two in number—Zeus the elder and Dionysos the younger<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The altar of Athena Ἀλέα at Tegea, made by Melampous, was decorated with figures of Rhea and the nymph Oinoe holding the infant Zeus, flanked by two groups—Glauke, Neda, Theisoa, Anthrakia on the one side; Ide, Hagno, Alkinoe, Phryka on the other. Near it were statues of the Muses and Mnemosyne (Paus. 8. 47. 3).

<sup>2</sup> In the precinct of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis on a table set before Herakles the Idaean Daktylos were represented not only two Horai, Pan, and Apollon, but also Neda holding the infant Zeus, Anthrakia another Aicadian nymph with a torch, Hagno with *hydria* and *phiale*, Anchiroe and Myrtoessa with *hydria* from which water was flowing. Within the same precinct was a temple of Zeus *Phlios*. The statue, by Polykleitos of Argos, represented Zeus in the guise of Dionysos: he was shod with buskins, and held a cup in one hand, a *thyrsos* with an eagle perched upon it in the other (Paus. 8. 31. 4).

<sup>3</sup> *El. mag.* p. 227, 39 f. Γερασιτιάδες· οὕτω νύμφαι καλοῦνται ἐν Γορτύνη τῆς Κρήτης, οἱ τὸν Δία τρέφονσαι ἐγέραιρον. Cp. *ib.* p. 227, 44 f. Γερασίτιον· χωρίον τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, παρὰ τὸ γέρας· ὅτι τίμιον ἔστι διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὸν Δία σπαργανωθῆναι. An inscription found at Phaleron records a dedication Ἐστία, Κηφισῶ, Ἀπόλλωνι | Ἠθίῳ, Ἀητοῖ. | Ἀρτέμιδι Δοχίᾳ, Ἰδευνία, Ἀχελῷῳ, Καλλιρόῃ, Γεραιστῶν Νύμφαις γενεθλίας. Παῖσι (B. Staes in the *Ep. Arch.* 1909 p. 244 ff. fig. 1, *Stoionos Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 493 ff. pls. 181 f.).

Helike and Kynosoura, two Cretan nymphs, nursed the infant Zeus. He, when pursued by Kronos, changed them into bears and himself into a snake. Hence the constellations Ursa Major, Ursa Minor, and Serpens (schol. Q. *Od.* 5. 272, schol. Arat. *Phæn.* 46, *alii.*: see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1985, ii. 1706) Aiai *Phæn.* 26 ff. and Aglaosthenes *Naxiaca frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 293 Muller) *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catacl.* 2. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 2, schol. Caes. *German. Italica* p. 382, 9 ff. Lysenhardt connect both Helike and Kynosoura with the Cretan Ide.

Melisseus or Melissos, king of Crete, was father of the nymphs Adrasteia and Ide (Apollod. 1. 1. 6, *Zenob.* 2. 48, Oph. *frag.* 109 Abel *ap.* Heim in Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 148, cp. Plout. *trouf.* 3. 9. 2, and Hyg. *fab.* 182 Idolthea Amalthea Adrasteia, or Adrasteia and Kynosoura (schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 342), or Amalthea and Melissa (Didymos *ap.* Lact. *dez. in.* 1. 22), who reared the new-born Zeus on the milk of a goat accustomed to bearing twins (Parnemiskos *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13).

<sup>4</sup> Charax *frag.* 2 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 637 Muller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.vv. Ἀδράστεια and Ἰδὴ connects Melissos, Adrasteia and Ide with the Phrygian Mt Ide. cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 133 ff., Diod. 17. 7, Plout. *de flur.* 13. 3, and see further Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 104.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 936 (cp. 1. 941 cod. Paris.) Ἀρκτον (εἰς Ἀρκτων ὄρος) ἐπειδὴ φασὶ τὰς τροφὰς τοῦ Διὸς ἐκεῖ διατρέφοντας εἰς ἀρκτοὺς μετασχηθῆναι.

F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 221 in this connexion remarks that both Adrasteia (Ap. Rhod. 1. 1116 πιδίον Νηπιῶν Ἀδρηστικίης) and Kynosoura (Cyp. *inscr.* Gr. n. no. 3679, 5 a society of Βάκχοι Κυνσοῦρρεῖται at Kyzikos) appear to have been local goddesses. See also Gruppe *op. Myth. Rel.* p. 942 n. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 917 cod. Paris. οἱ δὲ φασὶ δύο πρότερον εἶναι τοὺς Καβείρους, Δία τε πρεσβύτερον καὶ Διώνυσον νεώτερον. So also *cl. mag.* p. 482, 31 ff., *cl. Guel.* p. 289, 25 ff. Cp. the notion that Dionysos, a king of Asia, was the son of Kabeiros (Cic. *de nat. dcor.* 3. 58, Ampel. 9. 11, *Eyd. de mens.* 4. 51 p. 107, 9 f. Wunsch). The Dionysiac character of the Kabeiros εἰς at Thebes is well attested (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2536 ff.).

If the Zeus worshipped at Dion was thus Dionysiac in character, akin to the Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios*<sup>1</sup>, we can understand why he has the snake as his attribute (fig. 84): the slain Korybas became a snake<sup>2</sup>, and snakes were all-important in the mysteries of *Sabázios*<sup>3</sup>. Twelve miles south of Dion was a town, which the *Tabula Peutingeriana* calls *Sabatium*<sup>4</sup>, i.e. *Sabázion*, a cult-centre of *Sabázios*<sup>5</sup>. It may even be suggested that the monastery of Saint Dionysios, from which starts the modern counterpart of the ancient procession to the altar of Zeus<sup>6</sup>, has in the name of its patron saint preserved a last echo of the Dionysiac cult.



Fig. 84.

Whether these Dionysiac traits in the worship of Zeus were original and essential, or whether they are to be explained as merely the result of contamination with an alien cult, is a large problem that still awaits solution. It will be convenient to deal with it, not at the present stage of our argument *à propos* of *Ólympos*, but in a later chapter, when we shall be taking a more comprehensive survey of the relation of Zeus to Dionysos.

## (c) Development in the meaning of *Ólympos*. *Zeus Ólýmpios*.

In the Homeric, the Hesiodic, and the Orphic poems *Ólympos*, the seat of the gods, is to be identified with the Macedonian mountain; and the same identification holds good for the Alexandrine epic of Apollonios Rhodios<sup>7</sup>. The poet of the *Odyssey* describes *Ólympos* in a passage of surpassing beauty:

<sup>1</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 232 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 350 and Suppl. n. 607 records a small copper of Gallienus with Zeus standing between two snakes. The specimen figured is in the Leake collection (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 46 Gallienus).

<sup>3</sup> Orph. *h. Koryb.* 7 f. Διὸς δὲ γνώμησιν ἐνὶ ἡλλάδας δέμας ἄγνόν, ἡ θηρότιπον θέμενος μορφήν δροφεροῦ δράκοντος.

<sup>4</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 252 ff.

<sup>5</sup> F. C. de Scheyb *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana* Lipsiae 1824 segm. 7 b, K. Miller *Weltkarte des Castrums genannt die Peutinger'sche Tafel* Ravensburg 1888 segm. 8, 1.

<sup>6</sup> L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarmanie* Paris 1860 p. 100. <sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 103.

<sup>8</sup> The evidence is collected and considered by Mackail in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 849 ff. He holds that only in two Homeric passages (*Il.* 8. 18–27 and *Od.* 6. 41–46) does the later conception of *Ólympos* as 'heaven' or 'sky' occur. But, to my thinking, even in these passages the mountain is meant. In *Il.* 8. 18 ff. Zeus boasts that if he let down a golden rope from heaven and all the other gods and goddesses hung on to it, they could not pull him down from heaven to the plain, but he could pull them up, land and sea and all, bind the rope about a peak of *Ólympos* and let them dangle there. Whatever

## 114 Development in the meaning of *Ólympos*

So spake bright-eyed Athena and withdrew  
To Ólympos, where men say the gods' sure seat  
Stands firm for ever neither wind can shake,  
Nor rain can wet, nor snow come nigh the same.  
Cloudless the brilliance that is there outspread  
And white the glitter that is over all.  
Therein blest gods have joyance all their days<sup>1</sup>.

This is the literary echo of the folk-belief that attributed a windless, cloudless *aithér* to the mountain-top<sup>2</sup>. Homeric and Hesiodic poetry spoke of 'the palace of Zeus,' sometimes 'the palace of Zeus with its floor of bronze,' as built by Hephaistos upon Ólympos<sup>3</sup>. And here too we may detect the creed of the country-side. For L. Heuzey, writing in 1860 of the villagers from the neighbourhood of Ólympos, says<sup>4</sup>: 'If you tell them that you have ascended the highest peaks, they always ask—"Well, what did you find there?" Some of them described me a mysterious palace adorned with columns of white marble, adding that these had been seen long ago by a shepherd, but that they would not be seen now-a-days. Others spoke to me of a huge circus in which the ancients held their games. The Klephts too have always attributed marvellous virtues to the fresh air of Ólympos, its snows, and its icy mountain-springs. It figures in their songs as a paradise, whither they go to recover from the contests of the plain below: here the body gets stronger, wounds heal themselves, and limbs grow lithe for fresh fighting. Throughout the rest of Greece a magic potency attaches to the following words:

From Ólympos, the summit,  
From the three peaks of Heaven,  
Where are the Fates of Fates,  
May my own Fate  
Hearken and come!<sup>5</sup>

may be the precise picture here intended, the phrases *πεδίονδε* and *περί μόν Ουλύμπον* surely prove that the poet is contrasting the gods on the plain with Zeus on the mountain. As to *Ól. 6, 41 ff.*, cited on p. 114, the absence of wind, rain, snow, and cloud, there described as characteristic of Ólympos, agrees well with Greek beliefs about the mountain-top (*σάρα* p. 102 f.), while the presence of 'bright sky' and 'white glitter' is no less suitable; indeed *αἴγλη* recalls *αἰγλήεις*, which Mœkrodt takes to be an epithet of the earthly mountain in *Il. 1, 532, 13, 243, Ól. 20, 103*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ól. 6, 41 ff.*

<sup>2</sup> *Συρία* p. 101 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Il. 1, 425 f., 531 ff., 566 ff., 11, 75 ff., 20, 4 ff., 21, 438, 505, Hes. sc. Il. 1, 471.*

<sup>4</sup> L. Heuzey *Le Mont Ólympe et l'Asie mine* Paris 1860 p. 138 f., N. G. Politis *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 97 no. 173, ii. 777. My friend Mr A. F. B. Wace, when at Salonika, was told by a man from the neighbourhood of Ólympos that somewhere on the mountain there are said to be the remains of a temple with columns.

<sup>5</sup> Ἄπο τον Οὐλύμπον τον κόρυμβον, τα τρεῖς ἄκρα του Οὐράνου, οπου αἱ Μοῖραι τῶν Μοιρῶν, καὶ ἡ εὐκλή σου Μοῖρα ἥς ἀκούσῃ καὶ ἥς ἐλθῇ. B. Schmidt *Dei. Fels. u. u. d. r. Neugier* 1871 i. 219 n. 1 would read *Προν* for Ἄπο τον, τ' οὐρανου for τον

## Development in the meaning of *Ólympos* 115

By the fourth, and even by the fifth, century before our era the word *Ólympos* had acquired a further significance. It meant no longer the mere mountain, but the 'sky' above it. Thus Sophokles in his *Antigone* makes Kreon, when at Thebes, swear 'by yon Olympos<sup>1</sup>,' and Euripides in his *Andromeda* makes the heroine apostrophise Night as follows:

O holy Night,  
How long the course thou drivest.  
Charioting the starry ridges  
Of holy *aithér*  
Through dread Olympos<sup>2</sup>.

Both poets contrast Olympos in the sense of 'sky' with 'earth<sup>3</sup>.' The same usage is found in prose. The author of the Platonic *Epinomis* speaks of the visible heaven as 'the *kósmos* or Olympos or sky, whichever you choose to call it<sup>4</sup>,' while the author of the Aristotelian treatise *On the Universe* declares that God 'being pure has his station above in a pure place, even that which we truly name *ouranós*, since it is the "boundary" (*hóros*) of things "above" (*áno*), and *Ólympos* as "wholly-shining" (*holo-lampés*) and separate from all such darkness and disorderly movement as arises among us by means of storm and stress of winds<sup>5</sup>.'

The change in meaning from Olympos the 'mountain' to Olympos the 'sky' would readily follow from the belief that the mountain rose into the *aithér*. And for the prevalence of this belief there is abundant evidence<sup>6</sup>. It is even probable that in ancient days the inhabitants of the district actually spoke of the

Οὐρανοῦ, Μοῖρα γὰρ Μοῖρα. N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1874 ii. 228 gives κ' ἢ for καὶ ἢ. J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 128 prints the third line as ὅπου ἡ Μοῖραις τῶν Μοιρῶν. He justly draws attention to the ancient word *κόρυμβον*, citing variants with *κόλυμβον* (a dialect form, or else a corruption due to assonance with *Ὀλύμπου*) and *Κόροιβον* (for which he proposes *κόρυβον*). The word *κορυμβος* is akin to *κορυφή*, which was used of Olympos (e.g. *Il.* i. 499; Aristoph. *un<sup>o</sup>*. 270) and gave rise to its *Κορύβαντες* (*supra* p. 107).

<sup>1</sup> Soph. *Ant.* 758; cp. *Id.* 1389.

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Andromeda* frag. 114 Nauck<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Soph. *O. C.* 1653 ff., *Rhesos* frag. 492 Nauck<sup>2</sup>; Luc. *Phoen.* 1184.

<sup>4</sup> Plat. *Epinom.* 97<sup>1</sup> b.

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. *de mundo* 6. 400a 6 ff. This impossible derivation of *Ὀλύμπος* from *ὄλο-λαμπής* is given also by Plout. *ap.* Stob. *eccl.* i. 22. 2 p. 198, 11 f. Wachsmuth, *et mag.* p. 623, 81, *et. Græc.* p. 426, 25 f., schol. D. *L.* i. 18, Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 38, 38, 694, 51 f., *in Od.* p. 1389, 57 f., Io. Diak. in Bindin. *anecd.* p. 155 and Psell. *opusc.* p. 171 (both cited by Boissiadie in Stephanus *Lex. Gr. Lat.* v. 1902 c), Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 268; from *ὄλο-λαμπής* by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 27, 34 ff., *Ecce ex q<sup>ue</sup> in L.* p. 81, 26 f. Hermann, Priscian, *part.* p. 207, 10 ff. Kell. from *ὄλος λαμπής* by interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 268, 10. 1. It was revived by G. Curtius *Grundzüge der griech. Gen. Litteratur* Leipzig 1875 p. 266.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 101 f.

## 116 Development in the meaning of *Ólympos*

summit of Mount Olympos as 'heaven'.<sup>1</sup> Modern peasants call it 'the three peaks of Heaven'.<sup>2</sup> And a primitive notion that has left traces of itself in almost every country of Europe regards a mountain as the natural abode of souls.<sup>3</sup>

Mount Ide in the Troad, which also bore the name of Olympos<sup>4</sup>, was likewise supposed to rise into the *aithér*. Aischylos in his *Niohe* mentions Tantalos and his family as—

near akin to gods  
And nigh to Zen, men who on Ide's height  
Have built an altar of Ancestral Zeus  
In *aithér* and still vaunt the blood divine.<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 86.

Zeus was worshipped under the title *Olympios* not only at the foot of the Macedonian Mount Olympos<sup>6</sup>, at Pisa near the Elean Olympos<sup>7</sup>, and on the slopes of the Mysian Olympos<sup>8</sup>, but also far

<sup>1</sup> Solm. 8. 5 primum excellenti vertice tantus attollitur, ut summa eius caelum accolae vocent. Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 3. 262 Olympi ardua. quod caelum dixere ideo, quia apex eius omnibus invisibilis est. Eustath. in Od. p. 1750. 51 f. οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ φασὶ καὶ ἐπουράνιον καλεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ Ὀλύμπου κορυφὴν. The combination of οὔρανός and Ὀλύμπος occurs in Il. 1. 497, 5. 750, 8. 394, 16. 364, 19. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Supra p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> The latest (1912) article on the subject is E. Mogk 'Bergkult' in Hoops *Kultur*, p. 255 f.

<sup>4</sup> Supra p. 100 n. 8. <sup>5</sup> Aisch. *Niohe frag.* 162 Nauck<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Supra p. 102 n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> As lord of Olympia and patron of the famous Olympian games (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 844).

<sup>8</sup> Mnaseas *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Muller) ap. schol. Il. 20. 234. A copper coin of Prousa ad Olympum (at Berlin, struck in the reign of Commodus, has for its reverse type a bearded god reclining on the Mysian Olympos (fig. 85). He has a mantle wrapped about his legs, and his left arm rests on the rock. Trees and a gorge with a



Fig. 85.

and wide throughout the Greek area (fig. 86)<sup>1</sup>, even where there was no mountain with which his cult could be associated<sup>2</sup>.

### § 5. *The Mountain-cults of Zeus.*

#### (a) Chronological Development of the Mountain-cults.

The mountain-cults of Zeus may be grouped roughly in chronological order according as they centred round (1) a simple altar, (2) an altar with a statue of the god, (3) an altar with a statue enclosed in a temple<sup>3</sup>.

Examples of the earliest type occur in several Greek myths. Deukalion, for instance, according to one version of his legend, was borne safely over the waters of the flood to a mountain-height above Argos and in gratitude for his escape built upon it an altar to Zeus *Aphésios*<sup>4</sup>. Althaimenes, who fled from Crete to Rhodes lest he should unwittingly become the slayer of his father Katreus, put in to shore at a place which in memory of his former home he named Kretenia: on climbing Mount Atabyrion he got a distant view of Crete and, thinking still of Cretan cults, there set up an altar to Zeus *Atabyrios*<sup>5</sup>. Herakles, after sacking Oichalia and carrying off Iole the daughter of king Eurytos, went to Mount Kenaion the north-western promontory of Euboea, and there dedicated altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus *Patrôios*<sup>6</sup>. On Mount Helikon, near the spring Hippokrene, Zeus *Helikônios* had an altar, round which the Muses were believed to dance<sup>7</sup>. On the peak of Mount Ide called Gargaros there was an altar and a precinct of Zeus *Idaios*, where Hektor was wont to sacrifice<sup>8</sup>. Mount Arachnaion in Argolis had altars of Zeus and Hera<sup>9</sup>. The singular ritual of Mount

river flowing to the right show the nature of the mountain-side. This god has been taken to be Zeus (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 155, 161, Munzaf. 2, 16, Muller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denk.* 1 89 pl. 9, 5, *Clas. Rev.* 1904 xviii, 801. But Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Museen* p. 82 f. no. 144 pl. 6, 16 regards him as the mountain-god Olympos. *Infra* p. 124. Another coin of the same town has a seated Zeus inscribed ΠΡΟΥΓΑΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ (Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 444).

<sup>1</sup> *Ins. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1345 (a rock-cut inscription of the third century B.C. in the precinct of Artemidoros at Thera: see F. Hiller von Gaerttingen *Die Inscl. Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 89 ff.) Δα' Ὀλυμπίῳ. αἰρὸν ὑψιπέτῃ Διὸς ἄγγελον Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀέρασιν πολὺν εἰσε καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν. | ἀφῆλτοι, ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀγήραοι ἀεναοὶ τε, βωμοὶ, ὅσοις ἱερεῖς τέμενος κτίσεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος.

<sup>2</sup> See the list given in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 840-847, cp. Farnell *Cults of Gr. State* i. 155 f.

<sup>3</sup> The evidence is collected in Append. B, where the arrangement of it is topographical.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* Phliasta.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* Rhodes.

<sup>6</sup> *Il.* Euboea.

<sup>7</sup> *Il.* Boiotia.

<sup>8</sup> *Il.* Troas.

<sup>9</sup> *Il.* Argolis.

## 118 Sequence of the Mountain-cults

Kithairon, which will claim our attention later, involved the erection on the mountain-top of temporary wooden altars destined for the bonfires of Zeus *Kithairónios*<sup>1</sup>. High up on the Cretan Mount Ide was a permanent rock-cut altar of Zeus *Idaios*<sup>2</sup>. Thus with some variety of detail, according to local circumstances, the primitive cult of Zeus required an altar on the summit or as near it as might be.

Even where that cult was celebrated

On a tall mountain, cited to the top,  
Crowded with culture!

hieratic conservatism was apt to maintain the open-air altar. A case in point is furnished by Pergamon. The Akropolis of that marvellous city crowns a hill that rises a thousand feet above sea-level and commands a view of unequalled beauty over the valleys of Teuthrania. Thanks to the excavations begun by A. Conze and K. Humann on behalf of the Prussian government in 1878, a fairly accurate picture may be drawn of Pergamon in its glory, as it was when Pliny called it 'by far the most famous town in the province of Asia'. The silhouette of the city seen from below against the sunrise (pl. x)<sup>4</sup> shows the sky-line cut by two magnificent temples. In the centre rises the Doric fane of Athena *Poliás* or *Nikephóros*, a building of greyish trachyte, flanked on its northern and eastern sides by a two-storeyed *stoá* or 'colonnade.' Immediately behind the northern *stoá* are the halls in which the Pergamene Library was lodged. Further north, and therefore in our illustration more to the left, stands out the huge temple of the deified Trajan, a sumptuous Corinthian pile of white marble, surrounded on three sides by airy colonnades. Athena, then, had her temple, and Trajan had his. But Zeus<sup>5</sup> was content with the altar that smokes

<sup>1</sup> Append. B Boiotia.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* Crete.

<sup>3</sup> *Plin. nat. hist.* 5. 126. The most convenient summary of what is known about Pergamon is still that contained in Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1206—1227 (history, topography, and architecture by L. Fabricius), *ib.* 1227—1287 (art by A. Tiendelenburg). But the great Berlin publication (*Altötter von Pergamon*, here cited as *Pergamon*) is slowly approaching completion. Two volumes have already been devoted to the altar built by Eumenes II (197—159 B.C.), *vv.* *Pergamon* iii. 1. 1—128 (*Der grosse Altar. Der obere Markt*, Berlin 1906) with an Atlas of 34 plates, by J. Schrammen; *Pergamon* iii. 2. 1—250 (*Die Füsse des grossen Altar*, Berlin 1910) with an Atlas of 36 plates, by H. Winnefeld.

<sup>4</sup> Based on the Berlin panorama by A. Kips and M. Koch (Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. pl. 36), which in turn utilised the drawing by R. Bohn in *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon* Berlin 1888 in pl. 2. See also F. Pontremoli and M. Collignon *Pergame, restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole* Paris 1900.

<sup>5</sup> J. Schrammen in *Pergamon* iii. 1. 82 points out that the name of the deity to whom







Pergamon, showing the great altar of Zeus.

No. 705 118 II

on the terrace adjoining the Akropolis. True, it was an altar on a colossal scale (fig. 87)<sup>1</sup>. A substructure, measuring about 100 feet

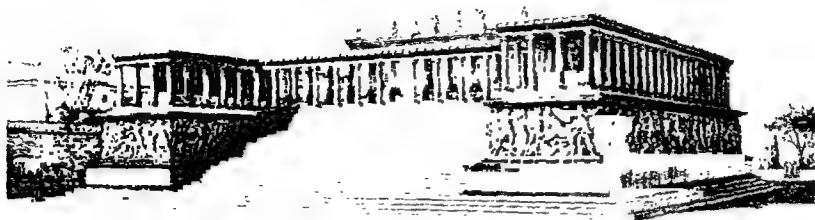


Fig. 87.

square by about 18 feet in height, was mounted by means of a broad staircase and adorned all round with a frieze, which represented in high relief the battle of the Gods and the Giants. The substructure was topped by an Ionic colonnade, the back wall of which was decorated with a smaller frieze depicting scenes from the mythical history of the town. Above all rose the actual altar of burnt offering, which, to judge from our only representation of it, a Pergamene coin struck by Septimius Severus (fig. 88)<sup>2</sup>, was protected by a soaring baldachin; the adjoining colonnades were surmounted by statues of deities, and the flight of steps was



Fig. 88.

the great altar was dedicated is not attested by the extant blocks of the votive inscription. M. Frankel in *Pergamon* vii no. 69 supposes that the altar was that of Zeus and Athena *Niképhoroi*; A. Brückner in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix Arch. Anz. p. 218 ff., that it was dedicated to all the gods. But it is commonly regarded as the altar of Zeus alone.

<sup>1</sup> *Pergamon* iii. 1 pl. 19. Ground-plan *ib.* pl. 15. Elevation of west side *ib.* pl. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 152 pl. 30, 7. That this coin shows the great altar was first recognised by A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 823 ff. figs. and in the *Rev. Num.* 1902 p. 234 ff. See also *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii Arch. Anz. p. 12 fig., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1902 vi. 461, *Pergamon* iii. 1. 4 f. fig., 65 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 536.

## 120 Sequence of the Mountain-cults

flanked by two figures of humped bulls on large pedestals. The whole complex of marble was reckoned one of the wonders of the world<sup>1</sup>. Built into and concealed by its foundations was a previously existing building with an apse at one end<sup>2</sup>. It bears so close a resemblance to the apsidal Kabeirion of Samothrace<sup>3</sup> that I would venture to see in it a shrine of the Kabeiroi, who appear on another coin of Pergamon<sup>4</sup> and are said to have witnessed the birth of Zeus on this very hill<sup>5</sup>. But, if the site of the great altar was once occupied by a Kabeirion, where was the former altar of Zeus?

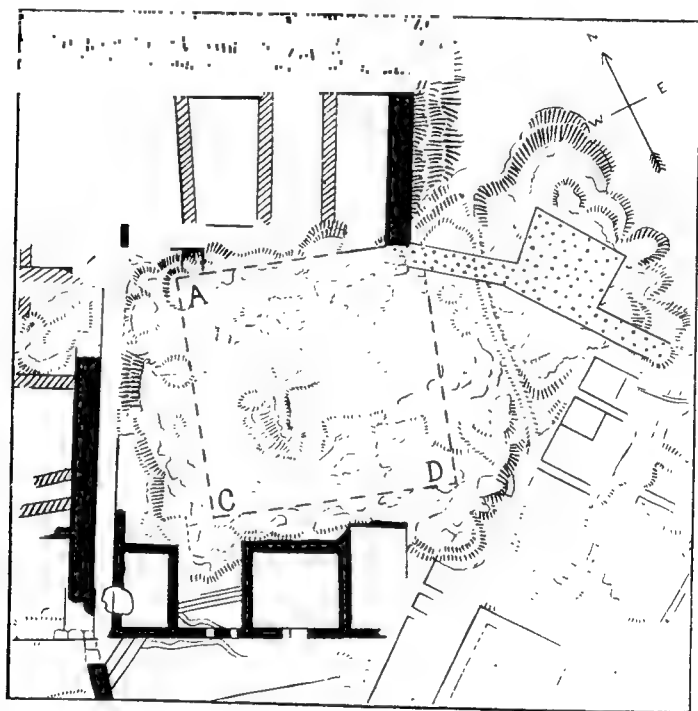


Fig. 89.

Just where we should have expected it to be—higher up, on the actual summit. J. Schrammen observes that the extreme point still shows traces of a square structure (fig. 89)<sup>6</sup>, and acutely

<sup>1</sup> Ampel. 8. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Pergamon* iii. 1. 83 ff. figs. Atlas pl. 2.

<sup>3</sup> A. Conze—A. Hauser—G. Niemann *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* Wien 1875 p. 45 ff. figs. 15–29 pls. 11–52, 69 f., A. Conze—A. Hauser—O. Benndorf *Neue archaologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* Wien 1880 p. 19 ff. figs. 4–8 pls. 2–16, *Darm Baukunst d. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 195, 231, *ib.*<sup>2</sup> p. 424.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1901 xxiv. 120 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 536.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 110 n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Pergamon* iii. 1. 74 f. fig

conjectures that the altar of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias was not the gorgeous monument of Eumenes ii but this more homely place of sacrifice<sup>1</sup>. If so, it was impressive from its sheer simplicity. Like the altar of Zeus *Olympios* in the Altis at Olympia, it was a mere heap of ashes, consisting entirely of the calcined thighs of victims sacrificed to Zeus<sup>2</sup>.

The dedication of an altar with neither temple nor statue of the god is characteristic of the early so-called aniconic stage of Greek religion. But it must not be supposed that the absence of a visible representation of Zeus was due merely to the backward state of sculptural art at the time when the cult in question was founded. Rather it must be traced back to the primitive conception of Zeus as the Bright Sky, alive and potent, but not as yet anthropomorphic<sup>3</sup>, and therefore not as yet represented by a statue.

With the change to anthropomorphism came the introduction of statues into the mountain-cults of Zeus. Where there had been an altar and nothing more, there was now, if the cult moved with the times, an altar and a statue of the god standing beside it. Thus on the top of Mount Hymettos there was an altar and statue of Zeus *Hymettios*<sup>4</sup>. On Mount Parnes Zeus was worshipped under several names: as *Ómbrios* and *Apémios* he received sacrifices on one altar, as *Semaléos* on another; and, apparently beside this latter, was a bronze statue of Zeus *Parnéthios*<sup>5</sup>. Mount Laphystion, near Orchomenos in Boiotia, had a precinct and a stone statue of Zeus *Laphýstios*: tradition told how king Athamas was here on the point of sacrificing his own son and daughter, Phrixos and Helle, when in the nick of time Zeus sent the ram with the golden fleece to aid their escape<sup>6</sup>. The summit of Mount Athos was sacred to Zeus *Athôios*, who had there one or more altars and a (bronze?) statue<sup>7</sup>. Doubtless too the statue of Zeus *Aitnaíos* on Mount Aítne<sup>8</sup>, that of the Chaeronean Zeus on the crag called Petrachos<sup>9</sup>, and that of Zeus *Anchésmios* on Mount Anchesmos near Athens<sup>10</sup> had altars of their own.

A third and final stage in the evolution of the cult was reached, when the figure of the god came to be suitably housed in a temple. But this was an innovation not brought about all at once. Zeus *Ithomátes*, for example, was worshipped on the top of Mount Ithome

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.*

<sup>2</sup> Append. B Mysia. On altars made of ashes see E. Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1668 f., J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 8 (in. 556 f.)

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Append. B Attike.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* Boiotia.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* Makedonia.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* Sicily.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* Boiotia.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.* Attike.

## 122 Sequence of the Mountain-cults

in Messene; but the statue of the god, made by the famous Argive sculptor Hageladas, was kept in the house of a priest annually appointed for the purpose<sup>1</sup>. At last Zeus was installed in a house of his own. And splendid indeed must have been the effect of a Greek temple with its ivory-white columns and its richly-coloured entablature seen against the dazzling blue of a southern sky. Hardly less beautiful would it appear when its marbles glimmering in the moonlight contrasted with the mysterious shadows of its colonnade<sup>2</sup>. The first temple built upon a height for Zeus of which we have any record is the temple of Zeus *Polieus* constructed by Phalaris in the first half of the sixth century on the Akropolis of Akragas some 1200 feet above sea-level. Polyainos<sup>3</sup> tells the following tale with regard to its foundation:

<sup>1</sup> Phalaris was a contractor of Akragas. The citizens of that town desired to make a temple of Zeus *Polieus* at a cost of 200 talents on their Akropolis: the site was rocky, the foundation very solid, and moreover it would be the right thing to establish the god on the highest available point. So Phalaris tendered an offer that, if he were appointed as overseer of the work, he would use the best craftsmen, furnish materials without extravagance, and provide satisfactory sureties for the funds. The people, considering that his life as a contractor had given him experience in such matters, entrusted him with the task. On receipt of the public moneys, he hired many strangers, purchased many prisoners, and brought up to the Akropolis plenty of materials—stones, timber, and iron. While the foundations were being dug, however, he sent down a crier with this proclamation: "Whosoever will denounce those persons that have stolen stone and iron from the Akropolis shall receive such and such a reward." The people were angered at the theft of the materials. "Well then," said Phalaris, "suffer me to fence in the Akropolis." The city granted him permission to fence it in and to raise a circuit-wall. Hereupon he freed the prisoners and armed them with his stones, axes, and double-axes. He made his attack during the festival of the Thesmophoria, slew most of the citizens, secured the women and children, and thus became tyrant of Akragas.<sup>2</sup>

Again, on the summit of the Larisa or Akropolis of Argos, a rocky cone rising abruptly from the plain to a height of 950 feet, there was a cult of Zeus *Larisaïos*. Pausanias, who visited the spot

<sup>1</sup> Append. B Messene.

<sup>2</sup> Time has broken and defaced all existing Greek temples. Among the least imperfect are the 'Theseum' at Athens, a temple of unknown dedication at Segesta, the temple of 'Concordia' at Argentum. But though these have preserved the form, they have lost the colour, of a Doric structure. Nor is there to be seen any really accurate model or even complete picture, say of the Parthenon, showing its shapes as they were, optical corrections and all, and its colouring as it probably was. Doubtless some details would be conjectural, but the facts are so far certain that an attempt at adequate representation might be, and ought to be, made.

<sup>3</sup> Polyain. 5. 1. 1. See further Append. B Sicily. The site of the temple is shown in W. Wilkins *The Antiquities of Magna Græcia* Cambridge 1807 Argentum pl. 1 view, Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1189 f. plan.

the second century of our era, says that the temple of Zeus *Ariseios* had no roof and that his statue, made of wood, was no longer standing on its base<sup>1</sup>. This implies that the temple was then a ruin: but when it was first founded is not known. Mount *Sagmatas*, the ancient Mount Hypatos, is a bold, rocky eminence above Glisas in Boiotia, attaining a height of 2434 feet. 'From the summit,' says Dr Frazer, 'the view is extensive and fine, embracing the great expanse of the Copaic plain (a lake no longer), the dark blue water of the deep lake of Hylica environed by barren and rugged mountains, the Euboean sea, and on the horizon the peaks of Parnassus, Helicon, and Cithaeron<sup>2</sup>.' Upon the flat top of this mountain Pausanias found a cult-statue and temple of Zeus *Hypatos*<sup>3</sup>; but again we cannot tell the date of its foundation. The same is true of the temple of Zeus *Akraios* on the Pindos range between Thessalia and Epeiros<sup>4</sup>, of the temple of Zeus *Kasios* built by the descendants of the Dioskouroi on Mount Kasion in Egypt<sup>5</sup>, and of the temple dedicated to Zeus *Kasios* at Kasiope in Korkyra<sup>6</sup>. Probably they were all comparatively recent. The temple of Zeus *Solymeus* on Mount Solymos in Pisidia does not appear to have been a very ancient structure<sup>7</sup>. And in several cases it is clear that the primitive altar of Zeus received the additional glory of a temple at a much later date. Althaimenes, we saw, set up a simple altar to Zeus *Atabyrios* on the Rhodian Mount Atabyrion: but Mr C Torr notes that the temple-walls and precinct-wall of Zeus are still to be seen on the mountain 4070 feet above the sea<sup>8</sup>. Herakles, we said, dedicated altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus *Patrôios* on the headland of Mount Kenaion: but Seneca in his tragedy *Herakles on Oite* writes—

Here on a soaring rock no cloud may strike  
Shines the old temple of Kenatan Zeus<sup>9</sup>.

The precinct of Zeus *Kynthios* and Athena *Kynthia* on the top of Mount Kynthos in Delos included a small temple, the position of which can still be traced; but this is expressly said by M. Lebègue to be of late date<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Append. B Argolis.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 19. 3 (v. 61 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Append. B Boiotia.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* Thessalia.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* Egyptos.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* Korkyra.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* Pisidia.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* Rhodes.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* Boiotia. Sen. *Her.* Oit. 7861. hic rupe celsa nulla quam nubes fent annosa fulgent templa Cenei Iovis. Mr G. A. Papabastieon, who most courteously travelled from Chalkis to the Kenaion promontory on my behalf, reports (Oct. 17, 1911) that at Dion in a spot named after a church of Saint Konstantinos he could trace the foundations of a temple and fair-sized precinct with a circular base of three steps at the east end. These remains he took to be those of a temple and altar of Zeus built in historic times on the site consecrated by Herakles.

<sup>10</sup> Append. B Delos.

## (b) The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus.

The mountain sacred to Zeus was sometimes regarded as his seat or throne. Coins of Gomphoi or Philippopolis from about 350 B.C. onwards show Zeus *Akraios* seated on a rock and holding a sceptre in his right hand (fig. 90)<sup>1</sup>: in place of the rock, which must represent Mount Pindos, later specimens substitute a throne (figs. 91, 92)<sup>2</sup>. Again, coins of Kyrrhos in Syria struck by Trajan and



Fig. 90.



Fig. 91.



Fig. 92.

other emperors have Zeus *Kataibates* sitting on a rock with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle<sup>3</sup>: the rock is presumably some neighbouring height. Similarly a coin of Ankyra in Galatia struck by Antoninus Pius represents Zeus, with a sceptre in his right hand and a Victory in his left, seated on a rock<sup>4</sup>: Ankyra too was situated in a mountainous district. We have already noted an imperial coin of Prousa in Bithynia, which shows Zeus or a Zeus-like mountain-god reclining on the summit of the Mysian Olympos (fig. 85)<sup>5</sup>.

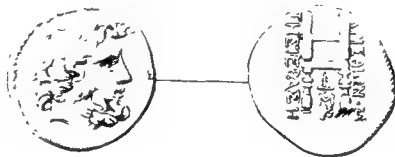


Fig. 93.

I add a few other numismatic examples, the interpretation of which is more doubtful. Copper coins of Larisa on the Orontes, struck in the first century B.C., have the head of Zeus as their obverse and the throne of Zeus as their reverse type (fig. 93)<sup>6</sup>. This perhaps implies that a neighbouring height was regarded as

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc.* p. 19 pl. 3, 2. *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 295. Append. B Thessalia.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc.* p. 19 (I figure no. 3) pl. 3, 4. *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 450. *Head loc. cit.* Fig. 92 is an unpublished variety (with the Thessalian form ΓΟΜΦΙΟΥΝ) in my collection.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii.

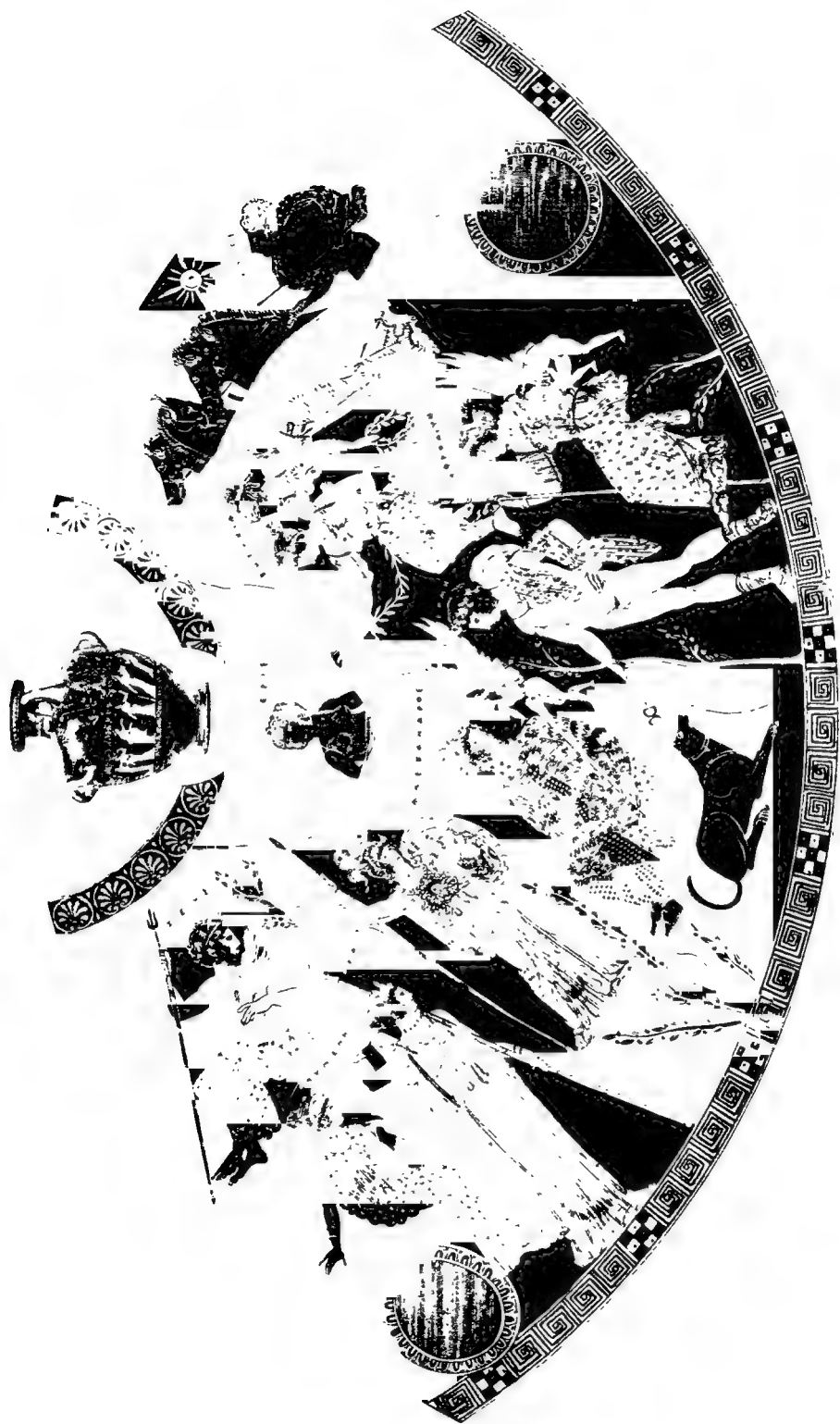
<sup>4</sup> *Rasche Lez. Num. Suppl.* i. 663, iii. 252.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 116 n. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia etc.* p. 264 pl. 31, 8. *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 782.







*Hydris* from Ruvo. *Zeus* on the mountain-top witnesses the judgment of *Paris*.

*See* *pl. 125 f.*

the god's seat. Similarly the throne and thunderbolt of Zeus on the piers of Olba in Kilikia, struck probably at the end of the first century B.C. (fig. 94)<sup>1</sup> and the beginning of the first century A.D. (fig. 95), may mean that *Uzunja-Burdj*, 'Tall Castle' (3800 ft.



Fig. 94



Fig. 95

above sea-level), on which Zeus *Ólbios* had his *hierón*<sup>2</sup>, was conceived as his sacred seat, though here an allusion to an actual throne occupied by the priestly king<sup>3</sup> is equally possible.

Vase-painters of the fourth century B.C. sometimes represent Zeus seated or reclining on a mountain in the upper register of their design. Thus a fine *hydra* from Ruvo, painted in the style of the potter Meidias<sup>4</sup> and now preserved at Karlsruhe<sup>5</sup>, introduces the god as part of a Polygnotan background to a familiar scene—the judgment of Paris (pl. xi)<sup>6</sup>. In the midst sits Paris himself, here as often named Alexandros. As a Phrygian he wears a rich Oriental costume; but as a shepherd he carries a short thick staff and is accompanied by his dog. He turns to speak with Hermes, who has brought the three goddesses to Mount Ide. The laurels and the rocky ground mark the mountain-side. Aphrodite,

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycæonia etc.* pp. lii f., 119 pl. 21, 7, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1885 vii, 369 (from the same die). Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 726.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycæonia etc.* p. 124 pl. 22, 7, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 727. G. I. Hill in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1899 xiv, 189 f. no. 37 (no. 38 has throne turned to left), Anson *Num. Cr.* i, 137 f. nos. 1354 f. pl. 26. The legend of the specimen here figured is ΔΥΝΑΣΤΟ[Υ] ΟΛΒΕ[ΩΝ] ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΝΝΑΤ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑΣΣΕΩΝ ← ΙΛ(=Ἴλιος ἱερός).

<sup>3</sup> J. T. Bent in the *Journ. H. E. Stud.* 1891 xii, 220 ff., R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm *Reisen in Kilikien* (edited *intra* ch. ii § 9 (b) ii (C)).

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* ii.

<sup>5</sup> G. Nicole *Monnaies et styles florissants dans la céramique attique* Geneva 1908 pp. 65 - 69 pl. 2, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Winnefeld *Vasensamm. Karlsruhe* p. 63 ff. no. 259.

<sup>7</sup> Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i, 141 ff. pl. 30.

In sarcophagus-reliefs etc. representing the judgment of Paris this seated Zeus is sometimes transformed into a seated mountain-god: see Robert *Sark.-Rel.* ii, 11 ff. pl. 4, 10, 10', 10'' (Villa Pamphili) = *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 3, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 vi, 214 ff. pl. II, Overbeck *Gall. Gr. Bildw.* p. 240 f. pl. 11, 5, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii, 1624 fig. 9, 9a; Robert *op. cit.* ii, 17 fig. (Villa Ludovisi) = *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 29, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii, 84 ff., Overbeck *Gall. Gr. Bildw.* p. 238 ff. pl. 11, 12.

## 126 The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

confident of success, is seated quietly behind Hermes. She rests one hand on a sceptre, the other on a little Eros, whose brother she has already sent forward to whisper seductive words in the ear of the judge. Above her we see Eutychia, the goddess of good luck, and an attendant maiden preparing wreaths for the coming victory. In front of Paris, but wholly disregarded by him, stands Athena—a majestic figure closely resembling the Parthenos of Pheidias. Hardly less majestic, and not a whit more successful in attracting the notice of Paris, is Hera, who draws near on the left supported by her maid Klymene. In the background appears Eris, who first brought about the strife and now would watch its *dénouement*. On the right Helios drives up his four-horse chariot from behind the mountain, recalling an analogous figure in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. On the left sits Zeus, leaning on the rocky slope. He wears a laurel-wreath in his hair and a *himation* wrapped about his knees. His right hand holds a sceptre; his left, a winged thunderbolt. Helios and Zeus give the setting of the scene in time and place<sup>1</sup>. For Ide is the home of Zeus *Idaios*<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, it was in obedience to the bidding of Zeus that Hermes brought the goddesses before Paris<sup>3</sup>.

Equally essential is the relation of Zeus to the main design in the case of the Poniatowski vase—a great Apulian *krater* with medallion handles, which was found near Bari and is now in the Vatican collection<sup>4</sup>. Its obverse (fig. 96) shows Triptolemos on his winged car drawn by two serpents. He is wreathed with myrtle, and holds in his left hand a sceptre and a bunch of corn. One of his serpents is feeding from a *phiale* held by a seated goddess, possibly one of the Horai. The other turns towards a standing goddess, almost certainly Demeter, who holds a wheel-torch under her left arm and is offering more corn to Triptolemos. Behind her at a lower level stands another goddess, probably Hekate, bearing a lighted torch. Above and beyond these figures rises a mountain, indicated by broken dotted lines, upon which we see two goddesses and higher up two gods. The goddesses cannot be identified with

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the vase at St. Petersburg (Stephani *Vases antiques*, St. Pétersbourg, n. 339 ff. no. 1807) figured in the *Comptes-rendus* St. Pétersbourg p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 31; *Wien. Vorlesungsblätter*, 11, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Append. B Troas.

<sup>3</sup> *Kypris ap.* Prokl. *chrestom.* 1 (p. 17 Kinkel), Foukian. *diol. deor.* 20, 1, 7, 8. Kolouth. *raff.* *Hel.* 69 ff., *Ov. her.* 16-71, *Apul. met.* 10, 30 and 33.

<sup>4</sup> A. L. Millin *Peintures de vases antiques* Paris 1810 II pl. 311. Remach *Vases Ant.* p. 60 ff. pl. 31 f., Engemann *Vas. ant.* 1, 22 ff. pl. 111, Lenormant *de White L'ancien* 10, II, 177 ff. pl. 63, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter-Kora p. 552 ff. Atlas pl. 16, 15, *inf.* ch. 1 § 6 (d) 1 (3).

certainty, but are in all probability meant for Aphrodite and Peitho.<sup>1</sup> The gods are Hermes and Zeus. Hermes has his usual attributes, and, with one foot raised on the rocky ground, balances the similarly posed figure of Peitho. Zeus, crowned with laurel, reclines on the mountain-top. He has a *himation* folded about his legs, shoes on his feet, a bracelet on his left arm, and an eagle-sceptre in his left hand. The moment depicted seems to be this. Zeus has

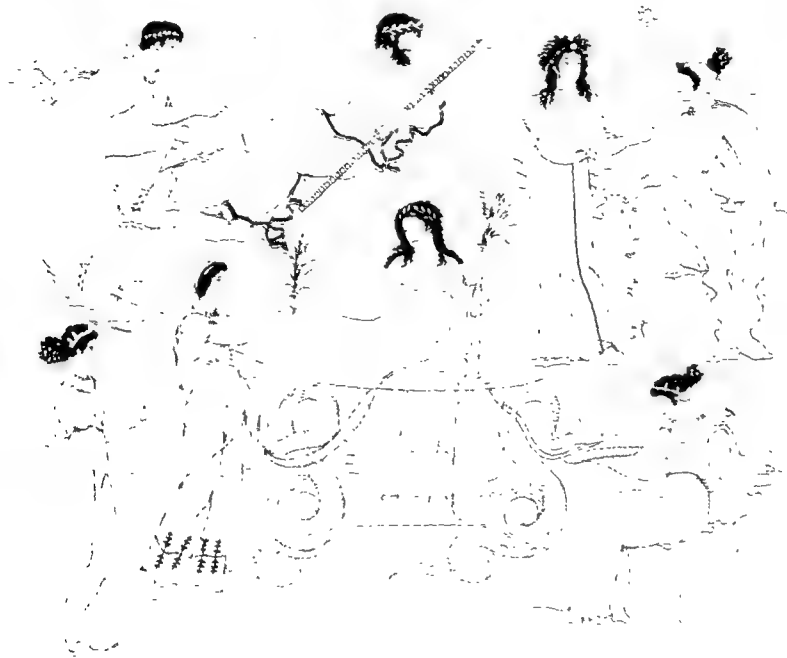


Fig. 96.

sent Hermes to bring back Persephone from the Underworld.<sup>2</sup> Demeter—her wrath thereby appeased—is instructing Triptolemos in the art of agriculture and sending him forth on his mission of

<sup>1</sup> The identification of the goddesses on this vase has been much canvassed; see Overbeck, *op. cit.* pp. 552-562. I have relied on another Apulian vase, now at St. Petersburg (*Mon. ch.* 186-6d) (1,50), which represents the same scene in a very similar fashion and fortunately supplies us with the inscribed names ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ (on suspension), ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ (on the left filling a *poros* for hunt), ΕΩΡΑΙ (further to the left, one standing, the other seated), ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ (on the right at a higher level, seated), ΠΕΙΘΩ (further to the right, standing beside Aphrodite with knee raised on rock), ΝΕΪΛΟΣ (nive) at foot of main design.

<sup>2</sup> *H. Dem.* 334 ff., cf. also R. Foerster *Der Kain' und die Kain' von der Persephone* (Stuttgart 1874 pp. 29-38) 'Der Mythos in der Dichtkunst'.

## 128 The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

civilisation. On this showing the mountain upon which Zeus reclines is the Macedonian Olympos<sup>1</sup>.

An Apulian *pelike* from Ruvo, now at Naples<sup>2</sup>, has on one side a design (pl. xii)<sup>3</sup>, the background of which somewhat closely resembles that of the vase just described. The scene is laid on a mountain near the Phrygian Kelainai, where Marsyas the flute-playing Silenos was defeated and flayed by Apollon<sup>4</sup>. In the centre of the composition sits Apollon, wreathed with laurel and wearing a *himation* drawn up over the back of his head. He is already victorious, and a winged Nike is presenting him with the victor's fillet, but his fingers still play with the four chords of his lyre. Below him on a spotted skin sits the defeated Silenos. His skin flute-case lies behind on the ground. He holds the flutes in his left hand and leans his head on his right in deep dejection. And no wonder. For of the three Muses, who are present as judges of his skill<sup>5</sup>, one, though she has flutes herself, stands spell-bound listening to Apollon's strains, another is seated harp in hand chanting the victor's praises to the delight of a pet-dog from Malta, while the third has risen from her judgment-seat and is reading out of a roll the fearful penalty prescribed for the vanquished. Behind her a girl is already bringing up a basket with flowers and a fillet, as though for a sacrifice. Marsyas himself will be the victim. On the mountain-top are three seated deities; but not one of them is likely to help. Zeus naturally sympathises with his son, Artemis with her brother. Aphrodite, who scoffed at the effects of flute-playing<sup>6</sup>, is unconcernedly holding a *phiale* to serve as a divining-glass for Eros<sup>7</sup>. Still less does the she-goat cropping its food in the corner take thought for Marsyas' fate. Confining our attention to Zeus, we note that his connexion with the tragedy is but slight. He is here mainly as the divine dweller on the

<sup>1</sup> *H. Dem.* 331, 341, 449, 484.

<sup>2</sup> Heydemann *Va. ansamm.* *Vascul.* p. 529 ff. no. 3231.

<sup>3</sup> A. Michaelis *Die Verurtheilung des Marsyas auf einer Va. aus Ruvo* Greifswald 1864 pl. 2, 3, and more accurately in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii pl. 17, Overbeck *Gri. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 439 ff. Atlas pl. 25, 4.

<sup>4</sup> O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2441 ff.

<sup>5</sup> O. Jessen *ib.* ii. 2442.

<sup>6</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 165.

<sup>7</sup> A. Michaelis *Die Verurtheilung des Marsyas* etc. p. 13 f., *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 46, and Overbeck *Gri. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 431, 442 argue that Aphrodite, in whose cult the flute was used, is present on the side of Marsyas. If so, she is strangely apathetic, cp. other vase-paintings of the same scene in Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. gr.* ii pl. 64, the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii pl. 5, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 433 no. 12 Atlas pl. 25, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 441 holds that Zeus is present as witness of things in general and of his son's victory in particular.



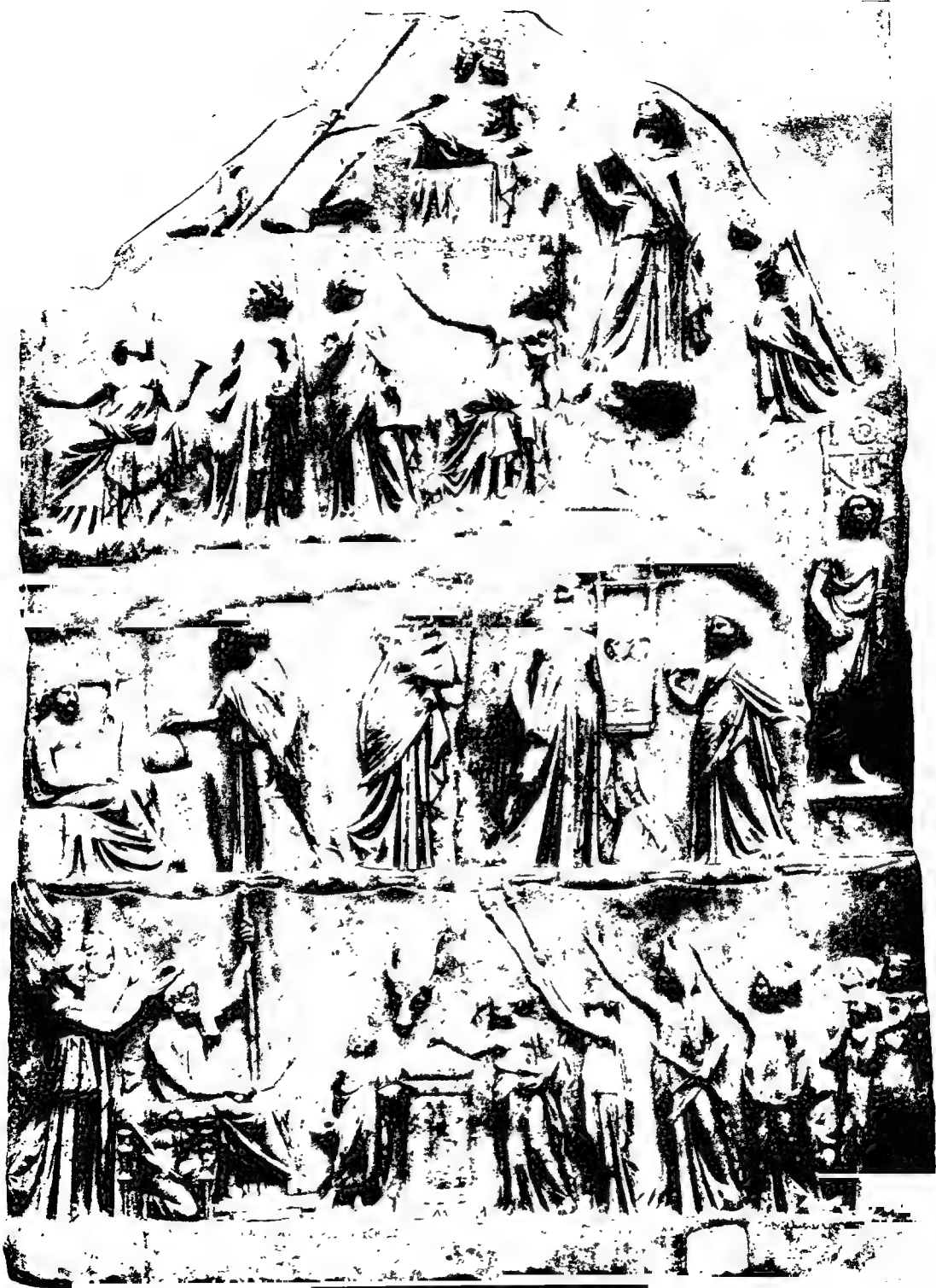


*Pelike from Ruvo: Zeus on the mountain-top witnesses the defeat of Marsyas.*

*See page 128 f., cf. page 133.*







Relief signed by Archelaos of Priene.

See p. 129 ff.

heights above Kelainai, and he adopts the attitude now familiar to us as that of the mountain-god.

This type of Zeus reclining occurs again on a relief signed by Archelaos son of Apollonios, a native of Priene<sup>1</sup>. That well-known work of art, referable to the end of the third century B.C., was found near Bovillae about 1650 A.D. and is now in the British Museum (pl. xiii)<sup>2</sup>. Its subject is usually described as the apotheosis of Homer. Before us rises a steep mountain-side, at the foot of which *Hómēros* is seen enthroned. He holds a roll in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. His throne is supported by two kneeling female figures inscribed *Iliás* and *Odýsseia*: the former carries a sheathed sword, the latter holds up the stern-ornament of a ship. In front of Homer's footstool lies another roll with a mouse at one end of it, a frog (?) at the other, to indicate the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*. Behind the poet stands a woman named *Oikouménē*, 'The World,' who is holding a wreath above his head, and a man, named *Chrónos*, 'Time,' who is uplifting a roll in either hand. Since in features and hair these two figures (fig. 97) resemble Ptolemy iv Philopator and his wife Arsinoe, it has been conjectured that we have here the king and queen of Alexandria portrayed as allegorical personages<sup>3</sup>. Before the poet is a lighted altar inscribed  $\Lambda\Lambda$ , behind which stands a humped bull. The sacrificial attendant with jug and bowl is *Mýthos*. *Historía* strews incense on the altar, *Póiesis* holds up two flaming torches, while *Tragodia*, *Komodía*, a smaller figure named *Phýsis*, 'Nature,' and a group of *Arété*, 'Virtue,' *Mnéme*, 'Memory,' *Pístis*, 'Faith,' and *Sophía*, 'Wisdom,'

<sup>1</sup> *Inscr. Gr. Su. It.* no. 1295.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 244 ff. no. 2191 fig. 30, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 112 fig. 118, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 674 ff. fig. 354, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik* ii. 463 ff. fig. 226, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3266 ff. For further details and divergent theories see the monographs of G. Cupei *Apotheosis Homeri* Amsterdam 1683, Schott *L'explication nouvelle de l'Apothéose d'Homère* etc. Amsterdam 1714, E. Braun *Apothéose des Homers* Leipzig 1848, A. Kortegain *De tabula Archelai* Bonn 1862, C. Watzinger *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene* (*Winkelmannfest-Programm. Berlin* lxvii) Berlin 1903, and the other authorities cited by A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 253 f.

<sup>3</sup> C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 17 ff. figs. 8-9, following and improving upon the identifications proposed by S. Shaupes, 722. Ptolemy vi Philometor and his mother Kleopatra. Both E. Braun and Sir C. T. Newton remarked a family likeness between the head of *Xpóvos* and those of the later Ptolemies. F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. öst. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii. 85 f. fig. 28 (= Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* pl. ii. 13, cp. *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1904 iv. 307 ff. pl. 15, 11) proposes a fresh identification based on the coin-portraits of the Syrian king Alexandros i Balas and his wife Kleopatra. The alleged likeness is to me, I confess, hardly convincing. Mr A. H. Smith, however, whom I consulted by letter, kindly writes (Oct. 17, 1911) 'I think Hauser has a better case than Watzinger. His coin is surprisingly like. But I gather, from what Hauser says, that the other version of the coin rather shook his own faith.'

## 130 The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

draw near with gestures of acclamation. The whole scene takes place in front of a curtained colonnade. Above it stands Apollon in a cave with a *kithára* in his hand and an *omphalós* at his feet: against the *omphalós* lean the bow and quiver of the god, and one of the Muses<sup>1</sup> raising a roll stands before him. To the right of the cave and immediately in front of a large tripod with domed cover is the statue of a man holding a roll, which statue—as Goethe was the first to suggest—probably represents a poet<sup>2</sup> who has won



Fig. 97.

a tripod in some poetical contest<sup>3</sup> and has celebrated the event by dedicating this votive relief. To the left of the cave and above it winding up the mountain-height, are the eight remaining Muses.

<sup>1</sup> This figure has often been called the Pythian priestess. Her true character was determined by S. Reinach, and trophies were cited by W. Ameling—see C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Others have interpreted the figure as Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus. But, had a famous poet of ancient date been meant, his name—as in the case of ΟΜΗΡΟΣ—would have been inscribed below him. The existing head is a restoration.

<sup>3</sup> C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 21; cf. Paus. 9. 31. 3. Büchler *ibid.* cites a yet closer parallel, viz. an inscribed slab from Teos (middle of 2nd cent. B.C.), now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which concludes a decree in honour of the flute-player Kraton, thus: παρατίθεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς θύραις καὶ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦ Κριτάωρος, τὸν ἐν τῇ θεατρῷ τρίποδι τῇ καὶ θυσιατήριον κ.τ.λ. (*Corp. Ins. Gr.* ii no. 3068, 22 ff.; Michel *Revue d'Art et d'Arch.* no. 1016, 22 ff.).

arranged in typical attitudes and furnished with conventional attributes. Higher still, and on a larger scale than the Muses, is their mother Mnemosyne<sup>1</sup>. All these lead upwards to Zeus himself (fig. 98), who is seated or reclining on the mountain-top with a *himation* wrapped about his legs, a sceptre in his right hand, and an eagle at his feet.

The significance of the whole design is tolerably clear. The ideal poet, inspired by Apollon and the Muses, ultimately derives his message from their omnipotent sire: he delivers to mankind the oracles of Zeus. Nay more, in a sense he *is* Zeus. Enthroned as a divine king on earth he is a human counterpart of the divine king enthroned in heaven<sup>2</sup>, heaven being located on the summit of



Fig. 98

the mountain. Nor was this a mere fancy-flight of Hellenistic imagination. It was, as we shall see in due course, a religious conviction inseparably bound up with immemorial Hellenic customs.

But the relief before us has a special as well as a general significance. C. Watzinger, who follows W. Amelung in ascribing the types of Apollon and the Muses to Philiskos of Rhodes<sup>3</sup>, and further attempts to explain the reclining Zeus as a Rhodian development of an originally Dionysiac *motif*<sup>4</sup>, suggests the following possibilities. Apollonios Rhodios, or some other epic poet

<sup>1</sup> This identification, first proposed by G. Cuper in 1683, is now commonly accepted.

<sup>2</sup> C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 17 justly says, 'In zeusähnlicher Haltung sitzt Homer,' and *ib.* p. 26 calls attention to the actual cult of Homer established at Alexandria by Ptolemy IV Philopator (*Mit. 750. hist.* 13, 22) and existing also at Smyrna (*Strab.* 646).

<sup>3</sup> C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 4 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 14 ff.

## 132 The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

of the Rhodian school, was successful in a poetical contest, held at Alexandria on behalf of Apollon and the Muses<sup>1</sup>. He commemorated his victory by dedicating in a temple at Rhodes a votive relief made for him by Archelaos of Priene, a sculptor belonging to the Rhodian school of art. The locality of the contest thus accounts for the portraits of Ptolemy iv and Arsinoë, for the divine honours paid to Homer<sup>2</sup>, and for the emphasis laid on Apollon and the Muses, while the nationality of the poet and the artistic traditions of the sculptor explain the adoption of Philiskos' types. Zeus, himself of a Rhodian type, is Zeus *Atabirios* reclining on the highest peak of the island<sup>3</sup>. He was worshipped also on the akropolis of Rhodes, as was Apollon, in whose sanctuary Philiskos' group presumably stood.

Watzinger's reconstruction of the circumstances is attractive and hangs well together. But it is beset by uncertainties. We do not *know* that these types of Apollon and the Muses were those devised by Philiskos<sup>4</sup>, or that the *motif* of a reclining Zeus originated in Rhodes. The former is at most a probable guess; the latter is at most an improbable guess. Again, we do not *know* that Archelaos the sculptor belonged to the Rhodian school of sculpture, or that the supposed poet belonged to the Rhodian school of poetry, or that the contest took place at Alexandria, or that it had anything to do with the cult of Apollon and the Muses. In short, the whole explanation is hypothetical. And other hypotheses are equally possible. For example, it might be maintained that an epic poet of the Alexandrine school won a prize-tripod<sup>5</sup> at the Panionia, the great festival of Poseidon *Helikónios* held in the territory of Priene<sup>6</sup>. He naturally got a local sculptor to carve his votive tablet. The sculptor of course introduced Homer as the prototype of all epic poets, paid the customary compliment to the king and queen of his patron's town, and—possibly prompted by the epithet *Helikónios*—represented Mount Helikon with Zeus *Helikónios*<sup>7</sup> on its summit and the Muses descending its side. The Muses suggested Apollon, and, at the expense of topographical accuracy, Mount Helikon is merged in another height of the same range and reveals Apollon, *omphalós* and all, standing in his Delphic cave<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vit. 7 *passim*: 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 131 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Append. B Rhodes.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 34 f.

<sup>5</sup> Bronze tripods were given as prizes at the games of Apollon *Ἰώνιος* (Hdt. i. 144).

<sup>6</sup> Nilsson *Gr. Fest.* p. 74 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Append. B Boiotia.

<sup>8</sup> A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 248: 'It has been generally supposed that the rocky terraces on which the Muses appear in this relief represent

But guess-work is fatally facile. It will be more profitable to notice a point which, so far as I am aware, has escaped the observation of Watzinger and his predecessors—the extraordinary similarity of the Archelaos relief to the Marsyas vase from Ruvo. In both the artist has portrayed success in a contest of poetry or music. In both we see a mountain-side with Apollon half way up it playing the *kithára* or lyre. In both there are the Muses arranged at different levels on the slope—one holding two flutes, another seated to play the *kithára* or harp, a third standing with a roll in her hand. Lastly, in both the mountain is topped by a strikingly similar figure of Zeus. I would infer that Archelaos was indebted for his design, or at least for essential elements of his design,—not indeed to vase-painters of the fourth century B.C.—but to contemporary fresco-painters, who like their humbler brethren of the potter's trade were still at work under the far-reaching influence of Polygnotos<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 99.

There are extant two other representations of Zeus on the mountain to which allusion must here be made. A bronze medallion of Lucius Verus shows Zeus seated on a mountain, holding a thunderbolt peacefully on his knee with his left hand, while his right arm leaning on the mountain-top supports his head. The emperor in military costume and himself crowned by

Parnassus, and in this case the cave within which Apollo is standing would be the Corycæan cave on that mountain. Not necessarily: it might be the actual *παρθέριον* at Delphon, which is described as *αὐτῶρον* (Strab. 419; Fun. *Phoen.* 232 cp. *I.L.* 1245 ff.; A. P. Oppé in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1904 xxiv. 214 ff. has not said the last word on the subject).

<sup>1</sup> Thus in the case of the art-type of Zeus reclining on a mountain-top the vase-paintings appear to form a link between some lost fresco of Polygnotos in the fifth century B.C., and the relief of Archelaos in the third. Later (cf. in § 1 (a) m) we shall see, in the case of the art-type of Zeus seated on a rock with Hera standing before him, how the vase-paintings bridge the interval between a Samian metope of the fifth century B.C. and a Pompeian fresco of the first century A.D.

## 134 The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

an armed figure of Roma is offering to the god a small wreath-bearing Nike (fig. 99)<sup>1</sup>. The inscriptions on this medallion<sup>2</sup> prove that it was struck in the year 167 A.D. and commemorates the victories won for Verus in the east by his stern lieutenant Avidius Cassius. Not improbably the artist hinted at the name of the actual victor by depicting the emperor making his presentation to the mountain-god Zeus *Kásios*<sup>3</sup>. Lastly, a bronze coin of Ephesos, struck under Antoninus Pius, represents Zeus seated on a throne, which is set upon the flat summit of a mountain. Beneath this mountain lies another mountain-god holding a horn of plenty and inscribed *Peion*. Over his head descends a shower from the raised right hand of Zeus, while the left hand of that deity supports a thunderbolt. At the foot of the mountain on which Zeus sits enthroned is a temple; at the back of the same mountain, a three-storeyed building; and in the distance, perched upon rocks, appear two similar buildings and a clump of cypress-trees between them (fig. 100)<sup>4</sup>. There can be no doubt that Zeus is here represented as



Fig. 100.

enthroned on Mount Koressos, a height which dominates the whole valley of Ephesos and looks down on its neighbour Mount Peion.

The foregoing examples of a mountain conceived as the throne of Zeus must not be attributed to any original effort of imagination on the part of the Hellenistic artist. Behind the die-sinker and the sculptor lay popular belief and long-standing ritual practice. Those who in

ancient days visited Argos to see the famous statue of Hera, made by Polykleitos of ivory and gold, found the goddess in her temple seated on her throne. In one hand she carried a pomegranate, in the other a sceptre; and about both of them stories were told. The story about the pomegranate was mystic in character and too sacred to be rashly bruited abroad. That about the sceptre aimed at explaining the odd fact that a cuckoo was perched on the tip of it, and was as follows. When Zeus was in love with the maiden Hera, he transformed himself into a cuckoo, was caught and petted

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 156, 161, 190. Munzaf. 2, 32. Froehner *Med. imp. rom.* p. 90 fig., *supra* p. 34 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Obv. L VERVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX, Rev. IR • P • VII IMP III COS III (Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> iii. 197 no. 291). Cp. *Nom. Chron.* Fourth Series 1906 vi. 101 no. 3 a tooled specimen in the Hunter collection.

<sup>3</sup> Append. B Syria.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* Lydia.



by her, and so gained his desires. The scene of this idyll was Mount *Kokkýgion*, or the 'Cuckoo' Mount, near Hermione, on the top of which there was a sanctuary of Zeus, while on the top of the neighbouring Mount Pron was a corresponding sanctuary of Hera. Now the older name of Mount Kokkýgion was *Thórmax* or *Thrómax*, which means the 'Throne'. It seems, therefore, highly probable that this mountain was regarded by the Greeks as the throne of Zeus. Indeed, it is possible that an actual throne, reputed to be that of Zeus, was visible on the mountain. When Pythagoras made a pilgrimage to Crete, he entered the cave near the top of Mount Ide wearing black wool, stayed there according

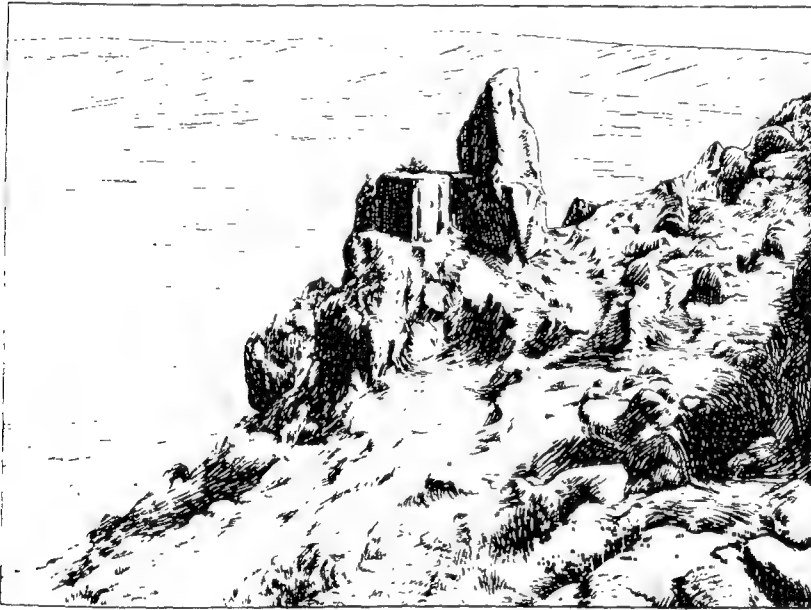


Fig. 101.

to custom thrice nine days and, among other ritual acts, inspected the throne which was strewn for Zeus once a year<sup>2</sup>. It is noticeable, too, that Pergamon, whose altar to Zeus we have already considered, is described in *The Revelation of S. John the divine* as the place 'where Satan's throne is'!

It is not, then, to be wondered at, if the Greeks brought into connexion with their Zeus a remarkable series of cult-monuments scattered up and down the mainland of Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago, and even Greece itself. Throughout these districts the tops of mountains and hills have been by some unknown people

<sup>1</sup> Append. B Argolis.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* Crete.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* Mysia.

## 136 The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

at some unknown date—possibly by the Hittites in the fourteenth and following centuries B.C.—adorned with thrones, large or small, cut out in the living rock. H. Gelzer records a 'throne of Nahat' on a mountain in Armenia<sup>1</sup>. Near Ikonion in Lykaonia P. Sarre climbed an isolated rocky mound named *Tuzuk-Dagh*, some 150 feet above the level of the plain, and found on the summit a rock-cut seat or throne with traces of steps leading up to it<sup>2</sup>. On the

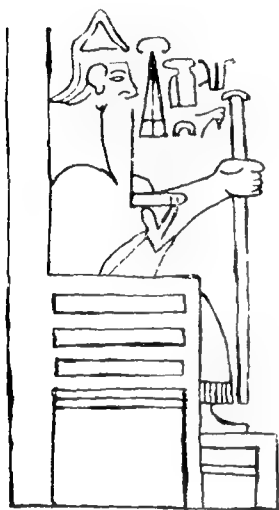


Fig. 102.

*Kara-Dagh* or 'Black Mountain,' an out-lying ridge of Tauros, is an isolated hill the *Kizil-Dagh*, which rises sharply from the plain to a height of about 360 feet. Here in 1907 Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay and Miss G. Bell found 'a pinnacle of rock forty feet high, roughly carved into the shape of a seat or throne with high back' (fig. 101)... 'On the throne is incised a figure of the god, sitting, holding a sceptre in the left hand and a cup in the right.' Prof. A. H. Sayce regards the seated figure as that of a king and interprets the Hittite inscription that accompanies it as the royal name Tarkyanas (fig. 102)<sup>3</sup>. Dr J. Garstang accepts this reading as against Prof. Ramsay's Tarkuattes, but adds: 'it is conceivable that we have here a

representation of the deity called by a name which was that used also by the priest<sup>4</sup>. The priestly king thus postulated was doubtless the dynast of Barata at the mountain-foot<sup>5</sup>. Rock-cut thrones have been repeatedly seen in Phrygia by A. Korte<sup>7</sup>. The rock-cut

<sup>1</sup> *Ber. d. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Classe 1896 xlviii. 115. Gelzer cites from the Armenian version of Eusebius of Byzantium 5. 25 the following statement about the Greek anchorite Ipphanios: 'Und er sass auf dem grossen Berge an der Stätte der Götzen, welche sie Thron der Nahat nennen'.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1896 xix. 34.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. Ramsay *Lucy the Phrygian* London 1908 p. 160 pl. 16.

<sup>4</sup> A. H. Sayce in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1909 xxxi. 83 ff. pl. 7. 1.

<sup>5</sup> J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 176 ff.

<sup>6</sup> A copper of Barata struck by Otacilia Severa shows Tyche with *kalathos*, branch (?) and *cornu copiae* seated on a rock, a river-god at her feet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Lycaonia etc. p. 2 pl. 1. 3). Another noteworthy coin-type of the same town is a standing Zeus, who rests on a sceptre and holds a *phain* or globe, with an eagle beside him (*ib.* p. xix). Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 713. Is Tyche enthroned on a rock the successor of a pre-Greek mountain-mother?

<sup>7</sup> W. Reichel *Über zombellensche Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 31.

altars of Kybele discovered by Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay on the plateau of *Doghanlı*, the Phrygian town of Midas, resemble thrones at least as much as altars<sup>1</sup>. The most striking example of these rock-cut thrones is, however, one on Mount Sipylus in Lydia. Pausanias, a native of the locality, calls it the 'throne of Pelops<sup>2</sup>'. And Dr Frazer in his commentary describes the scenery as follows: 'On the south side of the fertile valley of the Hermus, Mount Sipylus (*Manissa-dagh*) towers up abruptly, like an immense wall of rock. Its sides are very precipitous, indeed almost perpendicular. The city of Magnesia, the modern *Manissa*, lies immediately at its foot. About four miles east of Magnesia the mountain wall of rock is cleft, right down to the level of the Hermus valley, by a narrow ravine or cañon, which pierces deep into the bowels of the mountain. It is called by the Turks the *Yarik Kaya* or "rifted rock." The cañon is only about 100 feet wide; its sides are sheer walls of rock, about 500 feet high; there is a magnificent echo in it. A small stream flows through the bottom; it is probably the Achelous of Homer (*Iliad*, xxiv, 616). It is plain that the ravine has been scooped out in the course of ages by the stream wearing away the limestone rock; but it would naturally be regarded by the ancients as the result of a great earthquake, such as are common in this district. On the western edge of the cañon, half-way up the mountain-wall of Sipylus, there shoots up a remarkable crag, which stands out by itself from the mountain-side. On one side it is possible from its summit to drop a stone 900 feet sheer into the cañon; on all other sides it rises with a perpendicular face 100 feet from the mountain. Even to reach the foot of this crag from the plain, stout limbs and a steady head are needful; for the ancient mule-path, partly hewn out of the rock, partly supported on walls on the edge of precipices, has mostly disappeared; and there is nothing for it but to cling as best you can to the bushes and the projections of the rock. In this way you at last reach the foot of the cliff, the sheer face of which seems to bar all further advance. However, on the western side of the crag there is a cleft or "chimney" (*cheminée*), as they would call it in Switzerland, which leads up to the top, otherwise quite unapproachable, of the crag. In antiquity there seems to have been a staircase in the "chimney." The first few steps of it may be seen under the bushes with which the rocky fissure is overgrown. The upper surface of the crag, reached

<sup>1</sup> Petrot-Chipicer *Hist. de l'Asie*, 148 ff. figs. 102-104, W. M. Ramsay in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 13 f. figs. 4 f., 42 fig. 9, pl. 21 B. On the thrones of Kybele and the Korymbantes see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1523 n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Append. B Lydia.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 7 (iii. 552 f.).

## 138 The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

through this cleft, is nowhere level; on the contrary, it slopes like the roof of a house and is indeed so steep that to climb up it is difficult. There are, however, twenty or thirty foundations of houses cut in the rock and rising one above the other like the steps of an immense staircase. Also there are seven or eight bell-shaped cisterns.

The ancient settlement on the summit of this remarkable crag would seem to be that to which classical writers gave the name of Tantalus or the city of Tantalus. They affirmed, indeed, that the



Fig. 103.

city had disappeared into a chasm produced by an earthquake; but probably the immense ravine beneath suggested the idea of the earthquake, and popular mythology completed the legend by asserting that the old city had been hurled down into its depths. See Pausanias, vii. 24. 13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 205, v. 117; Aristides, *Orat.* xv. vol. I. p. 371 sq., ed. Dindorf; cp. Strabo, i. p. 58.

On the very topmost pinnacle of the crag there is a square cutting in the rock, resembling the seat of a large armchair, with back and sides complete. It is about 5 feet wide, 3 feet from front to back, and 3 feet high at the back. The back of the seat (as it may be called) is simply the top of the precipice, which falls straight down into the ravine, a sheer drop of 900 feet. Across the ravine soars the arid rocky wall of Sipylus. On the other side the eye

edges over the valley of the Hermus, stretched like a map at one's feet. There seems to be little doubt that this remarkable rock-cut seat, perched on the pinnacle of the dizzy crag, is no other than the "throne of Pelops" mentioned by Pausanias in the present passage. What the original intention of the cutting may have been, is a different question. Professor W. M. Ramsay thinks it was probably an altar on which offerings were laid.<sup>1</sup>

C. Humann, who discovered this throne in the year 1880, gives a most graphic account of his experiences in reaching it; and I am indebted to his article for the accompanying sketch (fig. 1031). W. Reichel adds the suggestion that the houses built on the upper part of the peak belonged in reality to a colony of priests, whose duty it was to serve the god represented by the throne above them. He also conjectures that this god was Apollon or some other form of the sun-god, if not *Hypsistos* himself, and that the name of Pelops became attached to the throne as did that of Danaos to the throne of Apollon *Lykios* at Argos, or that of Midas to the throne at Delphi.<sup>2</sup> Reichel holds that in all these cases the empty throne was by rights the throne of a god, which came to be regarded wrongly as the throne of a by-gone king. Its transference from a god to a king is—I would point out—much facilitated, if we may suppose that the king was viewed as the god incarnate. And in the case before us there are good reasons for suspecting that Pelops was regarded as in some sense a human Zeus. Thus a rocky seat connected by the Greek inhabitants of Magnesia with Zeus, the chief Magnesian god<sup>3</sup>, would readily come to be called the 'throne of Pelops.' This does not of course preclude the possibility that the original possessor of the throne was neither Pelops, nor Zeus, but some other pre-Greek occupant such as Plastene, Mother of the Gods, whose primitive rock-cut image is still to be seen in its niche on the mountain-side 300 feet above the plain.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. Humann 'Die Tantalosburg im Sipylon' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1888 xiii. 22-41. The measurements of the throne, as given by him, are: height above sea-level 350' or 1120 feet, length 1.55', depth 1.30", height 1.20'.

<sup>2</sup> W. Reichel *Die Tempel der Magnesia bei Sardis* p. 32 f. For the throne of Danaos in the temple of Apollon *Lykios* at Argos (Paus. 2. 19. 5) see *ibid.* p. 18, and for that of Midas at Delphi (*Hdt.* 1. 141. 1) p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1903 xviii. 271 ff., *Fest-Fest* 1904 xv. 398 ff. See further an important chapter on the origin of the Olympic games by Mr F. M. Cornford in Miss J. E. Harrison's latest book *Themis* (cl. viii).

<sup>4</sup> W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* 1882 iii. 56: 'on the autonomous coins of Magnesia Zeus is the most characteristic type.' Cp. Appendix B Lydia.

<sup>5</sup> W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* 1882 iii. 33 ff., C. Humann in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1888 xiii. 26 ff. with map and pl. 1, 2, J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 7 (iii. 553 f.).

## 140 The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

However that may be, the Greeks do seem to have associated these rock-cut thrones with Zeus. High up on the south-eastern slope of Mount Koressos at Ephesos is another example of them. At the top of a precipitous cliff two steps are hewn out, which give access to a large oblong seat with end-pieces or arms and a high vertical back. In the angle made by this seat and its back another

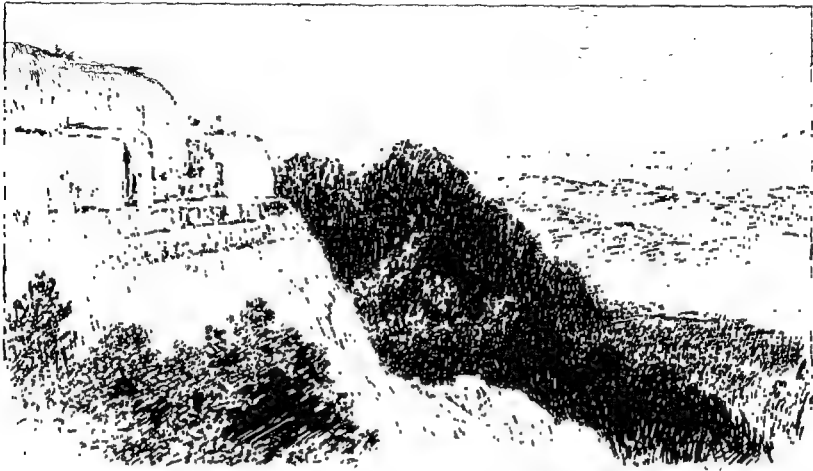


Fig. 104.

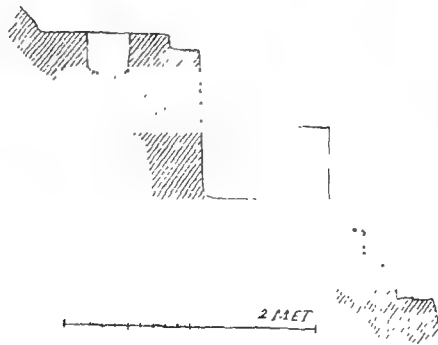


Fig. 105.

step is contrived, standing on which a man can easily reach a hole, presumably a receptacle for offerings, excavated behind the back in a second and higher horizontal surface. The whole arrangement is clearly seen in a sketch and section by Niemann (figs. 104 - 105)<sup>1</sup>. There is no traditional name attached to this throne; nor is there

<sup>1</sup> From O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 p. 56 f. figs. 19, 20.

ny inscription showing to what deity it was dedicated. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the coin of Antoninus Pius cited above (fig. 100) actually represents Zeus enthroned upon Mount Kōressos, it will hardly be denied that the Ephesians must have deemed this rock-cut seat the throne of Zeus. Whether the throne itself was the work of a Hellenic or of a pre-Hellenic population remains, as before, an open question. Possibly it had once belonged to the Amazonian mother-goddess, who continued to be worshipped at Ephesos as Artemis *Protothronic*, 'She of the First Throne'.<sup>1</sup>

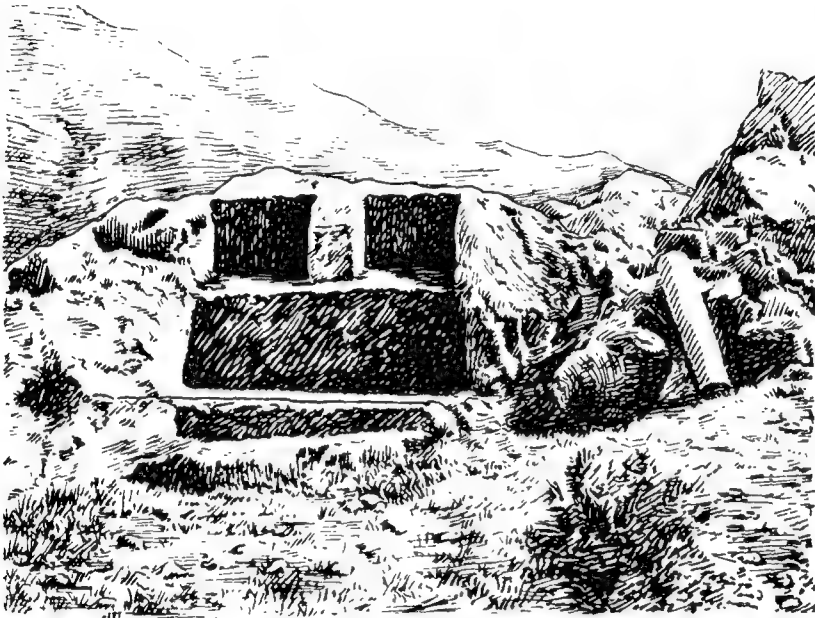


Fig. 106.

Sometimes the name of the god to whom the Greeks referred the throne is happily settled by means of an inscription. Off the west coast of Rhodes lies the little island Chalke, where on a hill-top are to be seen numerous traces of an ancient Greek Akropolis. Among these traces F. Hiller von Gaertringen noted a double rock-cut throne (fig. 106)<sup>2</sup>. A single step leads up to two seats with a common arm between them. The seats exhibit a circular smoothing or polish; and on their front surface in late and rude characters is an inscription recording the names of Zeus and

<sup>1</sup> PAUS. 10. 38. 6 ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Πρωτοθρονίης καλουμένης Ἀρτέμιδος, cf. Kallim. *h. fr.* 228 πρωτοθρονί.

<sup>2</sup> *l. h. op. Mitth.* 1895 xviii. 3 f. fig. 2. The dimensions are: width about 1.30 m., height 0.95 m. (—back 0.40 m. — seat 0.55 m.), depth of seat 0.55 m., height of step 0.14 m.

## 142 The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

Hekate<sup>1</sup> In Rhodes itself, not far from Lartos, there is a rock-cut throne some nine or ten feet above the road-way: over against this throne, on the opposite side of the road, is an inscription carved on the face of a steep rock eighteen feet or so above the ground, in letters not later than the third century B.C.: the inscription is a votive couplet dedicating a tablet (now lost) to Hekate<sup>2</sup>. Again it must be considered doubtful whether Zeus and Hekate were the original occupants of these thrones.

That doubt hardly arises in connexion with a remarkable series of rock-cuttings accompanied by inscriptions found at Thera in 1896<sup>3</sup>. At the south-eastern end of the ridge on which the town of Thera stood, and fully 1000 feet above sea-level, are the ruins of a very ancient building in polygonal masonry, possibly a *herōion* of the eponym Theras<sup>4</sup>. Below the floor of this building, and therefore older yet, is a group of inscriptions graven on the underlying rock<sup>5</sup>. Three of them give the name *Zeús*<sup>6</sup>, two *Kourés*<sup>7</sup>, one both *Zeús* and *Kourés*<sup>8</sup>, the rest *Apollon*<sup>9</sup>, *Boreaios*<sup>10</sup> i.e. Zeus *Boreaios*, *Dei-teros*<sup>11</sup>, *Dióskouroi*<sup>12</sup>, *Khíron*<sup>13</sup>, *Lokhaia Damia*<sup>14</sup>, *Háidas* or *Potidás*<sup>15</sup>, *Pelórius*<sup>16</sup> and *Polwús*<sup>17</sup> i.e. Zeus (?) *Pelórius* and Zeus *Polwús*. Out-

<sup>1</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 958 Διός, Εκάτη[s].

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 914 Εὐξαμενος ἱερᾷ Σωτείρᾳ τὸνδὲ ἀν[ε]θηκα, τοῦ πίνακα Εὐ[ή]κῃ Φωσφόρῳ Ἐννῶδ[ι]ε. Wilamowitz c.j. Ἐννῶδιος.

<sup>3</sup> F. Hillel von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1899-1904 i. 283 ff., iii. 62 ff. with figs. and pls.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* ii. 1. 284.

<sup>5</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 350-363, *ib.* iii Suppl. nos. 1307-1309. Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 167 ff. nos. 4407-4720.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 351 *Zeús*, 352 *Zeú[s]*, 353 *Zeú[s]* = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4708-4710.

<sup>7</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 354 *Κοῦρές*, 355 *Κοῦρές* = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4711 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 350 *Zeús* τοῦ με- near the figure of a small ladder and *Κοῦρές* by the rock-cutting = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4707 a (where it is suggested that τοῦ με- probably belongs to a different inscription), 4707 b. Possibly we should read *Zeús* τοῦ Σμ[ε]ρ[ῆ]ος on the like.

<sup>9</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 356 Ἀπόλλων = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4713.

<sup>10</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 357 Βορέαιος (i.e. ὄνεμος) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4714 (i.e. βωρέος). I prefer to supply *Zeús*, since Zeus Βόρειος occurs in Kiklia (*Phyllos*, *d. Akad. Wien* 1896 vi Abh. p. 102 n. 182).

<sup>11</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 358 and Suppl. Δεῖτερος (by mistake for Δεῖτερος) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4715. On the significance of this name see *infra* p. 144 n. 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 359 Διόσκouroi = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4716.

<sup>13</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 360 Χίρων = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4717.

<sup>14</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 361 Λοκαία Δαμία = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4718.

<sup>15</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 362 - - - δας (perhaps [Ηα]ιδας or [Ποτ]ιδας) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4719.

<sup>16</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 366 and Suppl. no. 1309 (Ηε)λέ(ρ)ιος = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4724.

<sup>17</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 363 and Suppl. Πολιεύς (the first three letters alone certain) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4720.



side the ancient building, but close to it, are other similar inscriptions naming a variety of gods—*Apollon*<sup>1</sup>, *Artemis*<sup>2</sup>, *Athanaia*, *Biris*<sup>3</sup>, *Erinyes*<sup>4</sup>, *Ga*<sup>5</sup>, *Herakles*<sup>6</sup>, *Koira*<sup>7</sup>, *Kharites*<sup>8</sup>, and perhaps *Zeus*<sup>9</sup>. In this miscellaneous company Zeus or some epithet of Zeus is of frequent occurrence. We find *Zeus* in letters of the seventh century together with lines of uncertain meaning (fig. 107)<sup>10</sup>, *Hikesios*

*Zeus Hikesios* in sixth-century script<sup>11</sup>, *Zeus* again from the beginning of the fifth century onwards, perhaps *Zeus Polieus* or *Zeus Patroios*<sup>12</sup> and certainly *Stoichaios* i.e. *Zeus Stoichaios* in the fifth century<sup>13</sup>,

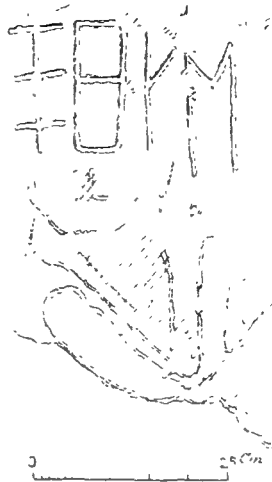


Fig. 107.

<sup>1</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 372 Ἀπολλωνος Μανεατα Χαλκ. π. πιδαν = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4737.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 373 Ἀρταμιος = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4738.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 364 Ἀθαναιας = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4721.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 365 Βίρις = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4722. For *Biris* cp. *Ins. v.* 19, 3 and see Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enz.* iii. 490.

<sup>5</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 367 Εὐρυς (so Kern, cp. *Hdt.* 4, 149) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* 4725.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 374 Γᾶς ἱερὸν = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4739.

<sup>7</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 370 Ηεραῖας = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4727.

<sup>8</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 371 and Suppl. no. 1311 Ὑόρας or Ὑορας = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* 4728.

<sup>9</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in Suppl. no. 1312 Καρυίας = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4728.

<sup>10</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 369 Φερειας and Θείος (so Wilamowitz) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* 4726. Θίος, gen. of Θίρ would refer to the 'Beast' Chiron (*Geogr.* p. 142 n. 13). But F. Hiller von Gaertingen *ad l.c.* notes that in the reign of Phereutes a tribe of Θηραίοι was established at Kyrene (*Hdt.* 4, 161). This suggests that Θείος may be Θηραίος, gen. of Θηρα, an eponymous nymph (cp. *Paus.* 3, 19, 8, 9 40 s.f., and see L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 p. 76).

<sup>11</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in Suppl. no. 1313, F. Hiller von Gaertingen *Die Inschr. Thera* iii. 31 fig. 45.

<sup>12</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in nos. 402 [Η]λεκίος, 403 Ηακίσιος, 404 Ηακσιίσιος = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4731-4733.

<sup>13</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in nos. 401 [Ζ]εὺς Τειχερός and later 399 Ζεὺς [Ἀ]στυκλῆς, 400 Suppl. nos. 1315 Ἐχέσπαρ(ε)ύς, Ζεύς, 1317 Ζεῦς, 7[ὦ]ν περὶ Ἀλκαῶν, 1318 Ζεὺς, τῶν τε καὶ Ὀλ[υ]π[ί]ου πιδαν = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4730, 4753. Cp. *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 425 Ζεὺς = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4734.

<sup>14</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 375 Ζηροῦς [Η]ολεός or [Η]ατρώου (the initial Η alone was engraved and possibly represents the name of a deity) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4740a.

<sup>15</sup> *Inscr. Gr. m.*, in no. 376 Στοιχαιο = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4740b. Cp. Bekker *Anecd.* ii. 790, 2611 Στεφανοὶ Στοιχείων ἐρηται, ὡς μετ' Ἡρόδοτος ὁ γρᾶμματικός, ἀπὸ Στοιχοντίου, ἑνὸς τῶν αὐτοχθόνων Ἀθηναίων, ὡς δὲ ἐναι, ἀπὸ τοῦ δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς στοιχῆσαι· στοιχοῖς γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὁ ἀριθμὸς, τοῖς γράμμασι Στοιχωνίον κατὰ φύσιν καὶ τοῖς ταξάντες καὶ ἀριθμῶντες. Διὸς Στοιχείως ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμεντο, (Cramer *anecd.* C. viii. iv. 320, 28 reads Διὸς Στοιχάδεως and Villousson *anecd.* ii. 187, 11 Διὸς Στοιχέται).

## 144 The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

lastly *Melichios* in the fourth<sup>1</sup> and *Zeus Melichios* in the fourth or third century<sup>2</sup>. Beside most of these inscriptions, both within and without the old building, certain small sinkings, round, square, or irregularly shaped, and hardly more than a foot in length and breadth, are made in the rock. These look as though they had been intended to receive altars or dedications of some sort, or perhaps, as F. Hiller von Gaertringen suggests, to serve instead of altars themselves<sup>3</sup>. P. Wolters, however, describes them as 'seat-shaped cuttings' (*sitzartigen Einarbeitungen*)<sup>4</sup>, and W. Reichel goes so far as to call them 'rock-thrones' (*Felsthronen*)<sup>5</sup>. The principal deities worshipped at an early date in this 'agorá of the gods'<sup>6</sup> were clearly Zeus and Koures. Not improbably—as E. Maass has argued<sup>7</sup>—*Kourés* was a cult-epithet of Zeus himself<sup>8</sup>. If so, the Curetic cult of Thera was analogous to the Curetic cult of Crete<sup>9</sup>. In this connexion a dedication of hair to the Dymanian nymphs is noteworthy<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, it can hardly be accidental that the same site was later occupied by the Gymnasium of the *éphēboi*<sup>11</sup>. It is likely too that the cult stood in some relation to the adjoining grotto, where warm currents of moist air issue from two holes in the rock-wall and an intermittent roar—perhaps that of the sea far below—can be faintly heard. The explorers' workmen would not risk sleeping in the cave. If it was to the Kouretes of Thera what the Dictæan and Idaean caves were to the Kouretes of Crete<sup>12</sup>, we may legitimately suspect that it once contained a throne of Zeus.

<sup>1</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 406 εὐστὰ | Μηλίχι[ος] = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4752. On εὐστόν see L. Ziehen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 267 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1316 Ζεὺς Μηλίχιος τῶν | περὶ Πολύ ξενο ν.

<sup>3</sup> F. Hiller von Gaertringen on *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 350–363.

<sup>4</sup> P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xvi. 255.

<sup>5</sup> W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> On the deities named in the rock-inscriptions of Thera see F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die archaische Kultur der Insel Thera* Berlin 1897 p. 17 ff. and *Die Insel Thera* i. 149 ff., ii. 63 f.

<sup>7</sup> E. Maass in *Hermes* 1890 xvi. 406 n., taking *Kourēs* to be for *Kouροσφόρος* (which is improbable) and comparing Apollon *Kouρέας* of Teos (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 445 Ἀπόλλωνος | Κοιρέων Ἡολιῶν καὶ [Φ]αινιαδῶν, cp. Michel *Revue d'Inscr. Gr.* no. 807 = *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880 iv. 168).

<sup>8</sup> Cp. *supra* pp. 15, 104 ff.

<sup>9</sup> H. Usener in F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* i. 149 n. 34 compared the *kourēs* of Thera with the *πρωτοκοιρέης* of Ephesos and most ingeniously suggested that the enigmatic personage *Δεύτερος* may have been the 'second' in command of a band of human *kourētes*. I incline, however, to think that *Δεύτερος* means 're-born' (*δευτερό-ποσμος*) and is an epithet of *Kourēs*, the youthful Zeus.

<sup>10</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 377 [Δ](ι)(α)ν(ω)ν | [Νύ]μφαι, κόμ(αι) β' = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4741. See F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* i. 284.

<sup>11</sup> *Id. ib.* i. 33 f., 289 ff., iii. 115 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Append. B Crete.

Between Megara and Eleusis lies the mountain-range of Kerata. The highest of its four peaks (1527 ft)—as Prof. A. Milchhofer first noted<sup>1</sup>—is thought by the peasants of Megara to have been the spot whence Xerxes on his throne watched the battle of Salamis. Since the site agrees with Akestodoros' description<sup>2</sup>, W. Reichel twice visited it in order to verify Milchhofer's report. At the south-east corner of the little plateau that crowns the topmost peak he found an isolated rock partially hewn into the shape of a seat with rounded back and projecting footstool (fig. 108)<sup>3</sup>. The seat commands a wide view, but is so placed that one sitting on it would face north and look directly away from Salamis! Reichel concludes that it is a very ancient



Fig. 108.

mountain-throne, to which in popular belief the story of Xerxes has become attached<sup>4</sup>.

In an angle of the Mouscion Hill at Athens there are no less than seven such seats (figs. 109–110)<sup>5</sup>. Carefully cut in the rock along one side of a platform or terrace, with a single step in front of them, they give the impression of being a row of seats

<sup>1</sup> See W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterthron* Wien 1897 p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Akestodoros (*frag. hist. Gr.* in 464 Mallet) *ap. Plout.* 7, *Thron* 13 ἐν μεθορίᾳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων Κεράτων.

<sup>3</sup> W. Reichel 'Ein angeblicher Thron des Xerxes' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 63–65 with fig. (sketched by E. Galleon from a photograph).

<sup>4</sup> The actual throne was a golden chair (Akestodoros *loc. cit.*) with silver feet, preserved on the Akropolis at Athens (Dem. in *Timoc.*, 129 with schol.) in the Parthenon (Harpokr. in *ἀρχαιότητες διαφρ.*).

<sup>5</sup> L. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 19 f. description, plan, and section; pl. 6, 4 view.

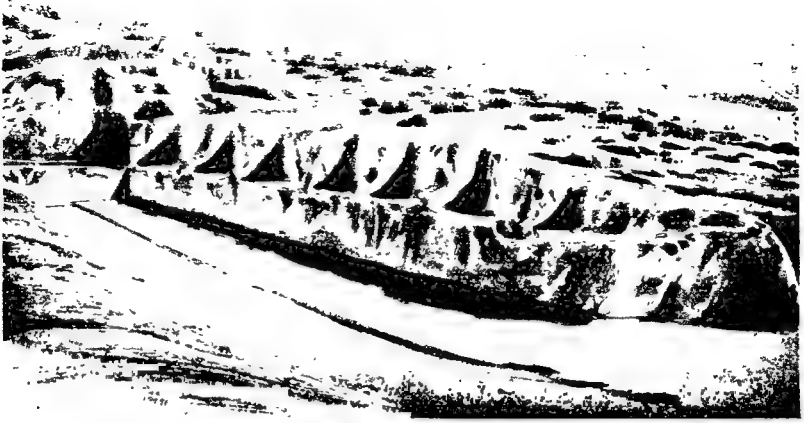


Fig. 109.

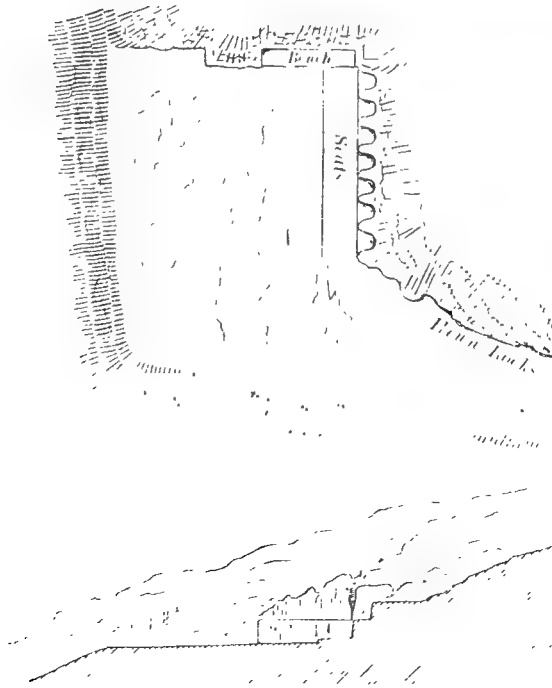


Fig. 110.

for judges or the like, forerunners perhaps of the Council on the Areiopagos. They are about two hundred yards from the rock-cut niche in the Pnyx where Zeus *Hypsistos* was worshipped<sup>1</sup>. It seems possible, therefore, that we have here an open-air tribunal at which decisions were delivered under the inspiration of Zeus. In fact, I incline to identify the seven seats with the so-called 'Seats of Zeus,' the place at Athens where, according to old tradition, Athena when she contended with Poseidon for possession of the Akropolis, begged Zeus to give his vote for her, promising on her part to sacrifice the first victim on the altar of Zeus *Polieus*<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 111.

At Phalasarna in western Crete three sandstone thrones are hewn in the lower slopes of a coast-hill near the necropolis. The best-preserved of them was described by R. Pashley in 1837 as 'a great chair—cut out of the solid rock: the height of the arms above the seat is two feet eleven inches; and its other dimensions are in proportion'. But the most interesting feature of this throne, the pillar carved on the inner surface of its back, was first observed and drawn by L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis in 1901 (figs. 111.

<sup>1</sup> *Ionia* Append. B.

<sup>2</sup> Hesych., s.v. Διὸς θᾶκοι καὶ πρῆστοι, Soud., s.v. Διὸς ἐλῆφος, Ktatin. *Arch. et. d. Gr.* 4 (1868), s.v. Gr. n. 18f. Mumeke).

<sup>3</sup> R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge and London 1837 ii. 64 fig. Cp. T. A. B. Sparr *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 ii. 234 f. fig. 1 'the monolith bema of Phalasarna' !)

## 148 The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus

112)<sup>1</sup>. If we may press the analogy of other Cretan pillar-cults, the divine occupant of the throne was either Rhea<sup>2</sup> or Zeus<sup>3</sup>.

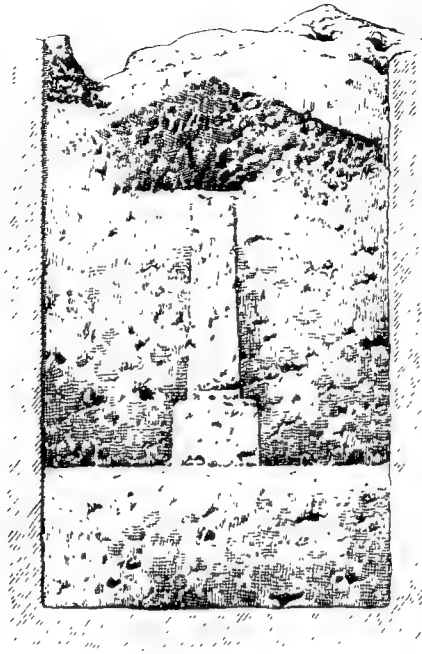


Fig. 112.

### (c) The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus.

The Zeus-legends that clung about the mountain-tops related to the birth or infancy of the god, his marriage-unions, his sons, and his death.

<sup>1</sup> L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis in the *Mon. d. Inst.*, 1901 xI, 363 ff. figs. 60-61; plan *ib.* p. 349 f fig. 47. Cp. F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. Inst. deutsch. arch. Inst.*, 1911 xxvi, 85 fig. 20.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1901 xvi, 165 ff. L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis *ib.* p. 366 f. cite Paus. 2. 4. 7 for the way up the Akrokorinthos Μνηρὸς θεῶν ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ πύλη καὶ θρόνος Ἀθῶν καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ οὐ θρόνος.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Evans *ib.* pp. 163 ff., 170 ff. Cp. *infra* ch. II § 3 (a) ii (δ) and, for the association of a pillar with the throne of Zeus, *infra* p. 341.

Recently A. Pick in the *Zeit. Schrift für vgl. u. laute Sprachforsch.*, 1911 xlv, 341 ff. has drawn attention to Hesych. Εἰνά = καθέδρα, Λακωνες. καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Δωδώνῃ. He points out that εἶνα (for \*εῖνα, as \*εἶ for \*εῖ) is 'emulates Wort,' which survived in Dodonian till late times, cp. Hesych. εἰσε(ἶ)να = καθέδρα, and suggests that Dodona was called Εἶνα as being the 'Seat' or 'Throne' of Zeus. In support of this view he

# The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus 149

Zeus *Kretagenēs*<sup>1</sup> (figs. 113, 114, 115) or *Kretogenēs*<sup>2</sup> was 'Born in Crete,' his birth being located first in a cave of Mount Dikte' (on



Fig. 113.



Fig. 114.



Fig. 115.

might have cited Summas Rhod. *op. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη* Ζητὸς ἔδος Κρονίδαο πατρὶς ἐπέδεξαντο Δωδω. Aisch. *P. 7.* 830 f. τὴν αἰωνώτων τ' αὐτοῖ Δωδώνην, ἵνα μαντεία αὐτοῖς τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῖ Διός, cp. Hes. *frags.* 192 Flach *op. Strab.* 327 Δωδώνην φηγόν τε. Η-λασγῶν ἐδρανον. ἦεν, Ephoros *frags.* 54 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* 1. 247 f. Muller) *op. Strab.* 327 Η-λασγῶν ἰδρῖνα. Skymn. *Ch. 7 v.* 450 ἰδρῖνα Ἡ-λασγικόν. But??

<sup>1</sup> J. N. Svoronos *Λαογραφία τοῦ Ἰ. Ν. Σ. Μακρόν* 1890 1. 194 no. 45 pl. 18. 2 a copper of Hierapytna struck by Augustus (Roth) with head of Zeus to right wearing laurel and legend ΤΑΝ ΚΡΗΤΑΓΕΝΗ Σ ΗΕΡΑ (fig. 113). *v.* 1. 284 no. 52 pl. 26. 30 a copper of Polythemon struck by Augustus (Paris) with laureate head of Zeus to right, thunderbolt below, and legend ΤΑΝ Κ[ΡΗΤΑΓΕ]ΝΗ Σ ΗΕΡΑ (fig. 114). *v.* 1. 342 no. 45 pl. 33. 10 a copper of Crete in 570 struck by Titus (Paris and Vienna) with a nude Zeus erect, thunderbolt in raised right hand, *cf. amf.* round left arm, surrounded by seven stars and legend ΖΕΥΣ ΚΡΗΤΑΓΕΝΗ (fig. 115). Head *Hist. num.* 2 pp. 469, 475, 479. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 107, 216 Münzf. 1. 38. 3. 19. cp. Svoronos in the *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1893 p. 2031 pl. 1. 8; Lebas-Waddington *Isis. Musaei* no. 394 (cp. no. 400) Mytila = Michel *Rev. num. d'Inst.* 1891 no. 472. 10 *ἱερὸς Διὸς Κρηταγ[ε]νοῖς καὶ Κοιρητῶν*, cp. W. Judeich in the *Atk. Mitt.* 1889 xiv. 395. Steph. Byz. *s.v. Πάρα* ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ Μινωα, ὅτι Μινως σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Λιάκῃ καὶ Ραδάμανθυῖ ὡν ἕξ αὐτοῦ ταῖσιν ἐκαλεσε, ἐνθεν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κρηταίου Διὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃν καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκαλοῦν Μαρῶν, ἐρμηνεύομενον Κρηταγενῆ. τὰς παρθένους γάρ οὕτω Κρήτες προσαγορεύουσι Μαρῶν (μαρῶνς *cf.* M. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1863 xii. 220). Marcus Dacemon *v. Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ Πάτρῃ τοῦ Διὸς ἱστορίας* 64 (*Abh. d. Berl. Akd.* 1874 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 199, 22 ff.) ἦταν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ναοὶ εἰδωλῶν δημόσιοι ὁκτώ, τοῦ τε Ἥλιου καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Κόρης καὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης καὶ τὸ Λεζύμενον ἱερωῖον καὶ τῆς (Ἡρώων καὶ τῆς Μ. Haupt) Τηχῆς τῆς πόλεως, οἱ ἐκαλοῦν Τηχάιον (Τηχάιον M. Haupt), καὶ τὸ Μαρνεῖον, ὃ ἐλέγον εἶναι τοῦ κριταίου γένους. (Κρηταγενεῖς M. Haupt) Διός, οἱ ἰωνικοὶ εἶναι ὑποζήτηρον πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ with a Latin version by Gentianus Hevelius in the *Acta Societatis* edd. Bolland. February m. 655 Fiant autem in civitate simulacrorum publica templa octo: nempe Solis, et Veneris, et Apollinis, et Proserpinae, et Hecales, et quod dicebatur Hienon seu sacerdotum, et Fortunae civitatis quod vocabant Eychon, et Marnion, quod dicebant esse Creta generis (*Cretagen.* Henschen) Iouis: quod existimabant esse gloriosius omnibus templis, quia sunt ubique. The context enables us to form some idea of the character, ritual, and temple of Marnis (*supra ch. ii § 9* (g)). See further O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1422. W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 2379. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* *R. 1.* p. 1673 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Corp. *inscr.* *Gr.* ii no. 2554, 176 ff. (oath between Latos and Olous) *ὁμ[α]ρ[ε]ν τὰρ Ἔστιαν καὶ τὸν Τῆνα τὸν Κρητογενεῖα καὶ τὰν Ἥραν κ.τ.λ.* = Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial. Ins.* ii. 2. 333 ff. no. 5075, 73.

<sup>3</sup> Append. B Crete.

## 150 The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus

which he is said to have built a city<sup>1</sup>) and, later<sup>2</sup>, in a cave high up on the side of Mount Ide<sup>3</sup>. Both districts had strange stories to tell of the way in which the divine child had been nurtured by doves

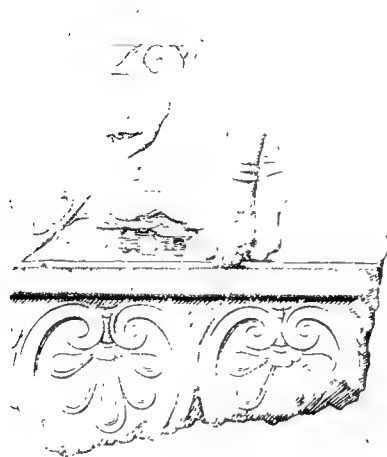


Fig. 116.

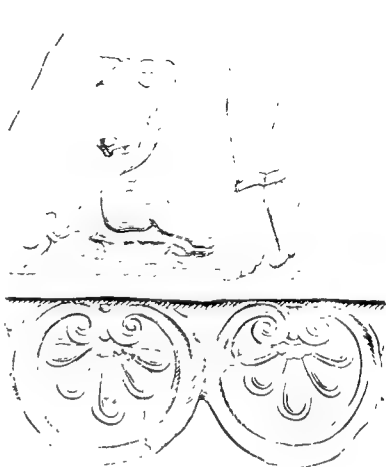


Fig. 117.

or bees, a goat or a pig, while Kouretes and Korybantes clashed their weapons to drown his infant cries (figs. 116, 117)<sup>4</sup>. But Lydia

<sup>1</sup> *Diocl.* §. 70 ἀνδρῶμεντα δ' αὐτὸν φασὶ πρῶτον πολὺν κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενεσθαι ἀπολογούσιν· ἧς ἐκλειψθείσης ἐν τοῖς ἑσπερίοις χρόνοις διαμένειν ἐτι καὶ νῦν εἰρηστα τῶν θεογόνων. Sir Arthur Evans identifies this city with the extensive prehistoric ruins at Goules. (See his 'Goules, The City of Zeus' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1895—1896 ii. 169 ff.; *ibid.*, however, the more thorough investigations of J. Demargne in the *Bull. Coll. H. L.* 1900 xxiv. 222, 1901 xxv. 282 ff., 1902; xxvii. 206 ff., and of A. J. Romach in the *Jahrb. d. Kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv *Arch. Anz.* p. 404 f.).

<sup>2</sup> There is evidence that the cult of the Dictæan cave was in time superseded by that of the Idaean cave. 'With very rare and sporadic exceptions, the Dictæan antiquities do not come down lower than the Geometric period, i.e., probably the opening of the eighth century B.C.' (D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 115). Further, a treaty between Lyttos and Olons (*Corp. inscr. Ath.* ii. 1 no. 549 b, § = Collitz-Bechtel *Gri. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 380 f. no. 5147 b, §) makes the Lyttians swear by *Τῆνα Βιδάταν*, 'Zeus of Ide,' while another inscription (*ibid.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 22 f.) mentions a temple of Zeus *τῷ Βιδάτῳ* on the frontier of Pinaros; Lyttos and Pinaros are so near to Mt Dikte that, had the Dictæan cult still been flourishing, Zeus would presumably have been invoked as *Δικταῖος*, not *Βιδάτας* (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 349).

<sup>3</sup> Append. B Ciete.

<sup>4</sup> Von Rohden-Winnfeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 8 f., following E. Braun (*Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 17, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1840 vii. 141 ff. pl. K), distinguish two types of terra-cotta reliefs: (1) the Caeretan type shows the infant Zeus in the arms of a female seated on a throne with two Kouretes to right and left; the best example is in the Ny Carlsberg collection (*Ant. Terrakotten* pl. 10). (2) The Roman type, referable to the Augustan age, shows the infant Zeus seated on a rock and introduces a third Koures; the best



## The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus 151

was prepared to dispute with Crete the honour of having been his birth-place<sup>1</sup>: Mount Sipylus, Mount Tmolos (fig. 118); and Mount Messogis (figs. 119, 121)<sup>2</sup> were in that respect rivals of Dikte



Fig. 118.



Fig. 119.



Fig. 120.



Fig. 121.



Fig. 122.

and Ide. It is probable that the legends of Zeus' birth and infancy were localised on the mountains of Phrygia also; for coins of Akmoneia (figs. 122, 123)<sup>3</sup>, Apameia (fig. 124)<sup>4</sup>, Laodikeia on the

example is in the British Museum (*Ant. Terra-cott.* pl. 25, ep. pl. 135 a variant of the second century in the Louvre).

I figure two specimens of the second type: (a) fig. 116 (after O. Benndorf in the *Jahresh. d. öst. arch. Inst.* 1902 v. 151 f. fig. 38) a fragment of terra-cotta, the design of which differs in some respects from that of the reliefs enumerated by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 336 f. Atlas pl. 4, 4: the infant is named ΖΕΥΣ and is seated on a rock with a wingless thunderbolt behind him -- (b) Fig. 117 the corresponding part of the above-mentioned relief from Cervin(?) acquired by the British Museum in 1891 (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terra-cott.* p. 379 no. D 501 pl. 39, H. B. Walters *The Art of the Romans* London 1911 p. 136 pl. 58), the inscription is here ΖΕΥ[Υ]C<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Lyd. d. m.* 4, 71 p. 123, 12 ff. Wunsch.

<sup>2</sup> *Append. B Lydia.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* The coin of Trallais here figured for the first time (fig. 119) is at Paris (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 471 no. 715): I am indebted to M. Babelon for the cast from which my illustration was made. ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ and ΔΙΟΚΡΩΝΑΙ.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* pp. xxiv, 20 pl. 4, 4 a copper struck by Trebomanus Gallus ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 663 (fig. 122) F. Lenormant *Monnaies et médailles* Paris 1883 p. 181 fig., E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* 1891 ix. 38 f. pl. 4, 4 (fig. 123) a bronze medallion of Gordianus in showing Rhea with her foot raised on a rock.

<sup>6</sup> Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ix. 238 no. 268 and 239 no. 270, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. xl. *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 667, Muller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* n. 16 f.

## 152 The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus

Lykos (fig. 129)<sup>1</sup>, and Synnada (fig. 120)<sup>2</sup>, represent Zeus as a babe nursed by Rhea with the goat beside him and the Kouretes grouped around<sup>3</sup>. To judge from a coin of Maionia (fig. 125)<sup>4</sup>, a similar



Fig. 123.



Fig. 124.



Fig. 125.



Fig. 126.



Fig. 127.

tale was told of some mountain in the volcanic region known as Katakekaumene. And an almost identical type occurring at pl. 3, 33; Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 335 f. Münzf. 5, 6; Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 1625 fig. 6; W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 n. 432 pl. 1, 5 coppers struck by Trajanus Decius and Valerianus (Paris). In F. Wieseler's drawing of the latter, here reproduced from Roscher *loc. cit.*, the head and shield of the third Kouros are barely distinguishable above the child's nurse: ΠΑΡΑ • ΑΥΡ • ΕΡΜΟΝ ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΑΡΧΟΝ and ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ.

<sup>1</sup> Mionnet *Descr. d. m'd. ant.* iv. 330 nos. 781, 782; Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 336, 1. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deut. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 290 pl. 9, 19; W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* n. 432 f. pl. 1, 3; a copper struck by Caracalla (Venice, *ahf.*) showing a similar group with three Kouretes, an eagle above, the *gemma* of the town with a steering-paddle, and two river-gods, the Kaïros and the Lykos.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* pp. c, 396 no. 25 drawn from a cast: CVNNA ΔΕΩΝ, *Hunter Cat. Coins* n. 494 Maximus pl. 57, 6; Head *Il. l. num.* 2 p. 686.

<sup>3</sup> Eckhel *Doct. num. vet.* 2 iii. 160 notes that, according to the author of the Silylline books, the new-born Zeus was entrusted to three Cretans to be reared in Phrygia (*loc. cit.* Silyl. 3, 138 ff. Gelfken).

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 49 λ, 2 with *Ann. d. Inst.* 1833 v. 114, 125 ff., *ib.* 1840 xii. 143; Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 337 Münzf. 5, 8 a copper struck by Caracalla (in the Fontana cabinet at Trieste): ΕΠΙΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΒ • ΣΕΥΣΑΡΧΑΤΟΓΑ ΟΥΤΟΦ ΜΑΙΟΝΩΝ = ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείδου β'. Ζευὲ, ἀρχ. α' τὸ γ' α' στεφ. Μαίωνων.

## The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus 153

teleukeia on the Kalykadnos (figs. 126<sup>1</sup>, 127<sup>2</sup>) may have reference to the Corycïan Cave in Mount Korykos<sup>3</sup>. It is not, however, certain that the child seated on a throne and surrounded by dancing Kouretes is Zeus, at least in the ordinary acceptation of that name. It may be that the Greeks would rather have termed him Dionysos; for a coin of the Ionian Magnesia (fig. 128)<sup>4</sup> shows



Fig. 128.



Fig. 129.

the same childish figure seated in like manner on a princely seat with a covered basket and snake visible beneath it<sup>5</sup>. But we have not yet exhausted the list of mountains where Zeus was said to

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Klein. Münz. u. n.* 484 no. 13 pl. 18, 21 a copper struck by αθη ΓΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟ[C] ΚΑΛΥΚ.

<sup>2</sup> Monnet *Des mon. et ant.* v. 260 no. 911, A. von Rauch in the *Berlin. Mus.*

<sup>3</sup> *Mün.-S. u. d. Wapp. u. n.* 1870 v. 23 pl. 56, 31, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstgesch.*

<sup>4</sup> p. 337 a copper struck by Maximus (von Rauch) ΓΕΛΕΥ[ΚΕΩΝ] ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ • [ΚΑΛΥΚΑΔΝΩ]. For other specimens see W. Wroth in the *Mün.*

<sup>5</sup> *Gr. Third Series* (1895 xv. 103 no. 24 pl. 5, 16, Gr. I), Hill in the *Journ. H. & Soc.* (1897 xvii. 90 f. pl. 2, 18 and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coin.* Lycæonia etc. p. 134 pl. 24, 2. Imhoof-Blumer *Klein. Münz. u. n.* 484 n. 2 pl. 18, 22; and for a copper of similar design struck by Severus Alexander, E. Babelon *Trésors de la Collection Waddington* Paris (1898 no. 4467 pl. 11, 11).

<sup>6</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 327 f., 1393.

<sup>7</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münz. u. n.* p. 121 no. 315 pl. 8, 33 a copper struck by Caracalla (Pais) with legend ΕΠΙ Γ • Μ • ΑΥΡ • ΒΛΛΟΝ • ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ • and ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münz. u. n.* p. 120 ff. no. 314 pl. 8, 34, no. 316 pl. 8, 32, no. 317, no. 318 pl. 8, 31, no. 318a.

An ivory relief in the Milan Museum (*Arch. Zeit.* 1846 iv. 217 ff. pl. 38, *Ann. Inst.* n. 14, 1908—1909 xv. 320 fig. 5) shows the child Dionysos seated on a stool in front of a rocky cave flanked by Kouretes and Maenads.

Another relief (E. Gerhard *Antike Bildwerke* München Stuttgart & Tübingen 1828—1844 p. 348 pl. 104, 1), said to be in the Vatican (but see L. Matz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 100 n. 3), represents him seated on a shield, while Kouretes clash their weapons about him; to the right a snake crawls out of a half-open basket on the lid of which a goat-footed Pan is stamping; beyond Pan is a shaggy Silenos.

## 154 The Mountain as Marriage-place of Zeus

have been born. Pergamon<sup>1</sup> certainly, and possibly Mount Ide in the Troad<sup>2</sup>, were of the number. Among the Greek islands Naxos had its own story of the birth of Zeus<sup>3</sup>, connected perhaps with Mount Drios<sup>4</sup>. Kronos was said to have swallowed the stone that Rhea gave him instead of Zeus at Chaironeia in Boiotia, on a rocky height called Petrachos<sup>5</sup>: Thebes too claimed to be the birth-place of Zeus<sup>6</sup> and could point to a place that took its name from the event<sup>7</sup>. In Messenia local piety declared that Zeus had been, if not born, at least brought up by the nymphs upon the summit of Mount Ithome<sup>8</sup>. But of all the non-Cretan districts Arkadia had established the strongest claim to be considered the cradle of Zeus<sup>9</sup>: here on Mount Thaumasion Kronos had swallowed the stone<sup>10</sup>, and here on Mount Lykaion Zeus was born<sup>11</sup> and reared<sup>12</sup>.

### (d) The Mountain as the Marriage-place of Zeus.

The union of Zeus with Hera was likewise referred by the Greeks to a variety of mountain-tops. The *Iliad* in a passage of more than usual beauty describes how the two slept together on a peak of the Trojan Ide:

So Kronos son, and clasped his bride to his breast.  
Beneath them Earth divine made grass to grow  
New-nurtured, and the dewy lotus-bloom,  
Crocus and hyacinth, thick and soft withal,  
Which raised them from the ground. Thereon they lay,  
And o'er them spread a cloud magnificent  
And golden, glittering dew-drops from it fell.  
Thus slumbered still the Sire on Gargaros' height,  
Vanquished by sleep and love, his wife in his arms<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Append. B Mysia.

<sup>2</sup> Prop. 3. 1. 27 *Idaeum Simoenta Iovis cunabula parvi*—if that is the right reading of the line, and if Propertius is not guilty of confusing Mt Ide in the Troad with Mt Ide in Crete.

<sup>3</sup> Aglaosthenes *Variou fides*, i. 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 293 Muller).

<sup>4</sup> *Infia* p. 163 ff., Append. B Naxos.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* Boiotia.

<sup>6</sup> Lyk. *Il.* 1194 with schol. and Tzet. *ad loc.*

<sup>7</sup> Aristodemus *ap.* schol. *Il.* 13. 1, cp. Paus. 9. 18. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Append. B Messene.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 1 p. 20, 30 ff. Stahlm, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53, Ampel. 9. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Θαυμάσιον*, Paus. 8. 36. 2 f.

<sup>11</sup> Kallim. *h. Zeus* 4 ff., Strab. 348, Paus. 8. 36. 3. Zeus was washed at his birth in the cold waters of the river Lousios (Paus. 8. 28. 2), and swaddled at Geranion (*et. mag.* p. 227, 44 f.)

<sup>12</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 2 f.

<sup>13</sup> *Il.* 14. 346 ff., cp. Petron. *sat.* 127. 9.





Mount Taygeton as seen from Sparta.

[Mount Taleton is the highest point towards the southern left hand end of the range.]

thers named Mount Oche in Euboea, Mount Kithairon in Boiotia, Mount Kokkygion in Argolis, as the scene where Zeus took Hera for his bride<sup>1</sup>. It was said too that Zeus met Semele on Mount Sipylos<sup>2</sup>, that he consorted with Leto in a shady nook and natural cavern on Mount Kithairon<sup>3</sup>; that he seduced Kallisto in the neighbourhood of Mount Lykaion<sup>4</sup>, that he carried off Europe to his cave in Mount Dikte<sup>5</sup>. He formed *liaisons*, moreover, with more than one mountain-goddess or mountain-nymph. Mount Agdos, a rocky summit of Galatia, bore to him a bisexual child Agdistis, about whom one of the wildest and most archaic of all Greek tales was told<sup>6</sup>. According to the Orphic cosmogony, the original rulers of 'snowy Olympos' were Ophion and the Oceanid Eurynome: the former gave place to Kronos, the latter to Rhea, who in their turn were eclipsed by Zeus<sup>7</sup>. But Eurynome became by Zeus the mother of the Charites<sup>8</sup> and of Asopos the river-god<sup>9</sup>. Again, the ancient systematisers of mythology, who recognised five different Athenas, distinguished one as the daughter of Zeus and Koryphe, adding that this, the fourth, Athena was identical with the inventress of four-horse chariots, whom the Arcadians called Koría<sup>10</sup>. Pausanias speaks of the Arcadian temple of Athena Koría as standing on the *koryphé* or 'peak' of a mountain<sup>11</sup>. It is therefore, practically certain that in Arkadia Zeus was paired with a mountain-goddess or mountain-nymph named Koryphe. Another of his amours was with Taygete, Atlas' daughter<sup>12</sup>, of whom was born Lakedaimon, the eponym of the Lacedaemonians<sup>13</sup>. But Taygete was herself the eponym of Mount Taygeton<sup>14</sup>, the fine range which stretches some seventy miles from Belbina to Tainaron and culminates in Mount Taleton (7902 feet) above Sparta (pl. xiv). Colonel Mure says of this majestic mountain-mass: 'Whether from

<sup>1</sup> Append. B Laboia, Boiotia, Argolis.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* Lydia.

<sup>3</sup> Paus., *periegr.*, iv. 3. 1. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Eratosth., *catast.*, i. 8, schol. Arat., *phen.*, 91.

<sup>5</sup> Append. B Crete.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* Galatia.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. Rhod., i. 503 ff., Tzet., *in Lyk.* *Il.* 1191 ff., schol. Aristoph., *nuh.*, 247.

<sup>8</sup> Hes. *theog.*, 907, Paus., 9. 35. 5, Oph., *h. Char.*, 60. 1 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Apollod., 3. 12. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Cic. *de nat. deor.*, 3. 59; cp. Clem. Al., *protr.*, 2. 28. 2 p. 21, 1 f. Stahlm., who states that the fourth Athena was the daughter of Zeus and derived her Messenian title of Κορυφαία from her mother.

<sup>11</sup> Paus., 8. 21. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Schol. Pind., *O.*, 3. 53.

<sup>13</sup> Hellanikos *frag.*, 56 (*frag. hist. Gr.*, i. 52 Muller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 18. 486, Apollod., 3. 10. 3, pseudo-Eratosth., *catast.*, 23, Paus., 3. 1. 2, Hyg., *fab.*, 155, Myth. Vat., i. 234.

<sup>14</sup> Paus., 3. 1. 2.

## 156 The Mountain as Marriage-place of Zeus

its real height, from the grandeur of its outline, or the abruptness of its rise from the plain, (it) created in my mind a stronger impression of stupendous bulk and loftiness than any mountain I have seen in Greece, or perhaps in any other part of Europe<sup>1</sup>. Here surely was a mountain-bride worthy of Zeus himself. Pelasgos, the forefather of the Pelasgians, was, according to one account, the son of Zeus by Larissa<sup>2</sup>, whose name repeatedly occurs as that of a Pelasgian burgh or rock-fortress<sup>3</sup>. And lastly a Sicilian myth told how Aitne, the name-sake of Mount Aitne, had been embraced by Zeus and then, through fear of Hera, hidden away in the Earth till she bore twin sons, the Palikoi, whose strange volcanic springs still interest travellers that visit the *Lago dei Palici* near the town of *Palagonia*<sup>4</sup>.

Mountain-eponyms were either female or male. Zeus not only consorted with the former, but also became the father of the latter. Thus Gargaros<sup>5</sup>, Geraistos<sup>6</sup>, Olympos (?), Solymos<sup>7</sup>, Tainaros<sup>8</sup>, were all regarded as his sons. Atlas, the supporter of the sky, who as early as the middle of the fifth century B.C. was identified with a great mountain in north-western Africa<sup>9</sup>, was, according to one genealogy, the son of Zeus<sup>10</sup>. A daughter of Atlas<sup>11</sup> named Pluto<sup>12</sup> bore to the same god Tantalos, whose name was given to

<sup>1</sup> W. Mure *Journal of a Tour in Greece* (Edinburgh and London 1842) ii. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* i. 624, cp. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23, who makes Tityos the son of Zeus ex Larisse (*Griehon. m.* unless we should read ex *(L)lar[is]*, i.e. as O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* m. 940 suggests on the strength of Pherekydes *frag.* 5 (*frag. hist. Gr.* i. 71 Müller) *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* i. 761 = Eudok. *trach.* 338 and Apollod. i. 4. 1, Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1781, 56 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A. Fick *Die griechische Ortsnamen* (Göttingen 1907) Index p. 165 *α.τ.τ. Λάρισα, Λαρίσαι, περραι*.

<sup>4</sup> Append. B Sicily.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* Thrac.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* Lubon.

<sup>7</sup> De-Vit *Onomasticon* m. 729 without citing his source. If this was the epigram in Oros. 4. i. 14 *patet opam Olympi*, it is far from convincing, since *Olympus* may be merely a poetic term for the gods collectively (see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* m. 857).

<sup>8</sup> Append. B Pisidia.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* Lakonia.

<sup>10</sup> Hdt. 4. 184; see also Pauly-Wissowa *Real Enc.* ii. 2119.

<sup>11</sup> Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Myth. Vat. i. 204, cp. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 and 23. In Hyg. *fab.* 155 Tantalus ex Plutone *Hymen* filia R. Unger (j. *Atlantis*, B. Stark *Mimantis*. The father of Pluto is Timolus in schol. Eur. *Or.* 5. *Trach. chil.* 5. 444 ff. *Atlantis, procrep.* 2. 94, Kronos in schol. Pind. *Od.* 3. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Asklepiades of Tragilos *frag.* 20 (*frag. hist. Gr.* m. 305 Müller) *ap. schol. Od.* 11. 582, Paus. 2. 22. 3, Ant. Lib. 36, Nonn. *Dion.* i. 145 ff., 7. 119, 48. 729 ff., Apostol. 16. 16, Phot. *lex. c.τ. Ταυτάλου τάλαυτα*, Soud. *c.τ. τὰ Ταυτάλου ταλαυτίσεται*, schol. Fur. *Or.* 345, Hyg. *fab.* 82, 155. Her name is otherwise given as Plute (Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23), Plota (Natalis Comae *mythol.* 6. 8 p. 337, cp. 335, ed. Patav. 1616), Plutis (Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21), or Plotis (Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2. 436).



## The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus 157

mountain in Lesbos<sup>1</sup> and whose town was situated on an almost inaccessible crag of Mount Sipylos<sup>2</sup>.

The remarkable tradition, current in the vicinity of Mount Olympus, that heaven and earth once met upon the summit will be discussed in another connexion.

### (e) The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus.

The Cretans declared that Zeus was a prince, who had been ripped up by a wild boar and buried in Crete,—an assertion which was supposed to have earned for them their traditional reputation as warriors. Numerous writers of Hellenistic and Byzantine times mention the tomb of Zeus as an object of interest in Crete<sup>3</sup>, though they do not agree as to its exact locality. Ennius<sup>4</sup> places it at Knossos, Varro<sup>5</sup> and Porphyrios<sup>6</sup> on Mount Ide, Nonnos<sup>7</sup> on the top of Mount Dikte. Conceivably more districts than one had a local legend of Zeus dead and buried on a mountain. His tomb

Steph. Byz. s.v. Τάφ-αλος, cp. s.v. Πολλος.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 137 ff.

<sup>2</sup> My friend Dr J. Rendel Harris 'The Cretans always Liars' in the *Expositor* 1906 195-317 cites from the *Gannat Bu am'* or 'Garden of Delights' (a Nestorian commentary on Scripture full of extracts from Theodore of Mopsuestia etc.) the following text on Acts 17, 28: "In Him we live and move and have our being." The Cretans used to say of Zeus, that he was a prince and was ripped up by a wild boar, and he was buried, and his grave is with us. Accordingly Mimos, the son of Zeus, made over to him a panegyric and in it he said: "A grave have fashioned for thee, O holy and high one, the lying Cretans, who are all the time liars, evil beasts, vile bellies; but thou diest not, for to eternity thou livest, and standest; for in thee we live and move and have our being." Dr Rendel Harris suggests that the panegyric in question may be the poem by Epimenides on Mimos and Rhadamanthys (Diog. Laert. 1, 112) and cp. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81. Κρήτες αὖτε ζεύσται· καὶ γὰρ ταύτων, ὡς ἀνὰ σείδι· Κρήτες ἐτεκτάραντο, σὲ δ' οὐ θάψας· ὅτι γὰρ σῖσι. Another explanation of the proverb is given in Athenodoros of Eietna *ap. I (Proas. c. 1, 6)* ix. 345 Muller) cp. also Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 88 Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81, with schol.; Enn. *sat. iust. ap. Lact. div. inst.* 1, 11, *orac.* 103 f., 12, *Var. ap. Solm.* 11, 7, *Uic. v. int. deo.* 3, 53, Diog. 3, 61, *Anth. Pal.* 7, 275, 6 Gaetulienus, Lucan. 8, 872, Mela 2, 112, Stat. *Phob.* 1, 278 f., Tactian *or. ad. Traian.* 27, Loukian. *Ingr. tra.* 45, *de a. et. 10*, *philos. 10*, *philos. 10*, *Timon* 6, Theophil. *in Auto.* 1, 10, 2, 3, Clem. *Al. prob.* 2, 37, 4 p. 28, 7 ff. Stahlin, Philostr. *v. soph.* 2, 4 p. 74 Kayser, Orig. *c. c.* 3, 43, Min. Fel. *Orat.* 21, 8, Cypri. *h. iust. iust.* 1, Porphy. *v. Pyth.* 17, Amob. *adv. nat.* 4, 14, 4, 25, Eum. *Mat.* 7, 6, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 7, 186, Epiphani. *adv. haer.* 1, 3, Ruhn. *adv. nat.* 10, 23, Chrysost. *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 3, Paulin. *Nol.* 19, 86 (lxi. 515 Migne), Kyrril. *Al. v. Julian.* 10, 342 (lxxvi. 1028 Migne), Nonn. *Dion.* 8, 114 ff., Sedulius Scotus *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 3, Soud. *v. Πήκος*, Kallien. *de comp.* 150 (l. 29 Bekker).

<sup>4</sup> Enn. *sat. iust. ap. Lact. div. inst.* 1, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Var. ap. Solm.* 11, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Porphy. *v. Pyth.* 17, Kyrril. *Al. v. Julian.* 10, 342.

<sup>7</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 8, 114 ff.

## 158 The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus

appears to have been marked by a stone<sup>1</sup>, and to have borne an inscription, which is variously recorded<sup>2</sup>. In the first century of our era Pomponius Mela says that the tomb with its inscribed name affords 'hardly a clear trace of Zeus who is there buried<sup>3</sup>'. But a thousand years later Michael Psellos notes the legend as still living, and relates that the Cretans show a hill or cairn above the grave of Zeus<sup>4</sup>. Buondelmonti, who visited Mount Juktas in 1415, speaks of a cave on the right hand side of a road leading thither and states that at the upper end of the cave is the tomb of Zeus bearing an illegible inscription<sup>5</sup>. Belon in 1555 reports that the sepulchre of Jupiter as described by the ancients is yet to be seen on the mountain of the Sphagiotes<sup>6</sup>. Modern travellers have the same tale to tell. When R. Pashley visited Crete in 1834, he stayed at Arkhanes on the eastern side of Mount Juktas. 'I was

<sup>1</sup> Loukian. *Jup. trag.* 45.

<sup>2</sup> Tim. *loc. cit.* ΖΑΝ ΚΡΟΝΟΤ. Chrysost. *loc. cit.* ἐνταῦθα Ζᾶν κεῖται οὐ Δία κικλήσκουσι. Porphy. *loc. cit.* ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ Τῆς ΔΙῆ followed by an epigram beginning ὧδε θανῶν κεῖται Ζᾶν ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν (Kyll. cites it with μέγας for θανῶν). schol. Kallim. *h.* Zeus 8 Μίνωος τοῦ Διὸς τάφος with the first word obliterated through age. Kedren. *loc. cit.* ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανῶν Ηῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς (Soudr. reads Ηῖκος).

<sup>3</sup> Mel. 2. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Psell. ἀναγωγή εἰς τὸν Τάνταλον cited by J. Meursius *Creta* p. 81: τοῦ δὲ (sc. Διὸς) τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δεικνύουσι κολωνόν. The passage is printed in *Tzetzes' Allegoriae Iliadis* etc. ed. J. F. Boissonade Lutetiae 1851 p. 348.

<sup>5</sup> É. Legrand *Description des îles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti* Paris 1897 i. 148 f. = Christophorus Bondelmontius *descriptio Cretae*: 'Versus autem trionem per tria miliana iuxta viam euntem ad montem Jurte (*Jukta* Legrand) ad dexteram spileum in saxo parvo ore est, cuius longitudo XLII, latitudo vero IV passuum, in cuius capite sepulchrum Iovis maximi est cum literis deletis. Haec autem spelunca in durissimo silice fabricata sine aliqua figura; super eundem tumulum, magna circum aedificia quasi per quartum in circuitu unius miliaris hodie per totum campum frumentum et prata cre-sunt. Post hæc ecce ad meridiem viam capiendo ad montem hodie Jurtam (*Juktam* Legrand) devenitur per periculosissimam viam. Hic mons a longe facies effugiem habet, in cuius fronte templum Iovis usque ad fundamenta deletum inventum; in nasoties ecclesie sunt congestæ, scilicet Salvatoris, Pandon Aghion, id est ecclesia *Omniuin Sanctiuin*, et Sancti Georgii. Versus austrum, prope Idem montem, ubi est barba, sub monte atrox, Tegnum castrum inexpugnabile videtur, et prope ipsum est rus Sancti Blasi amplissimum. Ab alia parte, versus orientem, planus est bœhi fertilissimus Archanes nomine, in quo plura et ampla vira manent. Versus trionem, in radicibus montis huius monasterium Dominarum existit.' *Id.* *ib.* i. 20 f. Christophorus Bondelmontius *περι των νήσων* 11 'Αποθανων δε (sc. ο Ζεὺς) τέθνηται το εαυτοῦ σωμα εγγυς τοι φρονισι τοῖ καλονιέρων Ανθακρα. εἰ και εν σῆμανῳ λεγεται αὐτο νιναι ἀποθνήσκων. Ἐν ταυτῇ τῷ νήσῳ και ὅρος ἐστι τῷ Διῷ τοιτῳ μωανερων, περι ὧ τοις προποδας αὐτων πρως το σρακι κωτερον, ως ο Πτολεμαιος διαλαυζανει, σπηλαιων χειρσι κατασκευασμενον εἰρησκεται, λεικων δωλου, τισσαραμικωτα πειχων το μηκος, και τὸ πλατος τισσαρων, στωμα εχων στερον. Ἐν ζων τῇ κεφαλῇ τούτου τυφων Διως του μεγαλου, απο τινος εγγεκολλημενον εν αὐτῃ; πεζυμμεστος, υπο δε του χριστω ἡδῃ ἐφθαρμενον, ἐξωμερον νιναι. Εκτος δε του σπηλαιου κωδουρας τῷ ἱερῷ ἀγίσταται κατασκευαυνται.

<sup>6</sup> P. Belon *Obs. sur la mer de l'Asie*. in *Geogr.* Paris 1555 i cap. 17 p. 31 cited by N. G. Politis *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 ii. 778.

## The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus 159

of course anxious, he says<sup>1</sup>, 'to hear something of the sepulchre of Zeus; but it was in vain that I inquired of my host...for any cave in the mountain. He knew of nothing of the kind; and all that I could learn from him was that, about a mile off, there is a fountain with an inscription on it. When I had thus failed in obtaining any information about the cave, I said, rather meaning to tell him an old story, than supposing that I should learn any thing, that the Zeus, a god of the Hellenes, was said to have been buried here; and that it was his tomb that I wished to see<sup>2</sup>. I had

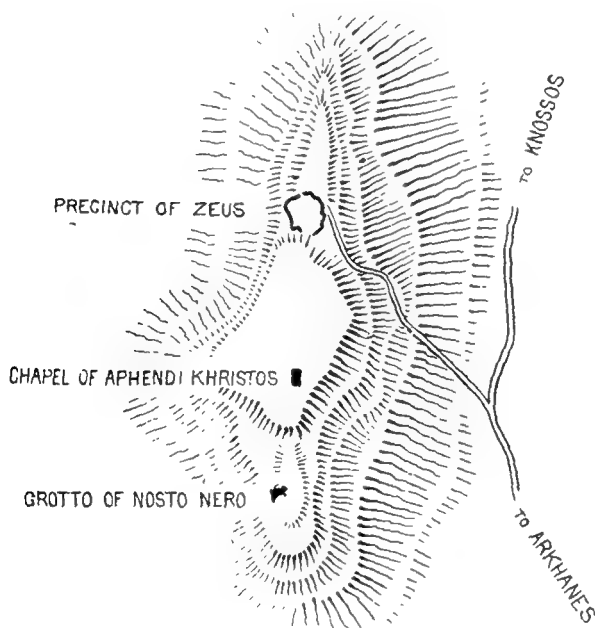


Fig. 130.

pronounced the very name by which a place on the summit of the mountain is known to all the people in the neighbourhood, although only a few shepherds have ever seen it. My host had never heard it called by any other name than the tomb of Zeus, and therefore had not understood me at first, when I inquired after a cave.... I found, as a guide up the mountain, a shepherd, who had become acquainted with the tomb of Zeus in tending his flock. A good hour was spent in reaching the summit, towards the northern

<sup>1</sup> R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* (Cambridge 1837) i. 211 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 211 ff. 215-6: 'Τὸν Δία τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἢ τὸν Δία τὸ πρῶτον' were my words. N. G. Politis *Ἡεραδοτομῆς* Athens 1904 i. 97-100, 174 gives the name in actual use as *τὸν Δία τὸ ἀρχαῖον*.

## 160 The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus

extremity of which I observed foundations of the massive walls of a building the length of which was about eighty feet. Within this space is an aperture in the ground, which may perhaps once have led into a moderate-sized cave; but, whatever may have been its former size, it is now so filled up, that a man cannot stand in it, and its diameter is not above eight or ten feet.'

In 1899 Mr A. Taramelli published a sketch-plan of Mount Juktas (fig. 130)<sup>1</sup>, marking a grotto near its southern summit and the precinct-wall on its northern summit. The grotto is a natural cavern facing west and known as the *Nestò Nerò*. It is about six metres from front to back and has two small fissures running left and right into the rock (fig. 131)<sup>2</sup>. The earth on the floor of the



Fig. 131.



Fig. 132.

cavern, perhaps a metre in depth, has yielded terra cotta figures of animals and fragments of pottery<sup>3</sup>. The precinct-wall forms an irregular square of 'Cyclopean' masonry (fig. 132)<sup>4</sup>. On the north, where it rises to an average height of three metres and at a few points to five metres (fig. 133)<sup>5</sup>, there seems to have been a gateway.

<sup>1</sup> A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1899 ix. 350 fig. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 1899 ix. 357 fig. 27.

<sup>3</sup> My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet writes (June 9, 1911): 'There is a cave on Mt Juktas, a long narrow cleft, into which I have crawled and in which I have found Hellenic pottery. It is on the left of the present path from Arkhanars to the peak on which Evans has begun to explore a Minoan sanctuary. There was a monastery of some importance on the peak in Buondelmonti's time; he obtained a manuscript from it. See Legrand's edition of B. (preface, I think)' [E. Legrand *op. cit.* p. xxx *Ann. Pontica* MCCCXX, 1. *mon. septembri*, 150 *presbyter Christophorus de Bonifacio* *in archa de Florentia cum hunc locum in monte Juktas in montem S. Salvatoris insulae Creta, hypocausto XI.*].

<sup>4</sup> A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1899 ix. 353 fig. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 1899 ix. 353 fig. 24.

## The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus 161

To the south the wall abuts on a rocky elevation, which forms the highest peak of the mountain and shows clear traces of artificial cutting. Mr Taramelli, who notes 'scanty traces of a building in the middle of this precinct',<sup>1</sup> inclines to regard it as a stronghold. He found in it much broken pottery of various dates, including pieces of Minoan *píthoi*.

This account is confirmed by Sir Arthur Evans, who was told by Dr J. Hazzidakis, president of the Cretan Syllogos at Kandia and now ephor of antiquities, that the remains on the top of Mount Juktas are still known to the country folk as *Mnēma tou Ziá*, 'the Tomb of Zeus'.<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Evans himself explored the summit



Fig. 133.

twice, and says: 'All that is not precipitous of the highest point of the ridge of Juktas is enclosed by a "Cyclopean" wall of large roughly oblong blocks, and within this enclosure, especially towards the summit, the ground is strewn with pottery dating from Mycenaean to Roman times, and including a large number of small cups of pale clay exactly resembling those which occur in votive deposits of Mycenaean date in the caves of Dikta and of Ida, also intimately connected with the cult of the Cretan Zeus. No remains of buildings are visible in this inner area, which tends to show that the

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* 1899 ix. 355 'dalle scarse tracce di un edificio sorgente nel centro di questo recinto si può pensar ad un *tameno* fortificato, dove, in caso di pericolo, fosse possibile agli abitanti del piano di rifugiarsi e difendere le provviste ed i tesori del tempio,' etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xvi. 121 n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* 1901 xvi. 121 f.

## 162 The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus

primitive enclosure was the temenos of a sanctuary, rather than a walled city. On the uppermost platform of rock, however, are remains of a building constructed with large mortarless blocks of which the ground-plan of part of two small chambers can be roughly traced. A little further on the ridge is the small church of Aphendi Kristus [*sic*], or the Lord Christ, a name which in Crete clings in an especial way to the ancient sanctuaries of Zeus<sup>1</sup> and marks here in a conspicuous manner the diverted but abiding sanctity of the spot. Popular tradition, the existing cult, and the archaeological traces point alike to the fact that there was here a "holy sepulchre" of remote antiquity.<sup>2</sup>

Mount Juktas is not the only Cretan locality that claims connexion with Zeus. A. Soutzo<sup>3</sup>, writing in 1829, states that a village situated at the foot of Mount Ide is called *Zoïlakkon*<sup>4</sup>, 'the Valley of Zeus,' and records the local tradition that the god, when he came to visit the summits of Ide, used to descend here. Soutzo adds that the inhabitants of the country still invoke Zeus by using the ejaculation 'Hear me, god *Zônos*!' This is confirmed

<sup>1</sup> Sir Arthur Evans adds in a footnote: 'See *Academy*, June 20, 1896, p. 513. The eastern and western ranges of Dikta, the sites respectively of the Temple and Cave of Zeus, are known as the Aphendi Vouno, from *Ἀφέντης Χριστός*, or "Christ the Lord." A votive deposit, apparently connected with some Zeus cult, on a peak of Lasethi is also known as Aphendi Christos. It is, perhaps, worth noting in this connexion that at "Minöan" Gaza Zeus Krétagenēs was known as Marnas, a form of the Syriac word for "Lord." B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 27 thinks it possible that *Ἐφέντη-βουνό*, the local name for a high peak in the easternmost part of Crete (eparchy Siteia), has reference to a former cult of Zeus, and *ib. n. 4* cites *Ἀφέντης* as the name of a summit in the eparchy of Lasithi. These are the 'eastern and western ranges' mentioned by Sir Arthur Evans.

<sup>2</sup> A. Soutzo *Histoire de la révolution grecque* Paris 1829 p. 158 'D'après une tradition orale des Crétois, Jupiter avait coutume d'y descendre lorsqu'il venait visiter les sommets de l'Ida: c'est pour cette raison qu'on le nomme *Ζοῦλάκκον*, "vallée de Jupiter," et, ce qui n'est pas moins curieux, les indigènes du pays conservent encore l'invocation suivante de leurs ancêtres, corrompue par le temps, *Ἰκοῦτέ μου Ζῶνε θεέ* "Exauce-moi Jupiter!" cited by N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 41 n. 1. Παράδοσις Athens 1904 ii. 778, B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 27, R. Rodd *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* London 1892 p. 132 n. 1, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> With *Ζοῦλάκκον* B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 27 n. 5 compares *Ζοντοῦλάκο* (another name of the same village in the eparchy Mylopotamo), *Ζοῦ* (in Siteia), *Ζήντα* (in Arkadia). The last of these has, he considers, most claim to be connected with Zeus.

I have failed to find either *Ζοῦλάκκον* or *Ζοντοῦλάκο* on the Admiralty Chart of western Crete. There is, however, a *Zutulana* in Mylopotamo, the position of which is approximately 24 . 50' E. by 35 . 18' N. Is this a third name of the same place? The German reduction of Capt. Spratt's map (*Die Insel Candia oder Creta*) marks *Zutulako* about 1½ miles S.W. of Axos.

On Mt Kentro in the eparchy Amario is a field called *Ζοῦ κάμπος* (N. G. Polites *Παράδοσις* Athens 1904 i. 98 no. 174).

<sup>4</sup> With *Ἰκοῦτέ μου Ζῶνε θεέ* C. Wachsmuth cp. the Albanian oath *περ τένε ζόνε*, 'By

by A. Papadakes, who in 1879 reports that at Anogeia<sup>1</sup> in Mylopotamo there is a place named *Zoû tò lákko* after the tomb of Zeus. The dwellers in the district, if troubled or displeased at what they hear, will sometimes throw up their hands and cry 'Hear me, god *Zônos*!' or 'Hear me for the sake of God's seat!' or 'for the sake of God's throne!' I. D. Kondylakes in 1896 gives their exclamation in the form 'God *Zânos*!'

If these names are indeed to be connected with that of Zeus, they must be regarded as masculine forms corresponding with the feminine *Díone*<sup>2</sup>. In that case we should obtain a Greek parallel to the Latin *Dianus*, *Diana*.

(f) Zeus as a Mountain-god superseded by Saint Elias.

Apart from the tomb of Zeus in Crete, the surviving traces of these mountain-cults in the place-names of modern Greece are few in number.

In the centre of Naxos rises a conical mountain, 3737 feet in height, from the summit of which it is possible to count some twenty-two islands and to see on the horizon the mountain-chains of Asia Minor<sup>3</sup>. This peak, known as *Drîos* in ancient times<sup>4</sup>, now bears the name *Zia*<sup>5</sup> or *Dia*<sup>6</sup>—a name which connects it not only

our Lord,' or *περ τε ὕζονε*, 'By the Lord, by God' (*Das alte Griechenland im neuen* Bonn 1864 p. 50. J. G. von Hahn *Albanische Studien* Jena 1854 ii. 106, iii. 37).

The expressions *θεὸς τῆς Κρήτης* or *ὦ θεὸς τῆς Κρήτης* or *γὰρ τὸ θεὸς τῆς Κρήτης*, often used at Arachova on Mt Parnassos and elsewhere in the sense of 'Tell that to the marines!', are explained by B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 28 as a survival from the days when the Christians ridiculed the Cretan belief in a buried Zeus (Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 43 *καταγελῶμεν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δείκνυται*).

<sup>1</sup> Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informs me that Anogeia 'is the nearest village to the Idaean Cave. It lies very high on Ida, and the natives, shepherds and snow-carriers, are different from their neighbours in dress, customs, etc.'

<sup>2</sup> *Ἠκούτε μου, Ζῶνε θεέ*, or *Ἠκούτε μου γὰρ τὰ θρονία τοῦ θεοῦ* or *γὰρ τὸ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ* (N. G. Polites *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 97 f. no. 174, ii. 777 f.).

<sup>3</sup> I. D. Kondylakes in the Athenian journal *Ἑστία* June 26, 1896, quoted by N. G. Polites *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Zeus is paired with Dione at Dodona, and the oath *περ τένε ζῶνε* is described as Albanian (*supra* p. 162 n. 4). The geographical coincidence is noteworthy.

My friend Mr R. M. Dawkins kindly tells me that *a priori* he would have expected the name *Zeús* to survive in modern Greek as *Διάς*. The acc. *Δία* would normally become *Δία* or *Δίαν*, pronounced *Διά* or *Διάν*, whence a new nom. *Διάς* with gen. *Διά* would be formed.

<sup>5</sup> Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 406.

<sup>6</sup> Diod. 5. 51. See further A. Meliarakes *Κυκλαδικά* Athens 1874 p. 18 n. 51.

<sup>7</sup> Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 298.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* v. 1709.

## 164 Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

with *Dīa* or *Día*, the early name of Naxos<sup>1</sup>, but also with that of Zeus<sup>2</sup>. Mr J. T. Bent describes the mountain as follows<sup>3</sup>. 'Its slopes,' he says, 'are rugged and covered with the holly oak (*Ilex aquifolium*), with the prickly leaves of which the peasants feed their cattle. We first climbed up to a steep cave, which goes deep into the heart of the mountain: at its entrance is an altar called the "church of Zia," where a priest goes once a year in the summer time and holds a liturgy for the mountain shepherds; around it are a few incense pots and bits of wood which have been sacred pictures in days gone by. At this altar a shepherd is accustomed to swear to his innocence if another charges him with having stolen a sheep or a goat. An oath by the altar of Zia is held very sacred by the mountaineers, and is an earnest of innocence. It is curious still to find the actual word [*Zeûs*] existing in this form.... The old myth related how the king of the gods was brought from his birthplace in Crete to Naxos, where he was brought up<sup>4</sup>...is it not highly probable that this is the cave in which Zeus was supposed to have spent his youth? It runs a very long way into the rock, and we had it lighted up for us by brushwood, but it contains nothing remarkable, save a spring of hot water, which in ancient times may have given rise to superstition.' Upon the northern slope of the mountain, beside a spring on the road towards Philoti, is a rough rock inscribed:

ΟΡΟΣ  
ΔΙΟΣΜΗΛΩΣΙΟΥ

Boundary  
of Zeus *Melósios*<sup>5</sup>.

The title *Melósios* is usually taken to denote 'Guardian of sheep' (*melā*). It might, however, signify 'Clad in a sheep-skin' (*melotē*); in which case the cult probably resembled that of Zeus *Aktaios* on

<sup>1</sup> Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 298, after L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des agaischen Meeres* Stuttgart and Tübingen 1840 i. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* *loc. cit.* admits that *Dīa* must be related to *dīos* (on which see *supra* p. 31.).

<sup>3</sup> J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 354 f.

<sup>4</sup> Zeus in the form of an eagle came from Crete to Naxos, where he was nurtured. On reaching manhood he became king of the gods. When he set out from Naxos to attack the Titans, he offered sacrifice and received a good omen from an eagle, which appeared bringing him thunderbolts. He placed the bird among the stars (Aglaosthenes *Naxiata hys.* 2 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* iv. 293 Muller) *ap. pseudo-Eratosth. catastr.* 30, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 411, 19 ff. Lyssenhardt, *Lact. div. ind.* i. 11, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 16).

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2418. J. T. Bent *loc. cit.* read the last word as ΜΗΛΩΣΙΟΥ and translates 'the mountain of Milesian Jupiter'! (cp. a comical stone at Korkyra inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΜΗΛΩΣΙΟΥ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1870 = Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial. Inschr.* iii. i. 100 no. 3215). There was also a precinct Διὸς Ὀλύμπου in Naxos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2417).

<sup>6</sup> O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2649.



Mount Pelion. Perhaps in the service for shepherds held once a year in the summer we may venture to find the continuation of a rite comparable with the procession of men clad in sheep-skins, which once a year in the summer ascended Mount Pelion<sup>1</sup>.

Mount Zia in Naxos is sometimes called Ozia. This recalls Ozea, the modern name of Mount Parnes, which in classical times had more than one cult of Zeus upon it<sup>2</sup>. But the history of these names needs further investigation.

More certainly connected with Zeus is *Dia* or *Dia*, an island off the north coast of Crete, which has preserved its name in the forms *Dia* and *Standia*<sup>3</sup>. Not far to the west of this island is Cape *Dia*, the *Dion akron* of Ptolemaios<sup>4</sup>, adjoining the now ruined town of *Dion*<sup>5</sup>.

Lastly, a rock off the coast of Kephallonia is called *Dias*. In view of the famous cult of Zeus on the neighbouring Mount Ainos<sup>6</sup> the name is significant. Nowadays there is a monastery on *Dias*; but it may have replaced a pagan sanctuary, and there are remains of an ancient building on the spot<sup>7</sup>.

All told, these are but trifling relics of a once ubiquitous worship; and their very paucity demands an explanation. The recorded mountain-cults of Zeus number nearly one hundred. What—it may fairly be asked—has become of all the rest? The Nereids and Charon are still familiar figures in the imagination of the modern Greek peasant. Why has Zeus vanished from the land, leaving scarce a trace behind him? Fully to answer this question would be to survey afresh the whole field of Hellenic decadence. I must not attempt such a task even in barest outline, but content myself with indicating a few salient features of a region long since measured and charted by others.

Albrecht Dieterich in a brilliant essay published some years after his death<sup>8</sup> sought to prove that the worship of the Olympians was shaken, if not overthrown, by the combined attack of three great movements. The first was what he terms a revolution from above—the rationalism of Greek philosophic thought, originating in the higher *strata* of society (a Thales here, a Kritias there) and gradually working its way downwards through the masses. The

<sup>1</sup> *Infra* ch. i § 6 (f) vii.

<sup>2</sup> Append. B Attike.

<sup>3</sup> Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 298. *Στανδία* = ἐς τὰν Δίαν.

<sup>4</sup> *Ptol.* 3. 17. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Euseb. *praep. ev.* 5. 31. 2, *Plin. nat. hist.* 4. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Append. B Kephallenia.

<sup>7</sup> B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 28.

<sup>8</sup> A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 pp. 449--539 'Der Untergang der antiken Religion.'

second was a revolution from beneath—the spiritual unrest and upheaval of the lower orders, which found expression in many an upward effort, the passionate cult of Dionysos with its rites of death and rebirth, the pure precepts of Orpheus bringing hopes of a bright hereafter, the Pythagorean *propaganda* eager to explain the true course of human life, the sacramental mysteries claiming to guard men's souls through the grave itself. Thirdly there was a revolution from without—the influx of foreign faiths from Egypt Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, which in bewildering succession poured into the Mediterranean area till Mithraism, modified into the solar monotheism of Aurelian, seemed like to merge all other creeds in that of *Sol Invictus*, 'the Unconquered Sun.' These were indeed Titanic forces. But Zeus, who had vanquished the Titans, somehow still held his own. Philosophers, elaborating the presuppositions of popular belief, found it convenient to give the name of Zeus to their ultimate principle or at least to one of their cosmic elements<sup>1</sup>. Again, points of contact between the Orphéo-Dionysiac rites and the religion of Zeus were not wanting. If Orpheus was priest of Dionysos, and if Dionysos was son of Zeus, a *modus vivendi* was after all not impossible<sup>2</sup>. Further, the importers of strange cults from the east inevitably began by identifying their unfamiliar sanctities with the familiar gods and goddesses of Greece, and in an age of syncretism soon obtained recognition for various types of solar Zeus<sup>3</sup>. In short, the Hellenic sky-god, thanks to his own all-embracing character, was not readily submerged by the rising waters of rationalism, mysticism, and orientalism.

The revolution from above, the revolution from beneath, the revolution from without, had alike ended in something of a compromise. Then for the first time—and here I desert the lead of Dieterich<sup>4</sup>—came a revolution from within. It was in its essence a movement of great simplicity, nothing more than the response of human hearts to the call of Jesus Christ. Nothing more but also nothing less. And that call, once heard, left no room for compromise. 'They forsook all,'—we read—'and followed him.'

Had they but continued as they began, the victory was already assured. There is a sound of coming triumph in the words

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 27 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* pp. 104 ff., 153, *alibi*

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* p. 186 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dieterich *op. cit.* p. 480 says 'Die Revolution von *unten* ist zugleich aber auch eine Revolution von *innen*.' That is in a sense true; and accordingly we find the nearest approaches to Christianity neither in the rationalism of Greece nor in the orientalism of Rome, but in the heart-felt aspirations of Orphic and Dionysiac devotees. It was by no accident that the art of the Catacombs repeated again and again the figure of Orpheus, or that the literature of the dark ages described the tragedy of Calvary in language borrowed from the *Bacchants* of Euripides.

of Paul: 'The weapons of our warfare are not of the flesh, but mighty before God to the casting down of strong holds.' His converts should have gone on conquering and to conquer. But, alas for champions who knew not of what Spirit they were. Fain to reinforce that Spirit's sword, they turned aside to the old armoury of argument, altercation, and abuse. Pagan attacks were met by Christian counter-attacks, and the apologists with all their merits were in some cases men mainly remarkable for their erudition. As the new religion spread, matters were equalised externally and more than equalised: the persecuted became the persecutors. Gratian urged on by the influence of Ambrose began to plunder heathen temples for the benefit of Christian priests. Theodosios prohibited under the severest penalties the perpetuation of pagan worship. Justinian carried on and completed the outward victory. But meantime those who thus tried to secure an intellectual and temporal ascendancy were shrewd enough to perceive that the scathing periods of church-fathers<sup>1</sup> and even imperial mandates of extermination were powerless to suppress the long-standing rites of paganism. They concluded that definite substitutes must be found for the discredited objects of popular cult. And found they were. Indeed, it is not too much to say that in the fourth century of our era a momentous transformation was already in progress, by which Christian saints gradually usurped the position of pagan gods and demigods.

How far this process of substitution was due to deliberate policy and official action on the part of church or state, is a question hotly disputed, and in the comparative dearth of contemporary evidence<sup>2</sup> hard to decide. *A priori* arguments of course are not wanting. On the one hand the great majority of Christians then, as now, were 'corrupted from the simplicity and the purity that is toward Christ.' Such persons presumably followed the dictates of worldly wisdom<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand we have also to reckon with a cause less conspicuous than ecclesiastical interference, but

<sup>1</sup> The Christian apologists largely ignored the small fry of Greek mythology and saved their finest scorn for the inconsistencies and immoralities of Zeus: see e.g. Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2. 36. 5-2. 37. 4 p. 27, 19 ff. Stahlin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 20--23. Firm. Mat. 12. 1--9. Rufin. *recogn.* 10. 20--23. Aug. *epist.* 5. *de civ. Dei* 4. 25. *alib.*

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Bede *hist. eccl.* 1. 30. Ioul. *epist.* 78 Hettlein, Leo Magnus *serm.* 8. 9--cited by Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 4 ff. Add eod. Theod. 16. 10. 3.

<sup>3</sup> An instructive case is the proposed rebuilding of the Marneion at Gaza as a Christian church with the old pagan ground-plan: *συνεβουλεύον οὖν τινες κτισθῆναι αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ εἰδωλείου* (Marcus Diaconus *v. Porphyrii ἐπιστολῇ Γαζιανῆς* 75)—a course eventually disallowed (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (g)).

## 168 Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

even more potent—the incalculable force of old associations. These affected at once places, circumstances, and names. Men would resort to the familiar cult-centre and expect the new occupant of the shrine to bestow the customary blessing. Again, folk-tales, even if raised to the rank of myths by the sanction of literature, would readily attach themselves afresh to new heroes, provided that these in their doings and sufferings bore some resemblance to the old. Especially would Christian saints whose names happened to be derived from those of heathen deities tend to acquire powers and prerogatives properly belonging to the said deities. In these and other such ways the old order changed; or rather, the old order did not change, but at most submitted to a new nomenclature. Causation apart, the practical result was this: the old gods and goddesses, the old heroes and heroines, often with their precincts, their temples, and their very statues<sup>1</sup>, were re-christened and re-consecrated in the service of the new religion<sup>2</sup>. For a second time and in a subtler sense *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*.

A few typical cases will be in point. At Byzantion the pagan twins Kastor and Polydeukes had been wont to cure the sick by means of incubation. The Christian twins Kosmas and Damianos followed suit, doing the same thing at the same place; indeed, unconverted Greeks are reported to have called them Kastor and Polydeukes and to have been solemnly rebuked by them for the very pardonable misnomer. These Christian Dioskouroi, like their pagan predecessors, appeared to persons imploring their aid as

<sup>1</sup> Examples are collected by L. Friedländer *Erinnerungen, Reden und Studien* Strassburg 1905 i. 370 ff., who *inter alia* cites from L. Muntz *Histoire de l'art pendant la renaissance* 1889 i. 21 a mediaeval misinterpretation of Jupiter with his eagle as John the Evangelist.

<sup>2</sup> A general treatment of the subject will be found in F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1847—1851, V. Schultze *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* Jena 1887—1892, T. Trede *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche* Gotha 1889—1891, id. *Bilder aus dem religiösen und sittlichen Volksleben Südtalens* Gotha 1909, F. v. Arneth *Das clavische Heidentum und die christliche Religion* Wien 1895, E. Lucius *Die Anfänge des Heiligtums in der christlichen Kirche* (a posthumous work ed. by G. Arnich) Tübingen 1904, W. Sollau *Das Fortleben des Heidentums in der altchristlichen Kirche* Berlin 1906, A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 pp. 449—539 'Der Untergang der antiken Religion.' Recent French and English books bearing on the same theme are H. Delehaye *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*<sup>2</sup> Bruxelles 1906, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* Paris 1909, T. R. Glover *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*<sup>4</sup> London 1910, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910, Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910. A survey of articles etc. dealing with special points is given by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 302—320 'Das Fortleben des Heidentums im Christentum.'

horsemen, and even as stars<sup>1</sup>. Other cases are recorded by Ioannes Malalas<sup>2</sup>. After telling how the Argonauts founded at Kyzikos a temple of Rhea Mother of the gods, which the emperor Zenon transformed into a church of Mary Mother of God, he continues: 'The Argonauts...were next attacked by Amykos, and fearing his might took refuge in a certain bay thickly covered with wildwood. Here they saw in a vision a man of dreadful aspect with wings as of an eagle on his shoulders, a spirit who came to them from the sky and announced that they should conquer Amykos. So they took heart and attacked him. Having conquered him they showed their gratitude by founding a sanctuary on the spot where they had beheld the vision and erecting there a statue of the spirit seen by them. They called the place or the sanctuary itself *Sosthénēs*, because they had fled thither and been saved; and the place still bears the name. When Byzantion had become the seat of empire, Constantine the Great saw this sanctuary, in fact he left home in order to restore it. Being now a Christian, he observed the statue standing there on its pillar and remarked that from the Christian point of view it looked like an angel in the garb of a monk. Awed by the place and its fane, he went to sleep there after praying that he might learn what angelic spirit the statue represented. He was told in a vision the name of the spirit, offered prayer towards the east, and called the place of prayer, or the locality, by the name of the holy archangel Michael.' Again, one of the principal deities of Byzantion was, as we might have expected, Poseidon<sup>3</sup>. The emperor Justinian selected a spot on the Golden Horn and there built a church to Saint Priskos and Saint Nikolaos, laying the foundations of it actually in the water<sup>4</sup>. Similarly at the entrance to the harbour of Mykonos—another centre of Poseidon-worship<sup>5</sup>—stands a shrine of Saint Nikolaos, who calms the waves<sup>6</sup>. It may be supposed that in these and many other places the saint has succeeded to the god, but the continuity of the mariner's cult remains unbroken. 'There is no vessel, great or small, upon

<sup>1</sup> L. Deubner *De incubatione* Lipsiae 1900 pp. 68–79, J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 pp. 53 ff., 100.

<sup>2</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 78 f. Dindorf. E. Maass 'Boreas und Michael' in the *Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst.* 1910 viii. 117 ff. argues that *Σωστήνης* was a cult-epithet of Boreas, denoting the 'Fresh' north wind.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 138, 223, 1138 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Procop. *de aedificiis* 1. 6 (iii. 193 Dindorf). The house of Basilides, a *quæstor* of Justinian, was also turned into a church of St Nikolaos (Codinus *de aedificiis Constantinopolitaneis* 62 B), who was in fact titular saint of four churches at Byzantion (C. d. F. Ducange *Constantinopolis Christiana* 4. 6. 67–70 p. 130 ed. Paris. 1680).

<sup>5</sup> Dittenberger *Syll. inser. Gr.* 2 no. 615, 5 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 5 ff.

<sup>6</sup> N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 58 n. 4.

Greek waters,'—says Mr G. F. Abbott—'which has not the saint's icon in its stern, with an ever-burning lamp in front of it, or a small silver-plated picture of the saint attached to its mast. In time of storm and stress it is the name of St Nicholas that instinctively rises to the lips of the Greek mariner, and to him candles are promised, and vows registered. He is to the modern sailor all that Poseidon was to his ancestors<sup>1</sup>.'

As in cult, so in legend pagan elements are still to be traced. Saint Niketas has a cavern with a painted roof by way of a chapel near Cape Sudsuro in south-eastern Crete. Four or five centuries ago, says local tradition, a girl was carried off from the chapel by a Barbary corsair but miraculously restored on the anniversary of her captivity by Saint Niketas. He flies through the air on a white-winged horse, and marks on the rock still show where the horse alighted. Captain T. A. B. Spratt, who visited the chapel, mindful of Pegasos and Hippokrene, justly concludes that the saint is 'a sort of Bellerophon'.<sup>2</sup> Again, many well-known figures in classical mythology are said to have been saved from the sea by riding on the back of a dolphin (Arion, Eikadios, Enalos, Koiranos, Phalanthos, Taras, Theseus, etc.); others had their corpses brought ashore by a dolphin, which itself expired on reaching land (so with minor variations in the case of Palaimon or Melikertes, Dionysios and Hermias of Iasos, Hesiod, and an anonymous boy at Naupaktos). Both incidents reappear in the records of the hagiographers. Saints Martinianos of Kaisareia, Kallistratos of Carthage, Basileios the younger of Constantinople, were each rescued from a watery grave by a couple of dolphins; and the corpse of Saint Loukianos of Antioch was brought ashore by a gigantic dolphin, which breathed its last on the sand.<sup>3</sup> Or again,—to take an example that will appeal to students of Homer—Saint Elias had been a sailor, but left the sea repenting of the evil life he had led. Others say he left because of the hardships he had suffered. He determined to go where it was not known what the sea or boats were. Shouldering an oar, he went on asking people what it was. When he came to the top of a hill he was told it was wood. He saw that they

<sup>1</sup> G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge 1903 p. 241. See also B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 37, N. G. Polites *op. cit.* i. 57 ff., D. H. Keiler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 i. 343 ff., N. G. Polites *Ηπαδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 111 f. no. 199, ii. 798 f., Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906–1907 viii. 349 and in her *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 27 f.

<sup>3</sup> The evidence is collected and discussed by K. Klement *Arion* Wien 1898 pp. 1–64 and H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 pp. 138–180.

had never seen boats or the sea, and he stayed on the hilltops! Who fails to recognize Odysseus?

Sometimes the shift from heathen deity to Christian saint is barely disguised by a slight deflection of the ancient name; sometimes it dispenses with any disguise at all. At Athens the Tritopatreis were superseded by the Trinity<sup>3</sup>. Dionysos lives on in the person of Saint Dionysios, to whom his cult<sup>4</sup> and myth<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 356 n. 1 after N. G. Polites *Ἡπαδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 116 no. 207, ii. 801 f. My friend Dr W. H. Rouse in *The Cambridge Review* 1905—1906 xxvii. 414 tells how he heard the same tale from an old Coan skipper:—"Ah well," says Giorgis, "'tis a poor trade this, as the holy Elias found." "What was that?" I asked. "The prophet Elias," quoth he, "was a fisherman; he had bad weather, terrific storms, so that he became afraid of the sea. Well, so he left his nets and his boat on the shore, and put an oar over his shoulder, and took the hills. On the way, who should he see but a man. 'A good hour to you,' says he. 'Welcome,' says the man. 'What's this, can you tell me?' says St Elias. 'That?' says the man. 'Why that's an oar.' Eh, on he goes till he meets another man. 'A good hour to you,' says St Elias. 'You are welcome,' says the man. 'What's this?' says St Elias. 'Why, that's an oar, to be sure,' says the man. On he goes again, until he comes to the very top of the mountain, and there he sees another man. 'Can you tell me what this is?' asks St Elias. 'That?' says the man, 'Why, that's a stick.' 'Good!' says St Elias, 'this is the place for me, here I abide.' He plants his oar in the ground, and that is why his chapels are all built on the hill tops."

<sup>4</sup> *Öst. H.* 1199, 23. 266 ff. A. Struck *Griechenland* Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 131 f.

<sup>5</sup> The ancient deme of Ikaria is habitually called by the peasants *Dionysio*—a clear case of the god Dionysos. When Chandler visited the place in 1766, its church was dedicated to St Dionysios, presumably Dionysios the Areopagite (C. D. Buck in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1886—1890 v. 47 ff.; see also Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 15 f.).

Mr J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 43 says: "It is perhaps noteworthy too that in Athens the road which skirts the north side of the Acropolis and the theatre of Dionysus is now called the street of St Dionysios the Areopagite. I was once corrected by a Greek of average education for speaking of the theatre of Dionysus instead of ascribing it to his saintly namesake."

Prof. C. Siegel of Hamburg at Kokkino in Boiotia in 1846 heard the following folk-tale: "When Dionysios was still a child, he travelled through Hellas on his way to Naxos. But, since the road was long, he got tired and sat on a stone to rest. As he sat there looking in front of him, he saw a little plant spring from the ground at his feet, and thought it so pretty that he at once resolved to take it with him and plant it. He pulled it up and went off with it. But the sun was so hot that he feared it might wither before he reached Naxos. Thereupon he found a bird's leg, stuck the plant in it, and went on. However, in his holy hand the plant grew so fast that it soon came out at both ends of the bone. Again he feared it might wither, and thought what he could do to prevent it. He found a lion's leg, which was bigger than the bird's leg, and stuck the bird's leg with the plant into the lion's leg. But the plant soon grew out of the lion's leg also. Then he found an ass's leg, which was still bigger than the lion's leg, and stuck the plant with the bird's leg and the lion's leg into the ass's leg, and so came to Naxos. When he wanted to plant the plant, he found its roots twined fast about the bird's leg, the lion's leg, and the ass's leg. As he could not pull the roots out without hurting them, he planted the plant just as it was. It sprang up quickly and to his delight bore the finest of grapes. Of these he at once made wine for the first time and gave it to men to drink. But now what wonders followed! When men drank of it, at

have inevitably passed. Saint Merkourios, who nowadays cures ear-ache in Samos<sup>1</sup>, is described by Malalas in terms of Mercurius—as a divine messenger commissioned to slay the emperor Julian<sup>2</sup>. Another Latin deity first canonised in Italy and then naturalised in Greece is Venus, who is known as Saint Venere in western Albania and as the Holy Mother Venere among the Vlachs of Pindos<sup>3</sup>. The myth of Hippolytos is told afresh of his Christian name-sake<sup>4</sup>, while his consort the virgin goddess has handed over her festival to the Virgin of the victorious faith<sup>5</sup>. Even gender proved no bar to such reformations. Saint Artemidos in Keos is the protector of ailing children, being—as Mr J. T. Bent was the first to observe—credited with the attributes of Artemis<sup>6</sup>.

first they sang like birds. When they drank deeper, they became strong as lions. When they drank deeper still, they resembled asses.' The tale is published in translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 n. 74 ff. no. 76, N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 43 f., H. Canoy in *La Tradition* 1887 i. 89. For parallels see O. Dahnhardt *Naturglauben* Leipzig and Berlin 1907 i. 308 f. Cp. also C. Wachmuth *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* Bonn 1864 p. 24 f., and Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 viii. 350 ff. and in *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 16 f., who concludes that the Dionysios in question was the monk of Meteora of the twelfth century because—according to N. G. Polites *Πασδόσεις* i. 98 f. no. 175, ii. 778 ff—the saint was journeying to Naxos from Mt Olympus.

<sup>1</sup> Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 32, citing *Σαμιακά* p. 6 n. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Io. Malal. *έκρον.* 13 p. 333 f. Dindorf *ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ νεκτὶ εἶδεν ἐν ὁράματι καὶ ὁ ὀσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Βασίλειος ὁ Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἠνεψωμένοις καὶ τὸν σωτήρα Χριστὸν ἐπὶ ἡρώων καθήμενον καὶ εἰπόντα κραγῇ. Μερκούριε, ἀπελθὼν φόνεισον Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα τὸν κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Μερκούριος ἐστὼς ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου ἐφόρει θάρακα σιδηροῦν ἀποστιλβόντα· καὶ ἀλοῦσας τὴν κέλευσιν ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο· καὶ πάλιν εἰρητὴ ἐστὼς ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐκραξεν. Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς σφαγεὶς ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἐλέησας, κύριε. καὶ πτοηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς κραγῆς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Βασίλειος διηπνίσθη τετραμαχόμενος.*

<sup>3</sup> Miss M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 33 f.

<sup>4</sup> S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 56 f., who gives references to earlier writers on the subject.

<sup>5</sup> J. Rendel Harris *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae* London 1901 p. 102, *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 768 f.

The ground-plan of the precinct at Lousoi in Arkadia published by W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm (*Jahresh. d. v. d. arch. Inst.* 1901 iv. 26 f. fig. 16, cp. *ib.* p. 23 fig. 13 section and p. 32 fig. 19 view) shows in direct superposition: (1) the temple of Artemis Ἥμερα, (2) a Byzantine church, (3) a chapel of the Panagia built c. 1850.

<sup>6</sup> J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 457: 'In Keos St Artemidos is the patron of these weaklings, and the church dedicated to him is some little way from the town on the hillslopes; thither a mother will take a child afflicted by any mysterious wasting, "struck by the Nereids," as they say. She then strips off its clothes and puts on new ones, blessed by the priest, leaving the old ones as a perquisite to the Church; and then if perchance the child grows strong she will thank St Artemidos for the blessing he has vouchsafed, unconscious that by so doing she is perpetuating the archaic worship of Artemis, to whom in classical times were attached the epithets *παιδοτρόφος*, *κουρότροφος*, *φιλομείρας* [*ἡς, παιδοτρόφος, κουροτρόφος, φιλομείρας*]; and now the Ionian idea of the





*Kistophoros* from Eleusis, known as Saint Demetra.

See page 173 n. 1.



similarly Demeter changed her sex, but retained her sanctity, the cult of Saint Demetrios<sup>1</sup>; Eileithyia in that of Saint

nourishing properties of the Ephesian Artemis has been transferred to her Christian namesake. We found traces of the worship of Artemis having existed in Keos along with that of Apollo in ancient times, for Barba Manthos had a little image of the Ephesian Artemis in his collection, which he had found in a temple at Karthaia. See further J. T. Bent in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1885-6 xv. 392, C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* p. 44, Miss M. Hamilton *Excavation* London 1906 p. 174, in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906-1907 xiii. 352, and in *Saints and Their Festivals* p. 17 f.

<sup>1</sup> At Eleusis the cult of Demeter was hard to kill, as will be admitted in view of the following facts. In the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is the upper half of a colossal *ἑσπεροπότης* in Pentelic marble, referable to the fourth or third cent. B.C. (pl. xv). It was found at Eleusis in 1801 by E. D. Clarke and J. M. Cripps 'on the side of the road, immediately before entering the village, and in the midst of a heap of dung, buried as high as the neck, a little beyond the farther extremity of the pavement of the Temple. Even this degrading situation had not been assigned to it wholly independent of its ancient history. The inhabitants of the small village which is now situated among the ruins of *Eleusis* still regarded this *Statue* with a very high degree of superstitious veneration. They attributed to its presence the fertility of their land; and it was for this reason that they heaped around it the manure intended for their fields. They believed that the loss of it would be followed by no less a calamity than the failure of their annual harvest; and they pointed to the *ears of bearded wheat*, among the sculptured ornaments upon the head of the figure, as a never-failing indication of the produce of the soil'.

<sup>2</sup> E. D. Clarke *Travels in various countries of Europe Asia and Africa* London 1818 (601). 'The Eleusinians, whose superstitions<sup>b</sup> [It was their custom to burn a lamp before it, upon festival days,] respecting it were so great that Dr. Chandler paid a large sum for permission to dig near it, relate, that as often as foreigners came to remove the statue, some disaster ensued. They believed that the arm of any person who offered to touch it with violence, would drop off; and said, that once being taken from her station by the French, she returned back in the night to her former situation' (E. D. Clarke *Arch. Marbles brought from the shores of the Euxine, Archipelago, and Mediterranean*, Cambridge 1809 p. 32 f.). On the evening preceding the removal of the statue, the ox, loosed from its yoke, butted with its horns against the marble and then ran off, bellowing, into the plain of Eleusis. This roused all the terrors of the peasantry, whose scruples were not removed till the priest of Eleusis arrayed in his vestments struck the first blow with a pickaxe. Even then the people maintained that no ship could ever get safe to port with the statue on board. Curiously enough the *Primosa*, a merchantman conveying it home from Smyrna, was wrecked and lost near Beachy Head, though the statue itself was recovered. As to the notion that the absence of the statue would cause the crops to fail, E. D. Clarke adds: 'The first year after the departure of the Goddess, their corn proved very abundant, and they were in constant expectation that Ceres would return. The next year, however, was not so favourable; and they began to fear she has deserted them.' He justly cp. Cic. in *Verr.* 2. 4. 114 Ceres solata, omnes cultus fructusque Ceres in his locis intermisce abstrahantur (*id. ib.* p. 35 ff.). The statue on which see also A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 242 ff. has been called successively Demeter, *καλαμφύρος*, a *καλαμφύρος*, and more accurately a *κισσοφόρος*. Lenormant states that the inhabitants of Eleusis spoke of it as *Ἀγία Δημητριά* and, in order to secure good harvests, used to present it with garlands of flowers (F. Lenormant *Monuments de l'Étude sur le culte de Déméter* Paris 1864 t. 398 n.). In 1860, when he undertook his excavations at Eleusis, he made careful enquiries concerning this *Ἀγία Δημητριά*—a saint unknown to the calendar. An Albanian *παπάς* or priest, who was said to be

## 174 Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

114 years old and was certainly a centenarian, told him the tale here summarised (*id. ib.* 1. 399 ff. n.):—

'St Dhimitra was a charitable old woman, who lived at Athens. She had a daughter of wondrous beauty: none so fair had been seen since mistress Aphrodite (Κυπά Φροδίτη). One day as the girl was combing her hair, which was golden in colour and reached to the ground, a Turkish *aga* from the neighbourhood of Souli saw her and fell in love with her. He was a wicked man and a magician. When she rejected his advances, he resolved to carry her off to his *harem*. So one Christmas night, while Dhimitra was at church, the *aga* burst open the house-door, seized the maiden, and despite her cries of distress rode off with her on his horse. The horse was a marvellous creature: it was black with fiery nostrils, and could in a single bound spring from east to west. In a few moments it carried the ravisher and his victim into the mountains of Epeiros. Dhimitra on her return from church was broken-hearted at the loss of her daughter. She asked the neighbours, who, dreading Turkish vengeance, dared not tell what they knew. She questioned the Tree that grew in front of the house, but the Tree could give no information. She enquired of the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, but all in vain. At last the Stork that nested on the roof of her house said: "We have long been living side by side. You are as old as I am, and have always been kind to me. Once you helped me to drive off a bird of prey, which wanted to steal my little ones. So I will tell you what has happened. A Turk on a black horse has carried off your daughter towards the west. Come, I will help you look for her." They set out together over the snowy mountains. But those whom they met by the way either mocked at them or gave no answer to their questions. Dhimitra wept and wailed, and men—since they do not care for sorrow—closed their doors against her. On reaching Lepsina (Eleusis) she fell, overcome with fatigue; indeed she would have died, had not Marigo, wife of Nicolas the *khodja-bachi* or headman of the village, seen her by the road-side and taken her in. In return for the hospitality of Nicolas and Marigo, Dhimitra blessed their fields and made them fruitful. Nicolas' son, the smartest *palikar* in the district, pursued the quest, on condition that he might wed the stolen girl. Accompanied by the faithful Stork, he walked for many days, and one night in the heart of the mountains found forty dragons watching a great cauldron, which was boiling on a fire. He lifted the cauldron with one hand, lighted a torch at the fire, and replaced the pot. The dragons, astonished at his strength, took him with them to help in getting possession of a maiden kept by a magician in a very high tower. Nicolas' son drove nails into the tower, climbed up withdrawing the nails after him lest the dragons should follow, and squeezed through a narrow window at the top. He then told the dragons to do the same. This gave him time to kill them one by one as they entered and to throw their bodies down on the other side of the tower, where there was a large court-yard and a magnificent garden and castle. He afterwards went down into the tower and found Dhimitra's daughter. While he was making love to her, the *aga* fell upon him, and they wrestled together. The *aga* transformed himself into a lion, a serpent, a bird of prey, a flame, and in these various disguises struggled for three days, till at last he slew and quartered the young *palikar*. He then forced the daughter of Dhimitra to yield to his desires, though he had hitherto respected her virginity. But in the night the Stork flew off, fetched a magic herb, and rubbed it on the lips of the dead youth; whereupon he came to life again, and attacked the *aga* with greater fury than before. He invoked the aid of the Panaghia, vowing that, if successful, he would become a monk in the monastery of Phaneromeni (in Salamis). He thus prevailed and overthrew his adversary. The Stork pecked out the *aga*'s eyes and also a white hair from his black top-knot—the hair on which the magician's life depended. The *palikar* brought the girl back to Lepsina just at the beginning of spring, when the flowers first appear: he then became a monk in accordance with his vow. St Dhimitra with her daughter quitted the place, and no one knows where they have gone: but ever since, thanks to her benediction, the fields of Lepsina have been fertile.'

Eleutherios<sup>1</sup>. Sometimes the actual name of the deity was dropped, but the cult-title preserved and the distinctive characteristics that went with it assigned to the Christian homonym. Thus H. Usener has made it probable that behind Saint Pelagia lurks the goddess Aphrodite *Pelagía*<sup>2</sup>, behind Saint Tychon the god Hermes *Týchon*

This folk-tale has been impugned by J. Psichari *Études de philologie néo-grecque* Paris 1892 p. lxxxix, but is justly vindicated by L. M. J. Garnett *Greek Folk Poetry* London 1896 ii. 171 ff., 451 ff. and J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1910 p. 79 ff. N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Εὐνάγων* Athens 1871 i. 46 ff. cites as partial parallels J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und Romanische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 33 ff. no. 68 and 112 ff. no. 97. It would seem, then, that the rape of Persephone by Hades (transformed under Ottoman misrule into Turkish *aga*), the wanderings and woes of Demeter, the hospitality of Metaneira and Keleos (here Marigo and Nicolas: the latter name—as Lenormant remarks—has Albanian the diminutive *Kólio*), and the travels of Keleos' son Triptolemos, all survive in the long-lived memory of the people.

Lenormant *op. cit.* i. 402 n. supposes that a shift of sex has taken place in the legend of St Demetrios, a young man who on account of his good looks was carried off by a *chiffli-kachi* named *Kara-Scheitan* ('Black Devil') and done to death for refusing his infamous desires. The cult of this saint originated near Jannina. J. G. Frazer *Pausanias* v. 6 records G. B. Grundy's conjecture that the church of St Demetrios or Demetrios about a mile to the north of Kriekouki in Boiotia occupies the site of a sanctuary of Demeter mentioned by Hdt. 9. 57, 62, 65 and Plout. vi. *Aristid.* 11. Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 350 = *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 13 f. writes: 'St Demetrios is the popular patron of Greek husbandmen and shepherds, and the protector of agriculture in general. The functions of the Earth-Mother are perpetuated in him, and his festival in October [Oct. 26], just before sowing-time, has great importance in the land of peasant-farmers. All over the country, at Eleusis as in every other district, his churches are found.' Miss Hamilton does not, however, consider it proved 'that St Demetrios was given to the new converts as representative of the banished Demeter.' But, whether this is a case of ecclesiastical policy or not, J. T. Bent is at least justified in asserting that 'the attributes of Demeter have been transferred to St Demetrios' (*The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1885-6 xv. 392). The same writer elsewhere observes: 'Demeter, in the present order of things, is also represented by a man, St Demetrios, who in certain places is the special protector of flocks, herds, and husbandmen, and in this capacity is called "of the dry land" (*Στεριανός*), as opposed to St Nicholas, the saint of the sea' (*The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 339): cp. J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* pp. 43 f., 79.

<sup>1</sup> The old metropolitan church of Athens is called not only after the Panagia Gorgoephekos (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (a)) but also after St Eleutherios, a saint invoked by women in childbirth (ἐλευθερώνει τὰς γυναῖκες, they say). The church stands on ground once occupied by a cult of Eileithyia (*Corp. inscr. Ath.* ii. 3 no. 1586, cp. Paus. i. 18. 5). Popular etymology transformed Εἰλειθυία, Εἰλειθυία into Εἰλειθυία, Εἰλειθυία, Εἰλειθώ etc. (Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2102 f.), whence the transition to Εἰλευθέριος was simple: see B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 38 n. 7 and especially K. Michel and A. Struck in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 314 ff. In Crete too Eileithyia has been succeeded by St Eleutherios (E. Byhlakis *Neugriechisches Leben* Berlin 1840 p. 2). Indeed, the same thing has happened throughout the archipelago (J. T. Bent in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1885-6 xv. 392). See further Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 18 f.

<sup>2</sup> H. Usener *Legenden der heiligen Pelagia* Bonn 1879 p. iv ff. (supplemented by F. C. Burkitt in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 1910 xi. 61 ff. and E. Maas 'Aphrodite und die heilige Pelagia' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1910 xxv

## 176 Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

or Aphroditos *Tychon*<sup>1</sup>; and Dr J. Rendel Harris has shown some reason for believing that Saint George himself is but Zeus *Georgós* in a thin disguise<sup>2</sup>.

457 ff) argues that the cult of Aphrodite in the Levant produced a whole crop of saints. These include among others of like origin (1) Pelagia nicknamed Margarito, a dancer of Antioch, who being converted by Bishop Nonnos donned male attire and lived for three years on the Mount of Olives as the monk Pelagios. Festival Oct. 8. (2) Margarita, who fled from her bridal chamber in male costume to become the monk Pelagius. On account of her blameless conduct she was made prior of a nunnery; but, when the nuns' female porter was found to be with child, the prior was accused and driven out. She now retired to a cave and led the hard life of a hermit. Shortly before her death, however, she avowed her sex, thereby proving her innocence, and was thenceforth known as St Reparata. The legend probably belongs to the Maronite monastery of Kanobin on Mt Lebanon. On Oct. 8 the Romish church worships a St Reparata, a virgin of Kaisareia in Palestine, of whom it is said that, when she was beheaded by Decius, her soul flew up to heaven in the form of a white dove. (3) Porphyrina, a prostitute of Tyre, who became the nun Pelagia. (4) Pelagia, a virgin of Antioch, who finding her house surrounded by troops dressed herself as a bride and committed suicide probably by leaping from the roof. Festival, according to the Roman calendar June 9; according to the Greek *synaxaria* June 9, June 10, or more often Oct. 8. (5) Pelagia of Tarsos, who was betrothed to a son of Diocletian, but became a Christian and was baptised by Klonon. The news of her baptism caused the young man to kill himself; whereupon Pelagia, after refusing to marry his father, was done to death in the jaws of a red-hot bronze bull. Festival May 4, May 5, Oct. 7, or more commonly Oct. 8.

For *Πελαγία* as an epithet of Aphrodite see Artemid. *oneir.* 2. 37 Ἀφροδίτη ἡ πελαγία. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 64 p. 117. 21 Wunsch πελαγία δὲ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3066 (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3179) Veneri Pelagiae. For *Porphyria*, Anacr. *frag.* 2, 3 Bergk<sup>4</sup> πορφύρεῖ τ' Ἀφροδίτῃ, interp. Serv. in Veig. *Aen.* 1. 720 Venus .. dicitur . et Purpurissa. For *Μαργαριτώ*, *Margaritē*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 9. 116 divus Iulius thoracem quem Veneri Genetrici in templo eius dedit ex Britannicus margaritis factum voluerit intellegi (cp *ib.* 37. 11). The shift from *Πελαγία* to *Πελάγιος* suggests the shift from Ἀφροδίτῃ to Ἀφρόδιτος and the cult of the masculine Venus, on whom see K. Tumpel in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* 1. 2794 f. and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Kel.* p. 1359 n. 3.

<sup>1</sup> H. Usener *Der heilige Tychon* Leipzig and Berlin 1907. St Tychon was bishop of Amathous in Kypros. The central incident in his career is the following. He was present, when certain vine-dressers were pruning vines at a place called Ampelon. Taking one of the withered branches rejected by them, he prayed that it might have *ἐκμάδα ζωῆς, εὐφορίαν καρπῶν, σταφυλὴς ἡδύτητα καὶ πρῶμιον βλάστησιν*. He then planted it with his own hands and bade the vine-dressers witness the result. It sprang up to be a memorial of him; and on his festival, June 16, when grapes are not yet fit to eat, the vine of St Tychon bears clusters that are either ripe or rapidly ripening. Indeed, when laid on the holy table and distributed to the communicants, they at once become dark and sweet, though a moment before they may have been light and bitter.

Usener detects as the *heidnische Unterlage* of this saint the minor Dionysiac divinity *Τύχων*, sometimes identified with Hermes (O. Kern *Die Inschriften von Marmaria am Mounier* Berlin 1900 p. 136 no. 203 Ἑρμῆς εἰμὶ Τύχων κ.τ.λ., Clem. Al. *prot.* 10. 102. 1 p. 73, 17 Stahlm *τον Τύχωνα Ἐριῆν* so Meusius for MSS. τυφῶνα, cp. Theognostos in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 33, 31 Τύχων Τύχωνος· ὁ Ἑρμῆς, Hesych. Τύχων· ἐκνοὶ τῶν Ἑρμῆν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην), sometimes with Aphroditos (Pappolopulos-Keramieus *Lexicon Sabbaticum* St Petersburg 1892 p. 3, 19 Ἀπολλοφάνης Κρητικῶν· Ἀσκληπιὸς Κέννειος, Ἀφροδίτος Τύχων).

<sup>2</sup> Zeus *Γεωργός* was worshipped at Athens on Maimakterion 20 with bake-meats and a dish of mingled grain (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 77, 12 ff. *Μαίμακτῆριμῶνος Δαί Γεωργῶ κ' ποπανον χοινικαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον δωδεκόνφαλον, ναπτὸν χοινικαῖον ἐπιπεπλάσμιον,*

## Zeus superseded by Saint Elias 177

Cases of this kind could be multiplied without much difficulty. But the facts are sufficiently notorious. Confining our attention to the mountain-cults of Zeus, we note that as a rule they were transferred to Saint Elias. The precise extent to which this was done on Greek soil will be seen from the map accompanying Appendix B. Inspection shows that Saint Elias has succeeded to

τανκαπτιαν νηφάλιον) His import was obviously agricultural, and his festival fell in the season of sowing: see Nilsson *Gr. Fete* p. 115.

St George too is an agricultural power. F. C. H. L. Pouqueville *Voyage de la Grèce*<sup>2</sup> Paris 1827 vi. 1421. says, 'saint Georges protège les laboureurs et les moissons.' G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 44 quotes a folk-song from Sochos, in which St George carries 'wheat and barley, and grains of pearl,' and is asked to 'Give to the bride chestnuts and to the groom walnuts.' J. Rendel Harris *The Annuletors of the Coptic Bible* London 1901 p. 83 shows that in south Italy St George 'is the protector of cattle' with an 'agricultural and pastoral value,' and *op. cit.* p. 100f. cites from Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup> i. 209 ff. [*ib.* The Magic Art ii. 75 f., cp. 79 for a Russian parallel] evidence that in Carinthia and among the gypsies of Transylvania and Roumania the chief figure on the festival of St George (April 23) is a 'Green George' clad in leaves and blossoms, who is carried in procession along with a tree, or officiates beside a young willow tree set up in the ground, and is finally ducked in person or in effigy with the express intention of securing rain and food for the cattle.

Dr Rendel Harris can therefore urge similarity of name and similarity of function in favour of his proposed identification. Yet we must not jump to hasty conclusions with Mr J. O'Neill, who in his book *The Night of the Gods* London 1893 i. 198 wrote: 'Of course we have a supreme antique origin for St George's Day in the Athenian pagan calendar which put the feast of Zeus Georgos [*etc.*] in the month of Memakterion [*etc.*] (Nov.-Dec.).' Dr Rendel Harris *op. cit.* p. 100 does not thus blink the difficulty: 'the confirmation is lacking of a connexion between Zeus Georgos and April 23rd, the inscription being incomplete, and we must leave this part of the problem unsolved, merely remarking that on the Latin side of the house the date in question is that of the Vinalia, which can be demonstrated to be sacred to Jupiter.'

Further evidence is, however, available. The chief centre of the cult of St George was Lydda or *Διόσπολις* the 'city of Zeus' in Samaria. Here he was born; here, after his martyrdom at Nikomedea, he was buried; and here a church was subsequently erected in his honour (F. Robinson *Biblical Researches in Palestine* etc. London 1841 iii. 51). The saint stood in some relation to a sacred pillar. According to the Greek *menaiá* as reported in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Aprilis iii. 142, when the church at Ramleh was being built, a pious widow wished to contribute a column. She had bought it and conveyed it as far as the coast, when the prefect or curator Palatinus refused her gift and would not transport it by sea with the other columns. Hereupon the widow besought St George, who appeared and, after writing on the marble with his finger 'Let this column of the widow occupy the second place on the right hand side of the church,' helped her to fling it into the sea. Next day it was found lying in the mouth of the harbour, having reached its destination before all the other columns, to the amazement of Palatinus, who acknowledged his error. Arculfus *de locis sanctis* 3. 4, a work written down by Adamnan c. 688 A.D. and translated by J. R. Macpherson (*Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* London 1895 iii. 1 ff.), states that in a house at Diospolis there was a 'marble column of George the Confessor, to which, during a time of persecution, he was bound while he was scourged, and on which his likeness is impressed.' An unbeliever, mounted on horseback and instigated by the Devil, struck with his lance at the saint's likeness. 'The head of the lance penetrated the marble as if it were mere snow and could not be withdrawn; its shaft was broken against the outside. The horse too fell dead on the

## 178 Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

Zeus at many, not to say most, of the important cult-centres both on the mainland (Mount Olympos, Mount Lykaion, Mount Arachnaion, Mount Taleton, etc.) and in the archipelago (Mount Kenaion, Mount Oche, Mount Kynadlos, etc.).

Mr N. G. Polites in a valuable monograph on the sun in modern Greek folk-tales has argued that Saint Elias represents, not only the mountain-Zeus, but Helios as well<sup>1</sup>. There is, to

pavement, where the bloodmarks from its haunch were still to be seen. Its rider put out his hands to the marble column and his fingers stuck fast in it. He was released by prayer and penitence; but his finger-prints remained, and Aiculus had seen them. Again, a layman on horseback, before starting on an expedition, vowed that, if he returned in safety, he would present St George with his horse. He did return in safety, and tried to cheat the saint by depositing 20 *solidi* of gold as the price of his horse; but he found that the horse remained rooted to the spot. A second time he tried, depositing 30 *solidi*, with the same result. Four times he mounted and dismounted, till 60 *solidi* lay before the column. At last he offered the saint the 60 *solidi* and the horse; after which he departed with joy. It seems probable that the column represented St George as a horse-man armed with a lance, and by no means impossible that it portrayed his triumph over the dragon; for as early as 346 A.D. an inscription from Ezi'a or Edhi'a in southern Syria speaks of him as τοῦ κολλυβίου ἀγίου παρά τοις Γεωργίου (C<sup>1</sup> *Chr. inscr.*, C<sup>1</sup>, iv no. 8627, 7), and, when the race of the Bagratides ascended the throne of Georgia towards the end of the sixth century, one of the devices that they emblazoned on their arms was that of St George slaying the dragon (Rev. S. C. Malan *A Short History of the Georgian Church* London 1866 p. 15 n. 10, p. 28 n. 19); see the Rev. G. T. Stokes in Smith-Wace *Phil. Chr. Biogr.* n. 646. If the column at Diospolis was of this type, it must have resembled the 'Jupiter-columns' of Germany, Belgium and France, which are commonly surmounted by a sky-god, probably *Zuu*, conceived as a warlike Jupiter on horse-back spearing a serpent-legged giant (E. Wagner 'Neptun im Gigantenkampf auf römischen Monumenten' in the *Wielerische Zeitschrift* 1882 i. 36 ff., F. Hettner 'Jupitersäulen' *ib.* 1885 iv. 365 ff., Haug 'Die Wochengottersteine' *ib.* 1890 ix. 17 ff., *id.* 'Die Viergottersteine' *ib.* 1891 x. 9 ff., 125 ff., 295 ff., A. Prost 'Les travaux consacrés au groupe de l'Angélique et du Cavalier jusqu'en 1891' in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France* 1891 pp. 15—54, Friedhof *Die sogen. Gigantensäulen* (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Lyceums Metz 1892), G. A. Müller *Die Reliefgruppe auf den römisch-germanischen Gigantensäulen* Strassburg and Buhl 1894, A. Riese 'Über die sogen. Jupitersäulen' in the *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde* 1900 xii. 324 ff., Torrer *Revue* p. 389 f. *etc.* 'Jupitersäulen,' and especially F. Hertlein *Die Jupitersäulen* Stuttgart 1910). However that may be, the legend of St George and the dragon suggests comparison with that of Zeus and Typhoeus, and furnishes a fresh *point d'appui* for the conjecture that St George is a modification of Zeus *Georgios*.

I may here note one or two recent works bearing on the subject. The monograph by E. Steck *Drachenkampf. Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sage vom Drachen* 1907 must be used with the greatest caution (see R. Wunsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 561 ff.). C. S. Hulst *St. George of Cappadocia in Legend and History* London 1909 is chiefly of value for its list of monuments (pp. 135—149) and bibliography (pp. 150—156). J. I. Campbell *The Celtic Dragon Myth* with additions by G. Henderson Edinburgh 1911 includes many Celtic folk-tales. The most important contribution of late years is that of Dr J. G. Frazer *Golden Bough<sup>3</sup>: The Dying God* pp. 105—112 'The Slaughter of the Dragon' (a suggested reconciliation of the totemic with the cosmological interpretation).

<sup>1</sup> N. G. Polites *Ο Ηλιος κατά τους δημόσιους μύθους* Athens 1882 p. 45 ff., cp. Μανερν *ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 19 ff. Others too have held that St Elias is the successor of Helios (G. T. Tiede *Das Hellenium in der römischen Kirche*



begin with, the obvious fact that *Elías* or *Helias* and *Hélios* sound so much alike—a fact expressly noted by Sedulius, a Christian poet writing c. 430 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Again, Christian art in the fourth century



Fig. 134.

portrayed the translation of Saint Elias under the type of Helios driving his chariot up the sky (fig. 134).<sup>2</sup> When in the course of

Gotha 1889 i. 315, cp. ii. 143, G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge 1903 p. 240 f., Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 19 ff.), but without advancing any fresh arguments in support of this view.

<sup>1</sup> Sedul. *carmin. pasch.* i. 168 ff. (after describing the translation of Elijah) *quam bene fulminei praelucens semita caeli* [convenit Heliae, merito qui et nomine fulgens], aethere dignus erat, nunc, si sermonis Achivi, una per accentum nuncitur liera, Sol est. On the forms *Helios*, *Helias*, *Helias*, *Helias* see Grimm-Thayer, *Gr.-Eng. Lex. of the New Test.* s.v. *Helias*.

<sup>2</sup> F. Piper, *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1847-1851 i. 175 f., 2. 304 f. (a Sarcophagus in St Peter's at Rome = G. Bottani *Sculture e pitture sacre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma* Rome 1737 i pl. 29; another in the Louvre at Paris = Clarac *Mus. d. Sculpt.* pl. 227 fig. 356 - my fig. 134, Remach *Rechn. Stat.* i. 117; a third at Milan = G. Allegranza *Spiegatione e riflessione sopra alcuni sacri monumenti ant. in d. Milano* Milano 1757 pl. 5), G. Bottani *op. cit.* Rome 1746 ii pl. 52 (sarcophagus).

the same century Chrysostom declared that poets and painters had borrowed their conception of Helios' car from the scriptural account of the prophet Elias<sup>1</sup>, his blunder was not unnatural. Finally, rites that are probably derived from a primitive sun-worship are still celebrated in honour of Saint Elias. On July 20—a day described in the Greek calendar as that of 'The fiery ascent to heaven of the holy and glorious prophet Helias the 'The-bite'—pious folk toil up to the topmost peak of Mount Taygeton, now known as *Hágios Elías* or *Hagioliás*. Here, when it gets dusk, they kindle numerous bonfires and throw plenty of incense on to them as an offering to Saint Elias. The dwellers of the district, especially those inhabiting the village of Kardamyle, as soon as they see the blaze on the mountain-top, set light to heaps of hay and straw, and keep the day by dancing round or leaping over them. This custom takes the place of the midsummer fires kindled elsewhere in Greece, and indeed throughout Europe, on June 24, the festival of Saint John the Baptist<sup>2</sup>. Miss M. Hamilton notes 'that the ikon of St Elias in the shrine on the top of Taygetos bears the inscription, "The Prophet of the Sun!"'

The foregoing arguments may be held to prove that in the fourth century and later Saint Elias was sometimes viewed as the Christian counterpart of Helios. But they do not suffice to prove that Saint Elias is worshipped on mountain-tops in virtue of his equation with that deity. For of all the heights on which Saint Elias has a chapel, and they are very numerous, the only one possessing a definite tradition of Helios-cult is Mount Taletou in Lakonike, where horses used to be sacrificed to the sun<sup>3</sup>. On the

pl. 70 (wall-painting), W. Lowie *Christian Art and Archaeol.* (New York 1901) p. 258 fig. 97 (fourth century sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum at Rome), L. von Sybel *Christliche Antik.* Marburg 1906 i. 222 f. (wall-paintings of the fourth century), J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 160. 2 and pl. 230. 21. Cp. a rough *εἰκών* in the little church of St Elias on the summit of the pass between Triadha and St Luke's monastery (Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xvi. 354 and in *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 21).

<sup>1</sup> Io. Chrys. *ομιλ. γ' εἰς Ἡλ.* 27 cited by N. G. Polites. The statement of F. Burdoug *La scene des religions*, Paris 1872 p. 266 ff. that in early Christian art, e.g. in the sixth century mosaic of St Apollinaris at Ravenna, Elias and Moses flanking the cross represent the sun (*ἡλιος*) and the moon (*στῆ μάς*), is rashly accepted by Polites, but must be regarded as quite chimerical.

<sup>2</sup> N. Nilles *Kalendarii munitio utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis* (Emponte 1896) i. 218 Η περιφόρος αναβάσις εἰς οὐρανὸν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου Ἡλίου τοῦ Θεοβίτου.

<sup>3</sup> N. G. Polites *Ὁ Ἡλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημόσιους αἵθους* Athens 1882 p. 45 f.

<sup>4</sup> Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 21 'Ὁ προφήτης τῶν Ἡλίου' (ib.), citing Ἅγιος Θεός, *Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Append. B Lakonike. A text which appears to have escaped notice in this connexion is Fest. p. 181 a 2 ff. Muller multis autem gentibus equum hostiarum numero haberi



## 182 Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

phenomena. 'He prayed fervently that it might not rain; and it rained not on the earth for three years and six months. And he prayed again; and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit<sup>1</sup>.' On the former occasion 'the heaven was shut up<sup>2</sup>.' On the latter, as a Greek liturgy has it, 'Elias by his fasting opened the heavens.'<sup>3</sup> Carmel was connected with 'clouds and wind, and...a great rain<sup>4</sup>;' Horeb, with 'a great and strong wind<sup>5</sup>': even on the Mount of Transfiguration 'there came a cloud overshadowing them<sup>6</sup>.' During the time of drought Elijah was fed by ravens<sup>7</sup>, as Zeus was fed by doves<sup>8</sup>. Lastly, Elijah, like Zeus, was associated with various manifestations of celestial brightness. On Carmel 'the fire of the Lord fell<sup>9</sup>.' Horeb witnessed 'after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice<sup>10</sup>.' Twice Elijah, from the hill-top on which he dwelt, called down fire from heaven and destroyed the troops of Ahaziah king of Israel<sup>11</sup>. When the end came, 'there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire,...and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven<sup>12</sup>.' Such an one fitly shared in the glory of the Transfiguration. And such an one, we may add, was not unsuitably substituted by the Christian church for the Greek sky-god Zeus.

'This hilltop saint,' says Miss M. Hamilton<sup>13</sup>, 'is believed by the peasants to be lord of sunshine, rain, and thunder. In several ways these powers are indicated in his worship; the site of his chapels is the place where the sun shines longest from its rising to its setting, and where rain is first seen and felt...On the island of Kastellorizo<sup>14</sup>...the festival of St. Elias is celebrated by the

<sup>1</sup> James 5. 17 f., cp. 1 Kings 17. 1, 18. 1-46.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 4. 25.

<sup>3</sup> N. Nilles *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis* Geneponte 1881 II. 105 'Ἰλίας νηστεύσας οὐρανὸς ἀπέλειψε

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings 18. 45.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings 19. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Mark 9. 7.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Kings 17. 3-6. St Elias has a raven as one of his attributes, and is invoked against drought (D. H. Keiler *Die Patronate der Heiligen Ulm* 1905 p. 71 f.).

<sup>8</sup> *Od.* 12. 62 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.* and Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1712. 35 ff., *Moreo ap.* Athen. 491 B. See *Class. Rev.* 1903 VII. 185 f.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Kings 18. 38.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Kings 19. 12.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Kings 1. 9 ff., cp. Luke 9. 54.

<sup>12</sup> 2 Kings 2. 11. The attribute of St Elias at Naples, *zr.* a wheel (T. Trede *Die Heidentum in der römischen Kirche* Götting 1890 II. 143), presumably refers to the chariot of fire.

<sup>13</sup> Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906-1907 VII. 353 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Eortia* 1889 p. 63 cited by Miss M. Hamilton *ib.*

performance of a rain-charm wrought through the imitative magic of vicarious drenching. In the morning all the children throw each other into the sea, and later on old men and young join with them, until no person clad in dry clothes can walk through the streets with impunity. Those who resist are dealt with by strong fishermen. This compulsory bathing continues till Vespers, and then the bells call the drenched multitudes to church. The town itself looks as if a heavy rain-storm had fallen. And then the dwellers on that island, where drought causes the greatest suffering, pray to St. Elias for a good wet season.'

At Constantinople and in its vicinity people think that thunder is caused by the prophet Elias speeding across the sky on his chariot—a relic of the belief, which in the middle ages was common throughout Greece, that thunder was due to God or Saint Elias pursuing a dragon in heaven. Another relic of the same belief is the frequent phrase: 'The lightning is chasing the snakes'.<sup>1</sup> A manuscript at the monastery of Leimon in Lesbos records the following conversation between Epiphanius and Andreas with regard to Byzantine notions on the subject:

*Epiphanius.* Do they speak truly who declare that the prophet Elias is in his chariot thundering and lightening among the clouds, and that he is pursuing a dragon?

*Andreas.* Far from it. To accept such a statement on mere hearsay is utter folly. Men bereft of sense have concocted the tale out of their own imagination, as also the story that Christ made sparrows out of clay in the sight of the Jews, threw them into the air, and away they flew, or that he turned snow into flour. Those stories are false, and so is this, and all the extravagant doctrines forged by heretics.... Elias, then, did not go up to heaven far from it, nor does he sit on a chariot; but he has power over the rain, and can ask God that in time of drought he will give rain to the earth. . . . As to the fact that lightning burns a dragon, I have no doubts. The thing is true. Only, the hailer of the lightning is not Saint Elias but the angel of the Lord appointed for the purpose. A dragon is produced thus: the Devil observes etc.,<sup>2</sup>

Saint Elias has taken the place of the thunder-god not only in Greece but throughout a wide area of Europe and even of Asia. A folk-tale from Bukowina in Austria makes Saint Elias steal thunder and lightning from the Devil, who had misused them.<sup>3</sup> Another from the same place, current also in Hungary, tells how

<sup>1</sup> N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοί μύθοι* (extract from *Παρασάσις*) Athens 1880 p. 4 ff., where further evidence bearing on the phrase *ἡ ἀστραπή κνηγᾷ τὰ φίδια* is collected.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 7 f. and earlier in his *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 23 f. (after D. A. M. Chantkles in *Σμύρνη* Aug. 6, 1871), J. T. Bent *The Cyclopes* London 1885 p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> O. Dahnhardt *Naturzauber* Leipzig and Berlin 1907 i. 139.

## 184 Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

Elias drove all evil spirits out of heaven by causing thunder, lightning, and a torrent of rain for forty days and nights<sup>1</sup>. In a Rumanian tale Judas steals the sun and moon from heaven, while Petrus is asleep: Elias offers to vanquish him, is armed with lightning and thunder, and succeeds in binding him to a column with iron fetters<sup>2</sup>. In Servian songs Elias is expressly called *gromovnik Ilya*, the 'thunderer Elias': he controls lightning, thunder, and the clouds of heaven<sup>3</sup>. According to Mr W. R. S. Ralston, 'The Servians say that at the division of the world Ilya received the thunder and lightning as his share, and that the crash and blaze of the storm are signs of his contest with the devil. Wherefore the faithful ought not to cross themselves when the thunder peals, lest the evil one should take refuge from the heavenly weapons behind the protecting cross. The Bulgarians say that forked lightning is the lance of Ilya who is chasing the Lamia fiend: summer lightning is due to the sheen of that lance, or to the fire issuing from the nostrils of his celestial steeds. The white clouds of summer are named by them his heavenly sheep, and they say that he compels the spirits of dead Gypsies to form pellets of snow—by men styled hail—with which he scourges in summer the fields of sinners<sup>4</sup>.' Mr Ralston further shows that Elias has inherited the attributes of the old Slavonic thunder-god Perun. The Russians hold that 'the Prophet Ilya thunders across the sky in a flaming car, and smites the clouds with the darts of the lightning. In the Vladimir Government he is said "to destroy devils with stone arrows".... On his day the peasants everywhere expect thunder and rain, and in some places they set out rye and oats on their gates, and ask their clergy to laud the name of Ilya, that he may bless their cornfields with plenteousness. There are districts, also, in which the people go to church in a body on Ilya's day, and after the service is over they kill and roast a beast which has been purchased at the expense of the community. Its flesh is cut up into small pieces and sold, the money paid for it going to the church. To stay away from this ceremony, or not to purchase a piece of the meat, would be considered a great sin; to mow or make hay on that day would be to incur a terrible risk, for Ilya might smite the field with the thunder, or burn up the crop with the lightning. In the old Novgorod there used to be two churches, the one dedicated to "Ilya the Wet," the other to "Ilya the Dry."

<sup>1</sup> O. Dahnhardt *Natur-gesch.* 133f.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* 145.

<sup>3</sup> J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 173.

<sup>4</sup> W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 339.

To these a cross-bearing procession was made when a change in the weather was desired: to the former in times of drought, to the latter when injury was being done to the crops by rain. Diseases being considered to be evil spirits, invalids used to pray to the thunder-god for relief. And so, at the present day, a *zagovor* or spell against the Siberian cattle-plague entreats the "Holy Prophet of God Ilya" to send "thirty angels in golden array, with bows and with arrows" to destroy it! Similarly J. Grimm argued that Saint Elias had stepped into the shoes, not only of the Slavonic



Fig. 135.

Perun, Perkun, but also of the Germanic thunder-god Thor or Donar. As Thor overcame the Midhgardh-serpent and yet, touched by its venomous breath, sank dead upon the ground, so in the ninth-century Bavarian poem *Muspilli* Eliah does indeed destroy Antichrist, but in the act himself receives a deadly wound<sup>1</sup>. 'The comparison,' says Grimm, 'becomes still more suggestive by the fact that even half-christian races in the Caucasus worship *Elias*

<sup>1</sup> W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 337 ff., cp. his earlier work *The Songs of the Russian People*<sup>2</sup> London 1872 p. 246 f., where however the date of Ilya's festival should be given as July 20, not July 29.

<sup>2</sup> J. Grimm *op. cit.* i. 173 f., cp. *ib.* 810 ff., 1341, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* trans. B. J. Vos Boston and London 1902 p. 130 f.

## 186 Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun

as a god of thunder. The Ossetes think a man lucky who is *struck by lightning*, they believe *Ilia* has taken him to himself; survivors raise a cry of joy, and sing and dance around the body, the people flock together, form a ring for dancing, and sing: *O Ellai, Ellai*, eldaer tchoppei! (O Elias, Elias, lord of the rocky summits). By the cairn over the grave they set up a long pole supporting the skin of a black he-goat, which is their usual manner of sacrificing to Elias....They implore Elias to make their fields fruitful, and keep the *hail* away from them<sup>1</sup>. Olearius already had put it upon record that the Circassians on the Caspian sacrificed a goat on *Elias's day*, and stretched the skin on a pole with prayers (fig. 135)<sup>2</sup>. Even the Muhammadans, in praying that a thunder-storm may be averted, name the name of *Ilya*<sup>3</sup>.

In view of the wide popularity of Saint Elias both within and without the confines of Greece, it is not surprising that the very name of Zeus has been erased from the memory of the people or at most drags on a hole-and-corner existence in out-of-the-way islands.

### § 6. *Zeus in relation to the Sun.*

#### (a) Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun.

That Zeus as god of the bright sky was essentially connected with the sun is *à priori* probable enough. But in the domain of religion *à priori* argumentation is apt to be misleading; and, owing to the notorious vagaries of solar mythology, it must be rigorously excluded from the present section of our subject.

Philosophical writers of Hellenistic and Byzantine times definitely identify Zeus with the sun. Thus Cornificius Longus, a grammarian of the Augustan age, said that, when Homer spoke of Zeus visiting the Aithiopes, he really meant the sun<sup>4</sup>. Diogenes Laertius about the year 200 A.D. commemorates the death of Thales in the following epigram:

Thales the sage once watched the racers' strife  
When thou, O Zeus the Sun, didst snatch his life  
Hence to the very heaven: I praise thee, for  
Grown old on earth he saw the stars no more<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> H. J. von Klaproth *Reise in den Kaukasus* etc. Halle und Berlin 1814 u. 606, 601.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Erman *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland* Berlin 1841 p. 429. [Cp. *Voyages faits en Muscovie, Tartarie et Pers.* Par le Sr. Adam Olearius traduits et augmentez Par le Sr. De Wicquefort Amsterdam 1727 1-1083-1084, where an illustration of the 'Sacrifices des Tartares Circassiens' (my fig. 135) is given.]

<sup>3</sup> A. Olearius *Reisebeschreibung* 1647 p. 522 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cornific. *frag.* 6 Eumach. *ap.* Macroh. *Sat.* 1. 23. 1 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 7. 85 1 ἦέντε Ζεῦ, cp. Diog. Laert. 1. 39.



## Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun 187

A century later Arnobius describes the identification of Zeus with the sun as a tenet of the philosophers<sup>1</sup>. The emperor Julian, a neo-Platonist of the Syrian school, who wrote his remarkable oration in praise of *The Sovereign Sun* for the Saturnalia of 361 A.D., is a case in point<sup>2</sup>. He notes that the Cypriote priests had common altars and common precincts for the Sun and for Zeus<sup>3</sup>; nay more, that Apollon himself had declared—

Zeus, Hades, Helios Sarapis—one<sup>4</sup>.

About 400 A.D. Macrobius, an equally enthusiastic advocate of solar cult, devotes a whole chapter to proving that Zeus must be the sun<sup>5</sup>. Ioannes Laurentius the Lydian in his work on the Roman calendar, which was written in the early part of the sixth century, repeatedly takes that view<sup>6</sup>. And Eustathios, archbishop of Thessalonike, who lived during the latter half of the twelfth century, does the same in his learned commentary on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*<sup>7</sup>. These authors and others like them attempt to justify their opinion by citing certain passages from Homer<sup>8</sup>, Hesiod<sup>9</sup>, Orpheus<sup>10</sup>, Pherekydes<sup>11</sup>, Sophokles<sup>12</sup>, and Platon<sup>13</sup>. But it is obvious that speculations of this sort, whether ancient or modern, deserve no credence whatever unless they are supported by evidence of actual cult.

<sup>1</sup> Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 30.

<sup>2</sup> See Ioul. *or.* 4. 136 A, 143 D, 144 C, 149 B and C.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* 135 D, 143 D.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* 135 D f. εἰς Ζεῦς, εἰς Ἀΐδης, εἰς Ἡλῖος ἐστὶ Σάραπισ. Cp. the Orphic verse εἰς Ζεῦς, εἰς Ἀΐδης, εἰς Ἡλῖος, εἰς Διόνυσος (*frag.* 7. 1 Abel *ap.* Ioustin *colloq.* 15 and *frag.* 169 Abel *ap.* Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 18. 18).

<sup>5</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Iul. *de mens.* 3. 10 p. 45, 20 f. Wunsch, *ib.* p. 47, 8 and 10 f., 4. 3 p. 67, 3 f. and 10.

<sup>7</sup> Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 40, 29, 128, 14 ff., 728, 16, *id. in Od.* pp. 1387, 26, 1713, 14 f., 1726, 61 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Il.* 1. 423 ff. (the visit of Zeus, escorted by the other gods, to the Aithiopes) is interpreted in this sense by Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 1 f., *somn. Scip.* 2. 10. 10 f., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 128, 14 ff. *Il.* 13. 837 ἔκετ' αὐθέρα καὶ Διὸς αὐγὰς (on which see *infra* p. 7 n. 2) is similarly understood by *et. maz.* p. 409, 9. Cp. *infra* ch. 1 § 6 (g) ix. *Il.* 2. 134 Διὸς μέγαν ἐνιαυτοὶ has schol. B. L. Διὸς δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἢ τοῦ διερχομένου χρόνου, schol. T. τοῦ ἡλίου ἢ τοῦ χρόνου.

<sup>9</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 9 explains Hes. *o. d.* 267 πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας (*infra* p. 196 n. 6) by *Il.* 3. 277 Ἡέλιος θ' ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακουεῖ: Cp. *infra* ch. 1 § 6 (g) ix.

<sup>10</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 22 cites Orph. *frag.* 235 Abel, of which the last couplet runs: ἀγλαὶ Ζεὺ Διόνυσε, πατερ πόντων, πατερ αἰῆς, | Ἡλὶε παργενέτορ, πανταῖολε, χρυσοφεγγές. Cp. *infra* p. 197 n. 2 f.

<sup>11</sup> Iul. *de mens.* 4. 3 p. 67, 3 f. Wunsch τῷ Διί—καὶ γὰρ Ἡλῖος αὐτὸς κατὰ Φερεκύδην.

<sup>12</sup> Soph. *frag.* 1017 Nauck<sup>2</sup>. see *infra* ch. 1 § 6 (g) ix.

<sup>13</sup> Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 30, Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 5, Eustath. *in Od.* pp. 1713, 14 f., 1726, 61 f., schol. *Od.* 12. 62 cite Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E, ὁ μὲν δὲ μέγας ἡγμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς, ἐλαίωνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα.

## 188 Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun

And, even if such evidence is forthcoming, we must not at once conclude that Zeus was a sun-god in his own right. It may be merely a case of international worship, the syncretistic identification of Zeus with a foreign solar deity



Fig. 136.

For instance, among the religious phenomena of the Hellenistic age few are more remarkable than the vogue of Sarapis or Serapis. This deity, whatever his origin<sup>1</sup>, was regarded by Egyptians of the Ptolemaic period as the Apis of Osiris (i. *Isâr-Hûpt*), a human mummy with a bull's head and the sun's disk between his horns<sup>2</sup>. The Greeks conceived him as a chthonian Zeus<sup>3</sup> (fig. 136)<sup>4</sup> and indicated his solar powers by means of a rayed crown (fig. 137)<sup>5</sup>. All round

<sup>1</sup> In recent years there has been much discussion as to the origin of Sarapis (see e.g. the *Review* of Giuseppe *Mitte* *J. G.* 1908 p. 611 ff. and of R. Wessely in the *J. G. G.* *Rev.* 1911 xiv. 579 n. 1). Three possible views have been mooted: (1) that Sarapis was from the first an Egyptian deity, who arose from the fusion of Osiris with the Apis of *Sa-ra-ptu*, the 'Place of Apis', near Memphis. This is held to explain not merely the compound names *Osarapis*, *Osarapites*, etc. (Giuseppe *op. cit.* p. 157 n. 1) but also the tradition that the statue of Sarapis was brought to Alexandria from Sinope (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 28 f., Tac. *hist.* 4. 83 f.), since *Sa-ra-ptu* was known to the Greeks as *Σαρώπιον* (Dionys. *p. r.* 254 f. *Μακεδόνιον πολυθεῖον ἐνθα Σαρωπίτιος Διὸς ἀεγίου τοῦ σέλαθρον* with Eustath. *ad h.* Σαωπίτης δὲ Ζεὺς ἡ οὐ Μουσίου Σαωπίτιος γὰρ ὁμοῦ Μουσίου· ἡ ἀπὸ Σαωπίτης τῆς Ποντικῆς, κ.τ.λ.). So A. Bouché-Latré in the *Académie des Inscriptions* 1902 xvi. 1 ff., *J. Egypt. Stud.* 1909 ix. 287 ff., 1910 lxi. 162 ff., G. Lafaye in Darancberg-Saglio *Inscr. Ant.* iv. 1248 ff.

(2) That Sarapis was originally the Babylonian god Ea, whose cult title 'sar ap i', 'King of the Ocean, King of the Deep Sea', became by a series of normal changes *ar ap i*, *tar ap i*, *ar ap i*, *ar ap i*. Sarapis is first mentioned in connexion with Babylon (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 73, 76; Amian. 7. 26, 2). His ancient cult at Sinope may go back to an early Assyrian occupation of the town. His worship was introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy I Soter, who deliberately identified him with Osiris-Apis. This arrangement of the facts explains *inter alia* the relation of Sarapis to Iao, whose name is the final form of the Babylonian Ea (*Eau* or *Eau*, later *Iau* or *Iauy*). So C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 338-364, esp. A. Dörnerich *Klein-Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 159 ff.

(3) That Sarapis was a barbaric European deity known to the Macedonians and by them equated with the Babylonian god (evidence discussed in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 352 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 195 ff. with figs., P. D. Scott-Moncrieff in the *Journal. Hitt. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 87, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 345 f., *op. cit.* ch. 1 § 6 (2) 1.

<sup>3</sup> Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 28 τοῦ Παντοκράτος, Tac. *hist.* 4. 83 Iovis Ditis; Dessau *Inscr.* Lat. sel. no. 4391 Lambaia in Numidia (Iovis Plutonis Serapis sacri).

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 369 pl. 39, 4 a copper of imperial date struck at Tripolis in Lydia: **ΣΕΥΣ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣ** wearing a *motus* on his head and extending his right hand over Kentavros at his feet. A similar figure and legend appear on coppers of Alexandria struck by Vespasian, both as a seated and as a standing type (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Alexandria p. 31).

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* p. 173 no. 939. Height 2½ inches. Restored: left fore-

## Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun 189

the Mediterranean are found frequent dedications to 'Zeus the Sun, the mighty Sarapis',<sup>1</sup> or simply to 'Zeus the Sun, Sarapis'.<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 137.

arm, right hand, sceptre, and chair. We may assume that the eagle at his left side was originally balanced by a Kerberos at his right side.

Examples of Sarapis with a rayed crown, including a marble bust, lamps, gems, coins, etc., are collected by L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz*: St Petersburg 1859 p. 42 ff. (text), from the *Memoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, VI Serie. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι *Corp. inscr. Gr.* in nos. 4683 Alexandria, 4713 Djebel-Dokhan, 4713i Djebel-Fateerch, 4713f (= Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. vol.* no. 678) Djebel-Fateerch, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* II no. 114 Mytilene, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* nos. 914-916 Ostia, 1023-1024 Rome, 1030-1031 Rome, 1127 Praeneste, cp. 1084 Rome.

So Dessau *Inscr. Lat. vol.* nos. 4395 Lutatia in Ciete (Iovi Soli optimo maximo Sarapidi), 4396 Rome (I. o. m. Soli Sarapidi).

<sup>2</sup> Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Σαράπιδι: *Corp. inscr. Gr.* II no. 2716 Stratonikeia (Ἡλίῳ Διὶ Σαράπει), in nos. 4042 Ankyra in Galatia (Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Σαράπιδι), 4262 Sidyma in Lykia (Διὶ Ἡλίῳ

# 190 Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun

A papyrus of the second century A.D. found at Oxyrhynchus preserves the following question addressed to his oracle:

To Zeus the Sun, the mighty Serapis, and to the gods that share his temple. Nike asks whether it is expedient for her to buy from Tasarapion her slave Sarapion also called Gaion. Grant me this<sup>1</sup>.

The so-called Anastasy papyrus in the British Museum, a book of magical *formulae* written probably in the fourth century A.D.<sup>2</sup>, equates Zeus the Sun not only with Sarapis but also with the ancient Indo-Iranian god Mithras<sup>3</sup>, who under Chaldean influence came to be regarded as the sun<sup>4</sup>, commencing one of its mystic sentences with the words:

I invoke thee, O Zeus the Sun, Mithras, Sarapis, the Unconquered, etc.<sup>5</sup>

Σεράπιδι, *In cr. Gr. Soc. It.* no. 2244 Auximum in Picenum (Iovī Soli Serapī Δι' Ἡλίῳ Σεράπιδι).

So Dessau *Inscr. Lat. ad. nos.* 4398 Apulum in Dacia (Sarapidi Iovī Soli), 4399 Rome (Sol. Serapi Iovī). Cp. *ib.* no. 4397 Sassoferrati in Umbria (Iovī Soli invicto Sarapidi).

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1911 viii 250 no. 1149 Δι' Ἡλίῳ μετὰ Ἡλίῳ Σεραπ[ι]δὶ καὶ τ.λ., cp. *ib.* viii 249 f. no. 1148

<sup>2</sup> F. G. Kenyon *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* Oxford 1899 p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Dr J. H. Moulton *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 p. 36 f. "An extremely important Aryan god whose province came very near that of Dyaus was Mithra (Skt. *Mitra*, Av. *Mithra* etc.). He seems to have belonged to the upper air rather than to the sun. Prof. E. V. Arnold says there is little support in the Veda for the solar connexion, unless it be in hymns which compare Agni to Mitra. Nor is the Avestan *yazata* decisively sun-like. His name has no very convincing cognates in Indo-European languages, and we are rather tempted to speculate on a prehistoric link between the Aryans and Babylon, or some source influenced by Babylon. The "firmament" of the first chapter of Genesis was very prominent in early Semitic mythology; and it is remarkable that the Assyrian *mešru*, "firm," comes so near to Mithra's name\*. [\*I owe this to my colleague Prof. H. W. Hogg. See further p. 47 below. J. H. M.] If this is his origin, we get a remarkable basis for the Avestan use of the word to denote a *contract*, as also for the fact that the deity is in the Avesta patron of Truth, and in the Veda of Friendship. He is "the Mediator" between heaven and earth, as the firmament was by its position, both in nature and in mythology: an easy corollary is his function of regulating the relations of man and man.

F. Cumont *De Mystrion ac Mithra*<sup>2</sup> trans. G. Gachrich Leipzig 1911 p. 11 f. is still content to regard Mithra as an Indo-Iranian god of light ("Berl. Religionen erbliden in ihm eine Lichtgottheit, welche zugleich mit dem Himmel angesehen wird, der dort Varuna, hier Ahura heisst" etc.).

The now famous cuneiform records of Kuyyadokta show that Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya were already worshipped by the Mitanni, an Indo-Iranian people dwelling next to the Hittites in the north of Mesopotamia, as far back as the fourteenth century B.C. (H. Meyer "Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte" in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1908 p. 14 ff. and in his *Geschichte des Altertums* Stuttgart 1907 i. 2<sup>e</sup> 579, 829, 837).

<sup>4</sup> F. Cumont in Koschier *Lex. Myth.* ii 3056 ff. Dr J. H. Moulton *op. cit.* p. 35. "Mithra" is sufficiently solar to give his name to the Sun in modern Persian (*Mithra*).

<sup>5</sup> C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1888 p. 103, 5 f. *ἐπεκαλεσθαι αὐτῶν • ἡλιῶ • μίθρα • σεράπει • ἀνικητῆ καὶ τ.λ.*

(p. I. Cumont *Textes et monuments légaires relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles

## Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun 191

Philon of Byblos, who flourished *c.* 100 A.D., wrote what purported to be a translation of an ancient Phoenician history by a certain Sanchouniathon of Berytos<sup>1</sup>. An extract from the translation preserved by Eusebios states:

The descendants of these men (Aion and Protogonos) were called Genos and Genea, and dwelt in Phoinike. When a drought befell, they stretched their hands to heaven towards the sun: for he was the one god that they worshipped as lord of heaven, calling him *Bealsamen*, which signifies 'Lord of Heaven' among the Phoenicians or 'Zeus' among the Greeks<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 138.

Zeus is here the Greek equivalent of the Phoenician *Baal-šamin*, 'Lord of Heaven,' who was honoured not only in Phoinike and its colonies but throughout the whole of Syria<sup>3</sup>, and was sometimes at least conceived as a sun-god<sup>4</sup>. It is he who appears on a fine bronze disk at Brussels published by Monsieur F. Cumont (fig. 138)<sup>5</sup>.

1896 ii. 134 no. 256 a Mithraic relief at Dorstadt (figured *ib.* ii. 307 f. no. 191) inscribed Ι(ο)νι S(ολι) ιννι(το) | δεο γενιτο | ρι(υ)ε | ν(α)το etc., *ib.* ii. 140 no. 319 Dalmatia? Δ(εο) S(ολι) Ι(ο)νι? ο(π)τιμο? ι(ν) α(ν)ιμο? | α(ν)ιμο? | etc., *ib.* ii. 174 no. 556 Rome Ι(ο)νι? S(ολι)? Ι(ν)νι? P(α)εσταντισσιμο? δ(εο)? Μ(α)γνο? | etc.

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient.* Rel. i. 350-409, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*<sup>3</sup> München 1898 p. 764.

<sup>2</sup> Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 f. Muller) ap. Euseb. *praep.* vi. i. 10 7.

<sup>3</sup> F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2839 f., W. W. Baudissin *Ältern. und Romän* Leipzig 1911 p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> C. J. M. de Vogüé *Inscriptions sémitiques* Paris 1868 p. 19 no. 16 a bilingual inscription in Aramaic and Greek from Palmyra, [ב]על [ש]מין being rendered by [το]ν Η[λι]ον.

<sup>5</sup> F. Cumont in the *Festschrift für Otto Brendorf* Wien 1898 pp. 291-295.

## 192 Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun

The mask of Zeus wearing an oak-wreath is seen between the spread wings of an eagle, which stoops its head and grips with its talons a snake coiled in a circle. The tail of the reptile, first seized by its jaws and then passed round its neck, symbolises both the universe and eternity<sup>1</sup>, and attests the character of the Syrian Zeus.

At Tripolis in Phoinike the local *Baral* was Hellenised as a celestial and probably solar Zeus *Hágios*. Coins of imperial date show a square-topped and sometimes battlemented structure with a radiate bust of the god in a pediment and a lighted altar below



Fig. 139



Fig. 140.

between figures representing the sun and moon (figs. 139, 140)<sup>2</sup>. This is perhaps a great altar of semi-oriental form, comparable with the Persian fire-altars<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, *ἱστορίαι*, 1. 1 αἰῶνα.. γράψαι βουλόμενοι ὅφιν ζωγραφῶσιν έχοντα τὴν οὐρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα κρυπτομένην, *ib.* 1. 2 κόσμον βουλόμενοι γράψαι ὅφιν ζωγραφῶσιν τὴν εαυτοῦ ἐσθλότητα οὐρανόν. Macrobius *Sat.* 1. 9. 12 hinc et Phoenices in sacris imaginem eius exprimentes draconem finxerunt in orbem relictum caudamque suam devorantem, ut appareat mundum et ex se ipso ali et in se revolvitur, Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 4 p. 39, 1 ff. Wunsch ἐνιαυτὸς κήλος γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν εἰδόμενος οθεν καὶ Αἰγυπτίοι καθ' ἱερὸν λόγον δράκοντα οὐρητόρον ταῖς πτερυγίαις ἐγγράφουσιν, Myth. Vat. 3. 1. 1 Saturnum draconem etiam flammivomum, qui caudae suae ultima devorat, in dextra tenentem inducunt—collected by Cumont, who cites also a Mithraic relief showing a bearded serpent of this sort with rays on its head and a crescent on its tail [F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 n. 208 no. 25 fig. 36]. The same idea recurs in the magical papyri: G. Parthey *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri* Berlin 1866



Fig. 141.

p. 124 pap. 1. 145 f. κήλος δὲ αὐτοῦ δράκοντα οὐρητόρον in a charm πρὸς ἥλιον, C. Wessely *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 39 pap. Lond. 121. 596 f. ο δράκων οὐρητόρος = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 102 f. no. 121, 586 f. in a charm πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πάσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος, ep. Corp. inscr. Att. App. defix. p. sm tab. Berol. 1 a 7 ἀκρουροσύνη with R. Wunsch's n. *ib.* p. xx b.

Many illustrations may be found in the Abraxas gems published by Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 n. 227 ff. pl. 48 ff., *ib.* p. 230 pl. 50 no. 8 (my fig. 141) after Chifflet, obviously a solar talisman.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. cxvii 214 ff. pls. 27, 14, 17, 28, 3, 4, 43, 11 (my fig. 140), 12 (my fig. 139), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 262 pl. 76, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Cecil Smith *ib.* p. cxvii n. 2. See, however, G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxi. 62 n. 28.

## Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun 193

Again, a series of inscriptions from Trachonitis establishes the cult of a deity, whose full title was 'Zeus the unconquered Sun, the god Aumos'.<sup>1</sup> Thus a stone over the door of a cell in the monastery of *Deir el Leben* records the following act of piety:

Of Zeus the unconquered Sun, the god Aumos. The enclosure of the court was founded by Kassios Malichathos of the village of Reimea and by Paulos Maximinos of the village of Faithful Mardochoi.<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 142.

Passing from Palestine to Asia Minor, we still find local sun-gods identified with Zeus. A sample will serve. A *stèle* from Maionia (*Menneh*) now at Koloe (*Koula*) associates the radiate bust of a Lydian sun-god, here called Zeus *Masphalatennós*, with that of the moon-god Men (fig. 142).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Zeús aníkhtos Hlios theós Aúmos* Lebas-Waddington *Asie Mineure* etc. nos. 2392—2395 *Deir-el-Lében*, 2441 *Aenta*, 2455 *Agraina*, 2390? *Meidocha*.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4590 *Διὸς ἀνικήτου Ἡλίου θεοῦ Αὐ[δίου]*, where for *Αὐ[δίου]* we must read *Αὔμου* (Lebas-Waddington *op. cit.* no. 2394, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2164).

<sup>3</sup> Lebas-Remach *Voyage Arch.* p. 1171. pl. 136, 1. The inscription (cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3439) runs: *κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιταγὴν ἱερὸς δομὸς εὐχὴν | Διὶ Μασφαλατηνῷ καὶ Μηνί Τιάμου Μηνί Τυράννῳ | ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν θ. εἴ τις δὲ τούτων ἀπειθήσῃ, ἀναγνώσεται | τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ Διὸς. ἐπιμελησαμένου Διονυσίου | Διοδώρου καὶ Ἑρμογένους Βαλερίου, ἔτους σνζ' | (μηνὸς) Δύστρου.* Cp. Lebas-Remach *ib.* p. 118 pl. 136, 2.

At Baluklaou, a day's ride south from Lystra, W. M. Calder and Sir W. M. Ramsay found a dedication of the first century A.D., which associates *Ἐπιὴν* | *Μέγιστον* with *Διὶ*

## 194 Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun

Obviously these and other such identifications<sup>1</sup> do not suffice to



Fig. 143.

prove that Zeus himself, the Greek Zeus, was essentially solar in character. At most they show that his attributes permitted of his being identified roughly and for practical purposes with a variety of barbaric sun-gods. The only example of Zeus being worshipped as the Sun on Greek soil is to be found at *Kastri*, on the site of Arkesine, in Amorgos, where a very early rock-cut in-

scription reads (fig. 143):

Zeus  
Ἰεὺς

Zeus  
the Sun<sup>2</sup>.

If the second word has been rightly deciphered by Monsieur Dubois<sup>3</sup>, we are driven to conclude that at least as early as the fifth century B.C. the inhabitants of Amorgos recognised a solar Zeus. This isolated case must then be due, as Dr Farnell saw, to 'some peculiar

[Ἰεὺς] and so illustrates Acts 14. 12 Barnabas=Zeus, Paul=Hermes (*The Times* Nov. 11. 1909, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1910 xiv. 102).

<sup>1</sup> Zeus *Adados* (Jupiter *Helio-politannus*), Zeus *Dolichaeos* (Jupiter *Dolichennus*), Zeus *Talauos*, *Tallaios*, *Taktitos*, Zeus *Ammon*, Zeus *Askraios*, etc. will be separately considered in later sections.

A radiate Zeus occurs on silver coins of Antialkidas (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 25 f. pl. 7, 9, 14) and Hermaios (*ib.* p. 62 pl. 15, 1, 2, 3, 5) and on copper coins of Manes (*ib.* p. 70 pl. 16, 9) and Spalirises (*ib.* p. 101 pl. 22, 2); a standing Zeus radiate on silver coins of Heliokles (*ib.* p. 21 pl. 7, 3; p. 23 pl. 7, 5 f.), Azes (*ib.* p. 73 pl. 17, 8—11), Spalahores with Vonones (*ib.* p. 98 pl. 21, 7 f.), Spalagadames with Vonones (*ib.* p. 99 pl. 21, 10), and Spalirises (*ib.* p. 100 pl. 22, 1). The majority of these are described as laureate, not radiate, by Prof. P. Gardner *loc. cit.*; he admits, however, that pl. 17, 8 Azes and pl. 22, 2 Spalirises are radiate, and such may well be the character of them all.

Jupiter Capitolinus has a rayed crown on a terra cotta lamp from Herculaneum now at Naples (*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1792 viii (Le Lucine ed 1 Candelabri d'Ercolano) 1 f. pl.). Doubtful examples of a radiate Jupiter in wallpaintings are Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 22 no. 67 Atlas pl. 2—Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 189  $\mu$ . Atlas pl. 1, 42, and E. Gerhard *Hyperboreisch-Römische Studien für Archäologie* Berlin 1833 p. 106. L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* p. 14 no. 3. *Denarii* of the *son* *Eugenius* show a distyle temple in which are two standing deities, Jupiter with sceptre and radiate head, and Libertas; above the former is a thunderbolt, above the latter a Phrygian cap (so Babelon *Monn. rep. rom.* 1. 474 f. fig. after Cavedoni, cp. H. A. Graeber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. 1. 399 n. 3, 400 pl. 42, 16), on the temple of Jupiter Libertas see H. Jordan—C. Hulsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Berlin 1907 1. 3. 167).

<sup>2</sup> H. Roehl *Imagines inscriptionum Graecarum antiquas imitant* Berlin 1898 p. 55 no. 28, E. S. Roberts *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* Cambridge 1887 1. 191 no. 160 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Com. Hell.* 1882 vi. 191.



## Cult-epithets of Zeus that may be solar 195

cal syncretism or foreign influences<sup>1</sup>. But unfortunately it is far from certain that Monsieur Dubois' restoration of the second line is sound. Monsieur Delamarre, who has recently edited the inscription for the Berlin *Corpus*, argues from the analogy of dedications in Thera that we need rather the name of the dedicator in the genitive case<sup>2</sup>. And, if that be so, the inscription is no longer in point.

### (b) Cult-epithets of Zeus that may be solar.

But, if it must be admitted that the Greeks did not directly identify Zeus their sky-god with the sun, it can hardly be denied that indirectly Zeus was connected with solar phenomena. Some of his cult-epithets are suggestive of such a connexion. Thus at Chios Zeus was entitled *Aithíops*, 'He of the Burning Face', a name elsewhere given to a son of Hephaistos, eponym of Aithiopia<sup>3</sup>, and to one of the horses of the Sun<sup>4</sup>. Conceivably, however, Zeus may have been termed *Aithíops* in his character of *Aithér*, 'the Burning Sky', rather than in any solar capacity. Again, at Thorikos on the south-east coast of Attike, an unworked block of stone has been found bearing the inscription<sup>5</sup>:

Ὁρός	Boundary
ἱεροῦ	of the precinct
Διὸς	of Zeus
Ἀντῆ-	<i>Auanté-</i>
πος	<i>r.</i>

This Zeus *Auantér*, 'the Scorcher,' is explained by Mr N. G. Polites as the god of summer heat—a conception which might refer to the glowing sky in general, but with more probability attaches to the sun in particular.

<sup>1</sup> Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* i. 44.

<sup>2</sup> J. Delamarre in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 87, citing *ib.* iii nos. 400 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Tzet., in Lyk. *Il.* 537, cp. Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1385, 62.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 6, 187.

<sup>5</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 183 Aethiops quasi flammeus est, concoquit fluges huic rei auctor est Funclius Corinthius. M. Schmidt reads *Aithops*, a conjecture based on the fact that Luc. *frag.* 896 Ναυκ<sup>2</sup> *ap.* Athen. 465 B and *ap.* Eustath. in *Il.* p. 883, 62 called one of the Sun's horses Αἴθοψ in the lines Βαλχίων φιλανθέμων | Αἴθοπα πεπαίνοντ' ὀρχάτους σπωρνοῖς, | ἐξ οὗ βροτοὶ καλοῖσιν οἶνον αἴθοπα. Cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 29, 301 αἴθοπος Ἡελίοιο σπασμυδρίζουσιν ἰωάσθλιν.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 27 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 140 f. in letters of the fourth century B.C. ΑΤΑΝΤΗΡΟΣ is a blunder for ΑΤΑΝΤΗΡΟΣ.

<sup>8</sup> N. G. Polites 'Zeús Ἀντῆρ' in *Εστία* 1890 no. 41 (see *Anth. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 443, Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2264) derives Ἀντῆρ from the same root as αὔαινω, 'I scorch' or 'parch,' cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 194 τὸν Ἀαῖνον Νίθον.

# 196 The Sun as the Eye of Zeus

## (c) The Sun as the Eye of Zeus.

Fortunately evidence of a less equivocal nature is to hand. There is reason to think that the Greeks, like various other peoples<sup>1</sup>, at one time regarded the sun and moon as the eyes of the animate sky<sup>2</sup>. The sun especially was the eye of *Aithér*, 'the Burning Sky<sup>3</sup>,' and might therefore be called the eye of Zeus. Euripides in his tragedy *The Mysians* spoke of Zeus as 'sun-eyed<sup>4</sup>.' A magical hymn preserved in a papyrus of the Berlin Museum addresses the sun-god thus:

Sun famed-for-steeds, Zeus' earth-embracing eye,  
All-bright, high-travelling, fallen-from-Zeus, heaven-ranging<sup>5</sup>.

And Macrobius states that 'antiquity calls the sun the eye of Zeus'. The phrase seems to have been current in the jargon of later oracles also—witness sundry responses of Apollon first published by N. Piccolos<sup>7</sup>. The god bade one Poplas attain his ends—

Praying the ageless eye of all-seeing Zeus<sup>8</sup>.

On another occasion he advised the same man to propitiate—

The brilliant eye of Zeus, giver of life<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*<sup>1</sup> London 1891 i. 350 ff., J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 702 f., 1888 iv. 1500. A. Eiman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 7, 81. E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 298 f., H. Oldenberg *La religion du Veda* Paris 1903 pp. 40, 158.

<sup>2</sup> N. G. Polites 'Ο Ήλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημῶδεις μύθους Athens 1882 p. 33 f., Gruppe (7). *Myth. Rev.* p. 380.

<sup>3</sup> Anstroph. *nub.* 285 f. ὄμμα γὰρ αἰθέρος ἀκάματον σελαγείται | μαρμαρέαις ἐν αὐγαῖς with schol. *ad loc.* and Soud. s.v. ὄμμα γὰρ αἰθέρος. Cp. Soph. *Ant.* 102 f. χρηστέας | ἀμερας βλέφαρον, 879 f. τόδε λαμπρόδος ἱερὸν | ὄμμα. Eur. *I. T.* 194 f. ἱερὸν ὄμμα' αὐγᾶς ἄλιος, *On. met.* 4. 228 μυνχ οculus, Mart. Cap. 185 mundanasque oculus, Georg. Pisid. *de vit. merson* 218 τὸ κοινὸν ὄμμα τὴν πανοπτριαν κόρην

<sup>4</sup> Eur. *frags.* p. 531 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 50 p. 22 Gomperz Εὐρυπύ - δης δ' ἐν Μυ - σοῖς καὶ - τὸν Δία καὶ - οὐρανὸν - ν ἡλιωπύον (i. λέγει).

<sup>5</sup> *H. mag.* 2. 13 (Abel *Orphica* p. 288) ἥελις κλυτόπωλε, Διὸς γαιήοχον (γαιήοχον c). Schenkl) ὄμμα.

<sup>6</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 21. 12 solem Iovis oculum appellat antiquitas. Whether Hes. *o. d.* 267 πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας can be referred to the sun, is doubtful: cp. Soph. *O. C.* 704 f. ὁ γὰρ αἰὲν ὀρών κύκλος | λείσσει νιν Μορίον Διός, *metr.* p. 187 n. 9. To judge from Hesych. ὥσπερ οφθαλμὸς Διὸς ὥς ἀστραπή, 'the eye of Zeus' was an expression used also of lightning; on which conception see *metr.* ch. 1 § 6 (d) vi, (g) xx (7), ch. ii § 1.

<sup>7</sup> N. Piccolos *Supplément à l'Anthologie Græque* Paris 1853 p. 183 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Congny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 152 2 Λισσομένω Ήνὸς πανδερκέος ἀφθιτον ὄμμα

<sup>9</sup> *Id. ib.* 6. 153. 1 Ἰλάσκου Ήνὸς βιοδότητος ἀγλαὸν ὄμμα.

and again he announced to a second worshipper, Stratonikos by name:

Thou still hast long to live; but reverence  
The eye of life-giving Zeus with offerings meet<sup>1</sup>.

An Orphic hymn, after identifying Zeus with various parts of the cosmic whole—the sun and moon included, goes on to say more expressly:

As eyes he has the sun and the shining moon<sup>2</sup>.

Another Orphic hymn likewise describes the sun as at once the eye of the world and Zeus:

Immortal Zeus,  
Clear-skied, all-radiant, circling eye of the world<sup>3</sup>.

In a somewhat similar vein Nonnos of Panopolis in Egypt, a poet who wrote about the year 400 A.D., makes Dionysos address to the sun-god of Tyre a remarkable hymn, in which that divinity is saluted not only as 'Sun' and 'all-bright eye of *Aithér*,' but also by a fusion of religious ideas as 'the Assyrian Zeus' and 'the cloudless Zeus of Egypt<sup>4</sup>.'

It may be added that the Greeks of the Peloponnese still speak of the sun as 'God's eye<sup>5</sup>,' and that the Albanians swear by the eye of the sun or of the star<sup>6</sup>.

## (d) The Sun as a Wheel.

### i. The Solar Wheel in Greece.

Another conception of the sun that has left its mark upon Greek mythology and religion is that of a revolving wheel<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cougny *ib.* 6. 154. 1 f. ἀλλὰ σεβάξου | ζωοδότην Διὸς ὄμμα θνητοῖσι ἀγαθήσων.

<sup>2</sup> Orph. *frag.* 123. 6 Ἄβελ Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἡδὲ σελήνη, *ib.* 18 ὄμματα δ' ἥλιος καὶ παμφανώσσα σελήνη.

<sup>3</sup> Orph. *h. Hel.* 8. 13 f. ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ, εἶδ' ἐπεὶ πασιφαῖς, κόσμον τὸ περιδρῶν ὄμμα. Cp. *supra* p. 187 n. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 370 'Ἡέλιε .. 379 παμφαῖς αἰθέρος ὄμμα 393 Ἀσσύριος Ζεὺς 399 εἴτε Σαραπίς ἔφες, Αἰγύπτιος ἀνέφελος Ζεὺς. Count de Marcellus *ad loc.* cp. Mart. Cap. 185 ff., where Philologia addresses the sun-god in an equally syncretistic strain.

<sup>5</sup> N. G. Polites *op. cit.* p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> J. G. von Hahn *Albanische Studien* Jena 1854 ii. 106.

<sup>7</sup> For this conception among other peoples see J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 701 f., iv. 1499 f., H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 7 ff., 136 ff., 1885 i. 179 ff., 364 ff., ii. 16 ff., 167 ff., A. Bertrand *La religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 185 ff., J. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures 1886*<sup>3</sup> London 1898 p. 450 ff., *Folk-Lore* 1906 xii. 58. W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-wheel* London 1896, G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*<sup>4</sup> London 1901 p. 656 f.

## 198 The Solar Wheel in Greece

Euripides the poet-philosopher is represented by Aristophanes as declaring that *Aithér* at the creation devised—

The eye to mimic the wheel of the sun<sup>1</sup>.

Again, Aristophanes, who makes fun of everybody including himself, in his comedy *Daidalos* seems to have shown the sun as a wheel spinning in the air, and puts into the mouth of one of his characters the illusion-destroying couplet:

Stage-carpenter, when you want to send the wheel  
Spinning aloft, say, 'Hail, thou light of the sun<sup>2</sup>!'

The conception of a solar wheel is, however, seldom expressed in extant Greek literature. For the most part it has been obscured by progressive civilisation and lies half-hidden beneath later accretions. For all that, it can be detected by patient search as the ultimate explanation of not a few myths, ritual objects, and divine *insignia*.

### (a) Ixion.

I begin with the myths—and *in primis* that of Ixion, a personage of paramount importance for the proper understanding of early Greek beliefs. The orthodox tale with regard to him is told succinctly by the scholiast on Euripides: 'Ixion was a Lapith by race, and married Dia the daughter of Eioneus. He plotted against his father-in-law, when he came to fetch the bridal gifts. He dug a pit in his house, filled it with fire, and flung Eioneus into it. Wherefore he incurred the wrath of heaven. But Zeus took pity on Ixion and received him and let him be in his own holy place, giving him a share of immortality too. He in his wantonness saw Hera and was enamoured of her. She, not brooking his mad desires, told Zeus. Whereupon Zeus was wrathful and, wishing to learn whether the thing was true, made a cloud (*nephelē*) in the likeness of Hera. Ixion on seeing it thought it to be Hera and lay with it and begat a child of double nature, part man, part horse, wherefrom the rest of the Kentauroi are sprung. But Zeus in anger bound Ixion to a winged wheel and sent him spinning through the air. Ixion under the lash repeats the words: "We must honour our benefactors." Some say that Zeus hurled him into Tartaros. Others, again, that the wheel was made of fire<sup>3</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. *thesm.* 17. In Soph. *Ant.* 1065 τρόχους ἀμύλητῆρας ἡλίου all the MSS. have τροχοίς, 'wheels'; but Jebb rightly accepts Erfurdt's cj. τρόχους, 'courses.'

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph. *Daidalos frag.* 234 Dindorf *ap.* Erotian. p. 42 Klein ὁ μηχανοποιός, ὁ πότε βούλει τον τροχόν! ἐάν (ἐλάν cj. Bergk, ἔλκεω Cobet) ἀνεκάς, λέγε, χαῖρε φέγγος ἡλίου.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. A. C. M. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185. The ultimate source of the *scholion* appears to be Pherekydes *frag.* 103 (*frag. hist. Gr.* i. 96 f. Muller).

To Ixion and his offence we must return at a later stage of our argument: it is the peculiar character of his punishment that is here in point. Since Theodor Panofka first discussed the matter in 1853<sup>1</sup>, it has been commonly agreed that Ixion bound to his blazing wheel and sent spinning through the upper air or under the nether gloom must be the sun-god and no other<sup>2</sup>. Hence his constant association with fire: he was called the son of *Phlegyas*, the 'Flaming,' by Euripides<sup>3</sup>, the son of *Aithon*, the 'Glowing,' by Pherekydes<sup>4</sup>; and it was by means of a fiery pit thinly covered with logs and dust that he entrapped and slew Eioneus the father of Dia<sup>5</sup>.

Moreover, Ixion's wheel as represented in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman work is possibly solar. At least, its claims to be regarded as solar are deserving of further investigation. The extant representations include the following:

A brown chalcedony scarab from the Castellani collection, now in the British Museum, shows Ixion as a nude bearded figure, whose hands are bound to the rim of a large wheel. Between the spokes is the Etruscan inscription *Ichsiun*. This gem (fig. 144)<sup>6</sup> may be assigned to the second half of the fifth century.



Fig. 144.

Contemporary with it, if not somewhat earlier (about 450—440 B.C.), is a red-figured *kántharos* of fine style, likewise in our national collection. Its reverse design (fig. 145)<sup>7</sup> depicts the preparations for the punishment of Ixion. The culprit, held fast by Ares and Hermes, stands before the throne of Hera, while Athena<sup>8</sup> brings up a four-spoked wheel fitted with a pair of wings.

<sup>1</sup> T. Panofka 'Zuflucht-gottheiten' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1853 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 285 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 770. L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 i. 299 ff. holds that the myth of Ixion is essentially akin to German folk-tales of elves appearing in the form of a fiery wheel, which creaks, pipes, screams etc. But such tales are themselves meteorological in origin (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 62).

<sup>3</sup> Eur. *Ixion frag.* 424 Nauck<sup>2</sup>. Strab. 442 makes him the brother of Phlegyas.

<sup>4</sup> Pherekyd. *loc. cit.* *Αἰθώρος*, which Muller corrected into *Αἰθώρος*.

<sup>5</sup> Pherekyd. *ib.*

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* pp. 22, 68 no. 334 pl. E, Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* 1 pl. 18, 10, ii. 87.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 143 f. no. E 155. The most satisfactory interpretation of the vase as a whole is that propounded by Sir Cecil Smith in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 277—280. I have borrowed his fig. b, which is more accurate than Raoul-Rochette *Monuments inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 pl. 40, 1, being based on a tracing by Mr F. Anderson.

<sup>8</sup> *Infra* p. 231 n. 8.

A great Apulian *amphora* with volute handles, found at Ruvo and now preserved in the Hermitage at St Petersburg, has for its obverse decoration a pair of contrasted scenes. The body of the vase shows Hades enthroned in his palace between Persephone and Hermes. Grouped near by are Apollon and Artemis on the one side, Aphrodite, Eros and Pan on the other. And below are six of the Danaides with their water-pots<sup>1</sup>. The neck (fig. 146)<sup>2</sup> gives us the upper, not the under, world. Here in the centre we see Ixion, clothed indeed, but fast fettered to a triple wheel, from whose outer

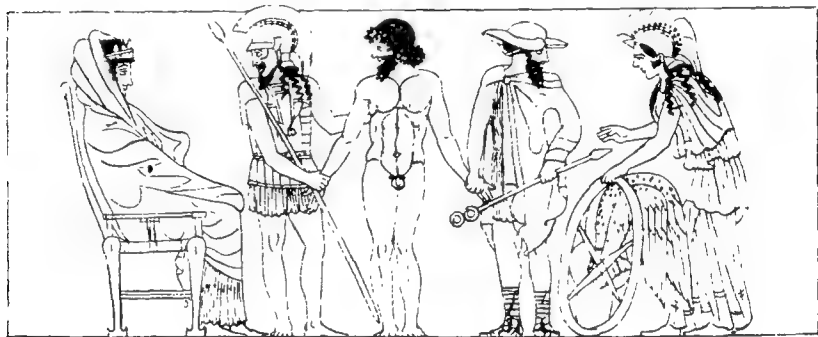


Fig. 145

rim rays dart forth in all directions. On the right Hephaistos<sup>3</sup> leans against a tree-trunk, still holding the hammer with which he has riveted the fetters. On the left a winged Erinys<sup>4</sup> with snakes in her hair is engaged in turning the wheel. Two other figures complete the scene—Iris<sup>5</sup> the counterpart of Hermes, and Zeus<sup>6</sup> the counterpart of Hades. Iris with wings and a *caduceus* occupies the

<sup>1</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (7), where the bibliography of the vase is given.

<sup>2</sup> Raoul-Rochette *op. cit.* pl. 45.

<sup>3</sup> 'Le *Charon* grec' (Raoul-Rochette *op. cit.* p. 179 n. 3), 'Éaque (?)' (Reinach *R. p.* I. 1. 355) !

<sup>4</sup> 'Iris (?) ou Érinys (?)' (Reinach *ib. cit.*) !

<sup>5</sup> 'Érinys' (Reinach *ib.*) !

<sup>6</sup> 'Ζεύς' (Raoul-Rochette *ib. cit.*), 'Hades (?)' (Reinach *ib. cit.*). But these suggestions miss the intended contrast between the Upper- and the Under-world. Apulian vases that have the Under-world on the body normally have the Upper-world on the neck, either on the obverse or on the reverse side. Thus Karlsruhe 388 (Reinach *op. cit.* I. 1. 108) has obverse Helios in his *quadriga* (*ib.* I. 258). Munich 849 (*ib.* I. 258) has obverse Helios and Heos in *quadriga* conducted across the sea by Phosphoros (Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* I. 51). Naples 3222 (Reinach *op. cit.* I. 1. 167) has reverse Helios in his *quadriga*, Selene on horseback, and Eros between them, crossing the sea (*ib.* I. 312). St Petersburg 426 (*ib.* I. 479) has obverse Eros in a *quadriga*—presumably the sun's chariot (*ib.*). In fact, the only exception among the large-sized Under-world

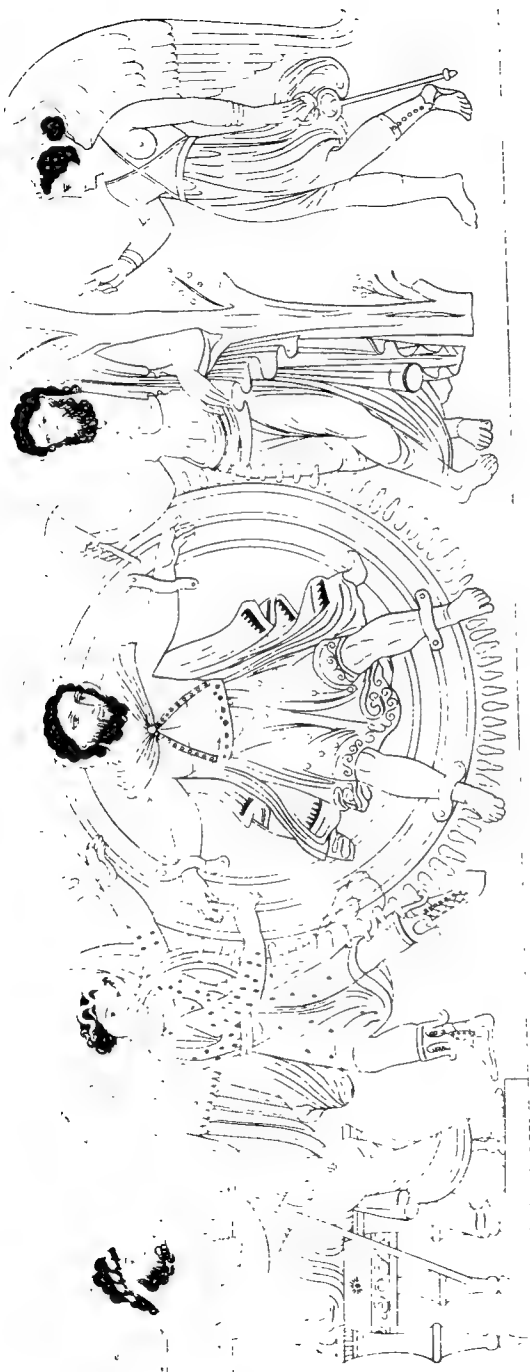


Fig. 146.

extreme right; Zeus enthroned and holding his eagle-sceptre, the extreme left.

A Campanian *amphora* from Cumae, now at Berlin, has another striking representation of the scene as its principal design (pl. xvi)<sup>1</sup>. The figures composing it have been first drawn in accordance with the usual technique of the vase-painter and subsequently coloured in more or less natural tints—the result being a polychrome decoration suggestive of fresco-work. Raised aloft in mid air is Ixion. He is naked and bound, spread-eagle fashion, to the four spokes of a double wheel. His bonds are so many serpents; and two of them, twining about his legs and body, raise their heads to bite him on the shoulders. The rims of his wheel, which are painted a whitish yellow, a bright and a dark red, send forth red tongues of flame: these, however, do not radiate light outwards, but heat inwards, and so add to the anguish of the sufferer. Immediately beneath him a winged Eriny<sup>s</sup> rises from the ground with snaky hair and uplifted torch. Ixion's wheel is turned by a couple of winged female figures, who have been interpreted as Nephelai<sup>2</sup>. Hephaistos, having completed his ghastly work, stands back to survey it, cap on head and hammer in hand. He is balanced by a second spectator, Hermes, who turns his back upon the scene but, fascinated by it in spite of himself, glances upwards in the direction of Ixion.

A wall-painting, which still adorns a dining-room in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii, provides us with yet another type (fig. 147)<sup>3</sup>. The artist, realising that the agony of Ixion must be suggested to the mind rather than presented to the eye, has given us but a glimpse of the hero fastened face downwards on a mighty eight-spoked wheel. Behind him stands the grim figure of Hephaistos, who lays his left hand on the wheel and with his right is about to grasp a spoke and set it in motion. His anvil, hammer and pincers are near him on the ground. At this supreme moment, when the torture is on the point of commencing, Hermes the mandatory of

vases is Naples Santangelo 709 (*ib.* i. 455), which has obverse a female head in a floral device, reverse a horse attacked by griffins.

<sup>1</sup> Furtwangler *Vasensamm.* Berlin ii. 840 f. no. 3023. The best reproduction is that by A. Kluegmann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 93–98 pl. I–K (badly copied in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 767 fig. 821 and Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 769 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Nephelai (Kluegmann after Hellbig *loc. cit.*, Furtwangler *loc. cit.*, Baumeister *loc. cit.*, Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 182), Erinyes (P. Weizsäcker *ib.* ii. 771), Nikai (Reinach *op. cit.* i. 330).

<sup>3</sup> Heilmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 39 Text p. 49 ff. For other reproductions see A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 296 ff. pl. 9 and G. Patroni in *Arte Italiana decorativa e industriale* ix. 24 pl. 13.







*Amphora from Cumae: Ixion on his wheel.*

*See page 202.*

Zeus<sup>1</sup> arrests the wheel and looks round to see if there is any sign of relenting on the face of Hera. Hera, however, is already enjoying her anticipated triumph and, prompted by Iris<sup>2</sup> at her elbow, hardens her heart: the dread sentence will be duly carried out. In the foreground sits a swathed figure, who turns with an imploring look and gesture, not indeed towards Hera—that would be useless,



Fig. 147.

—but towards the more sympathetic Hermes. She has been justly regarded as Nephelē<sup>3</sup> interceding for her lover. The whole picture

<sup>1</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 62.

<sup>2</sup> Iris is neatly characterized by the *nimbus* round her head.

<sup>3</sup> See Herrmann *loc. cit.*, who successfully disposes of the rival interpretations—Eumys or Nemesis (Heerlich), the mother of Ixion (Sogliano), ‘a personification of the spirit of one who has died’ (Mau). Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 182 argued that she must be Nephelē on account of her swathed form.

is finely conceived and almost certainly repeats a Greek *motif*. Indeed, we have seen the same *dramatis personae* in the vase-paintings already reviewed—Hera seated on her throne, Iris standing with raised right hand, Hephaistos with his hammer beside the wheel, Hermes with his *caduceus* glancing round, and even Nephele, though here by a fine original touch she is represented as doing her best to avert, not to forward, the punishment of Ixion. It seems possible to go one step further and to determine the date of the Greek prototype. Here much help is afforded by the style of Hermes, its most prominent figure. He might well be a bronze statue by Lysippos. The proportions of head, trunk, and legs, the pose of the feet, the attitude of the head turned away from the leg that bears the weight, would all support this contention. And the resemblance of the whole figure to the Lansdowne Herakles, pointed out by G. Rodenwaldt<sup>1</sup>, would go to confirm it, if—as Prof. P. Gardner has urged<sup>2</sup>—the Herakles is essentially Lysippian in character. On this showing we may conclude that the Pompeian picture had as its direct ancestor a Greek fresco dating from the age of Alexander the Great.

An Etruscan mirror recently acquired by the British Museum and hitherto unpublished<sup>3</sup> (pl. xvii) figures Ixion bound to a great winged wheel in the early 'running' attitude<sup>4</sup>, which here denotes rapid revolution. He is nude except for the fillet about his hair and the bands that fasten him to the eight-spoked wheel. The flower twice introduced between adjacent spokes serves as a stop-gap and has no special significance. The mirror is referred by Mr H. B. Walters to the third or possibly to the fourth century B.C. The ivy-wreath and the rendering of hands, feet, etc. suffice to prove that it is archaistic, not archaic.

Finally, a Roman sarcophagus, found in a brick sepulchral monument behind the second mile-stone on the *Via Appia Nuova* and now in the *Galleria dei Candelabri* of the Vatican, has its right end decorated with reliefs symbolic of the Under-world (fig. 148)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> P. Gardner in the *Journ. H.E. Stud.* 1903 xiii. 128 ff., 1905 xvi. 240, 256. The attribution of this type to Lysippos was first suggested by A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 451. B. Gnaef in the *Rom. Mitt.* 1889 iv. 189 ff. referred it to Skopas, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Grk. Sculpt.* p. 296 ff., to Skopas in his first or Polyklean period, A. Kalkmann *Die Proportionen des Grk. in der griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1893 p. 60 n. 3, to Polykleitos himself.

<sup>3</sup> Exhibited now in Case C of the Bronze Room at the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Schmidt 'Der Knielauf' in the *Münchener archäologische Studien* München 1909 pp. 249—398.

<sup>5</sup> *Wien. Vorlsgbl.* B pl. 11, 3 c, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 282 ff. no. 399.



Etruscan mirror: Ixion on his wheel.

*See page 204.*



Sisyphos raises the stone above his head. Tantalos lifts the water towards his mouth. And between them Ixion revolves on a strong seven-spoked wheel, his attitude recalling the earlier representation of him on the Etruscan mirror (pl. xvii).

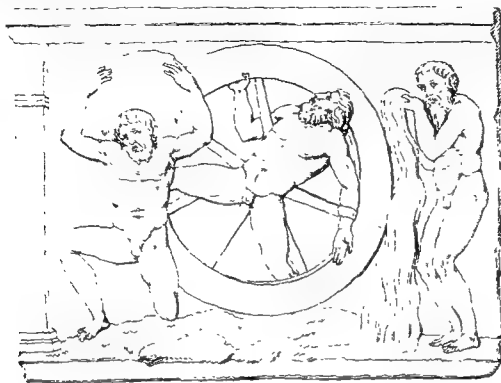


Fig. 148.

It remains to enquire how far the foregoing figures bear out the suggestion that Ixion's wheel was solar. A wheel, a winged wheel, a wheel darting rays outward, a wheel flaming inwards and bound about with snakes—all these are beyond question conceivable ways

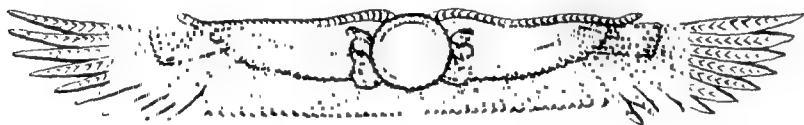


Fig. 149.

of depicting the sun. For example, the Egyptians used to place a winged solar disk flanked by two *uraeus*-snakes over the gateway of every temple-court (fig. 149)<sup>1</sup>. This custom was explained by

<sup>1</sup> On the origin of the winged disk see S. Reinach 'Aetos Prométheus' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 59-81 = *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 68-91, *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) 1 (e); and on its development Count Goblet d'Alviella *Recherches sur l'histoire du globe ailé hors de l'Égypte* Bruxelles 1888 (extr. from the *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* iii Série 1888 xvi. 623 ff. no. 12). Cp. also Stevenson 'The Feather and the Wing in Mythology' in *Oriental Studies* (Oriental Club of Philadelphia) Boston 1894 pp. 236-239. In Egypt the winged disk is found as early as the sixth dynasty, e.g. on a triumphal *stela* of Pepi i in *Wadi-Maghara* (Sinai) published by J. de Morgan *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* Paris 1896 i. 235 fig. 596. I figure a fine eighteenth-dynasty example from the door to the chapel of Thothmes i at *Deir el Bahri*, drawn by R. E. F. Paget for A. Wiedemann *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1897 p. 75 fig. 14. The wings are probably those of the falcon (*falco peregrinus*), not the sparrow-hawk: see G. Bénédict in the *Mon. Piot* 1909 xvii. 5 ff.

## 206 The Solar Wheel in Greece

means of the following myth<sup>1</sup>. Heru-behutet<sup>2</sup>, the Horos of Edfû, when he fought the enemies of his father Râ, changed himself into a winged disk of many colours. As such he flew up to the sun, sighted his foes, and started in pursuit. He took with him Nekhebet the goddess of the South and Uatchit the goddess of the North in the form of two snakes that they might destroy the adversaries. Having gained the day, Heru-behutet was thenceforward called 'the Darter of Rays who emergeth from the horizon'; and Râ ordained that the winged solar disk should be set over every sacred spot for the banishing of evil.

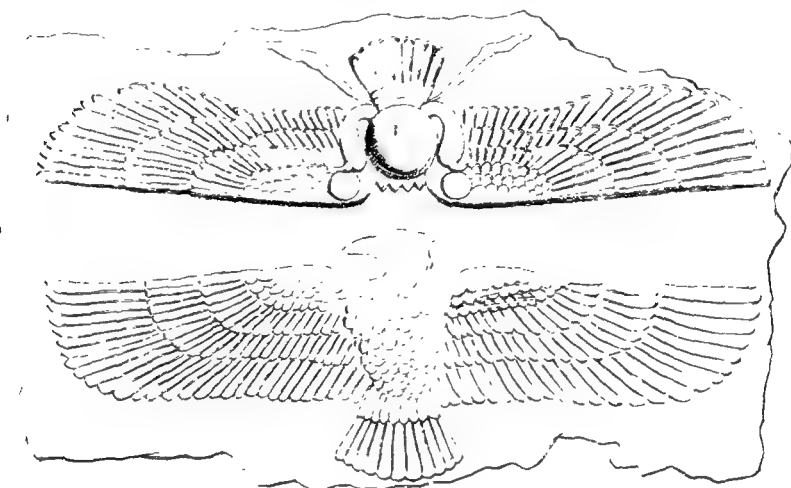


Fig. 150

The winged disk is found also, with slight modifications, in Phoinike, where it was similarly used to consecrate the lintels of temple-buildings<sup>3</sup>. An interesting example, discovered by E. Renan<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text was published by F. Naville *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus dans le temple d'Edfou* Genève 1870 pls. 12-19. It is translated into German by H. Brugsch in the *Abh. d. Gott. Acad.* 1869 Phil.-hist. Classe. xiv. 173-236, and into English by A. Wiedemann *op. cit.* p. 69 ff. Cp. also E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 483, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 10 fig. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The precise form and significance of the name borne by the solar disk is disputed: see A. Erman in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1882 xx. 8, Le Page Renouf in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1886 viii. 143, A. Wiedemann *ib.* 1895 xvii. 196 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Count Goblet d'Alviella *op. cit.* p. 5 ff.

<sup>4</sup> E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 68 ff. Atlas pl. 9, V. Berard *De l'origine des cultes arabes* (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome Paris 1894 lxxviii p. 89, Miss J. F. Harrison in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 159 fig. 11.



at *Aïn el-Hayât*, the 'Fountain of the Serpents,' is confronted by an eagle with spread pinions (fig. 150). This arrangement suggests that the solar disk was regarded as a sort of bird<sup>1</sup>.

Without attempting to trace in detail the further fortunes of the winged disk—a task which has been undertaken by Count Goblet d'Alviella<sup>2</sup>—we may glance for a moment at its oriental analogue. The symbol has two main varieties in Mesopotamian art. One is a disk, sometimes transformed into a rosette or a wheel, with open wings and a fan-shaped tail: this disk is surmounted by a scroll resembling a pair of inverted volutes, from which depend two undulating streamers (fig. 151)<sup>3</sup>. The other shows a half-length human figure emerging from its centre: the

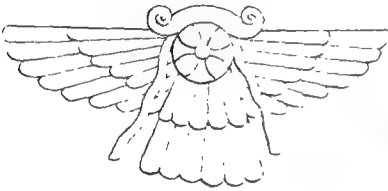


Fig. 151.

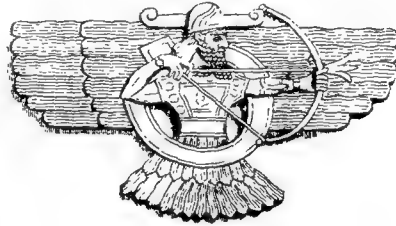


Fig. 152.

tail serves him for a kilt, and the scroll appears on either side of his head (fig. 152)<sup>4</sup>. This is the well-known sign of Ashur (Zeus *Assyrios*)<sup>5</sup>, patron god of the city Ashur and head of the Assyrian pantheon. On sculptured slabs and cylinders it is commonly seen hovering above the king or priest. And, mounted on a pole, it was actually borne as a sacred standard into battle<sup>6</sup>.

From Assyria both varieties of winged disk passed into Persia. The first lost its scroll, but retained its two undulating appendages.

<sup>1</sup> *Infia* ch. 1 § 6 (e).

<sup>2</sup> Count Goblet d'Alviella *op. cit.* p. 8 ff. I have followed this lucid and well-informed writer in the main lines of his classification.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Layard *The Monuments of Nineveh* First Series London 1849 pl. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* First Series pl. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Nom. Dion.* 40. 393. *supra* p. 197 n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 194 n. 1 cites a description of this symbol given in a text of Sennacherib (Meissner-Rost *Bauinschriften Sennacherib's* p. 94). While not committing himself to the view that Ashur was ever a nature-god, Dr Jastrow concludes (*op. cit.* p. 195 f): 'it we are to assume that Ashur personified originally some natural power, the symbol of the winged disc lends a strong presumption in favor of supposing him to have been some phase of the sun.'

## 208 The Solar Wheel in Greece

The second with equally little alteration served as the emblem of Auramazda (Zeus Oromasdes)<sup>1</sup>. He appears in the reliefs of

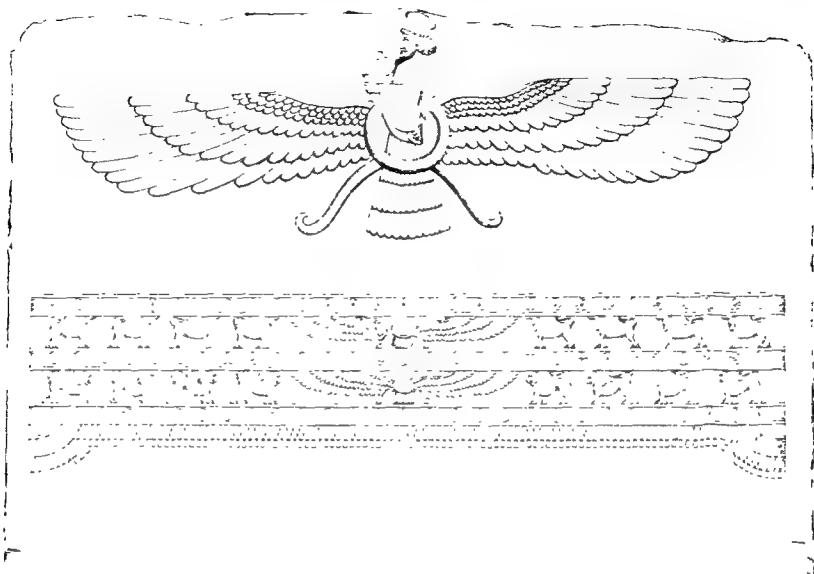


Fig. 153.

Persepolis encircled by the same solar<sup>2</sup> ring, which is winged and furnished with the like appendages: his royal robe (*kándys*), as before, passes into the tail-feathers<sup>3</sup>. A specimen figured by F. Lajard illustrates both types at once, the latter being superposed on the former (fig. 153)<sup>4</sup>. Cilician coins struck by the Persian satrap Tiri-bazos (386—380 B.C.) show the same deity Auramazda rising from a similar ring or wheel: he holds a wreath in one hand, a lotus-flower in the other (fig. 154)<sup>5</sup>.

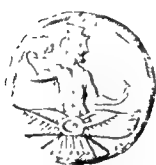


Fig. 154

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 10 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sepulchral reliefs from Persepolis give the symbol a *lunar* significance, the crescent moon being inscribed in the ring (see G. Hasing 'Hanseler Monokult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1901 iv. 349-357).

<sup>3</sup> G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 577, cp. 681.

<sup>4</sup> F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1837 pp. 156 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycæonia etc. Issos p. 90 pl. 15, 3; Mallos p. cxvii (cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 537 pl. 59, 15); Soloi p. 148 pl. 26, 2; Tarsos p. 164 pl. 29, 1. I have figured the coin of Tarsos. *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 722, 724, 728, 730.

Sir G. Rawlinson<sup>1</sup> and Monsieur J. Menant<sup>2</sup> have argued that the winged disk of Mesopotamia had its prototype in a sacred bird. And it is certainly possible to arrange an evolutionary series of extant forms, if we may assume the successive loss of head, legs, and tail (fig. 155)<sup>3</sup>. But it is doubtful whether such a series affords the best explanation of the scrolls and curvilinear appendages noticed above. These suggest rather a combination of snake-forms with bird-forms, as was demonstrably the case in Egyptian art.

However that may be, the various types of solar disk do make it possible to believe that Ixion's wheel stood for the sun. And this possibility is raised to a probability, when we take into account certain other features of his myth to be discussed later and certain other myths to be considered almost immediately.

Assuming, then, that Ixion's wheel in some sense stood for the sun, we have yet to explain the peculiar use that is made of it in the myth. A mortal man, raised to the abode of Zeus and gifted with immortality, aspires to the hand of Hera. He expiates his sacrilege by being bound to a solar wheel, on which he is both lashed with a whip and burnt with fire. Prof. G. Lafaye has recently argued that the punishment meted out to Ixion was but the mythological echo of a punishment actually inflicted on delinquents<sup>4</sup>. The culprit was stretched upon a wheel and, while it revolved, was flogged, burnt, and on occasion beheaded. This

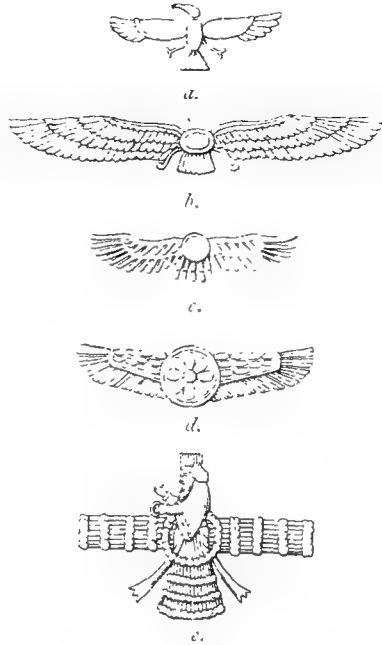


Fig. 155.

<sup>1</sup> Sir G. Rawlinson *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* London 1862—1867 II. 235.

<sup>2</sup> J. Menant *Les peuples grecs de la Haute-Asie* Paris 1883—1886 II. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 155 contains five of the symbols collected by F. Lajard in the *Mon. d. Inst.* IV pl. 13, 222. (a) = no. 1 from the cylinder figured *ib.* no. 34, (b) = no. 8 from a relief at Persepolis (?) *supra* fig. 153, (c) = no. 2 from a cylinder (?), *op. ib.* no. 26, (d) = no. 9 from a cylinder formerly owned by Lajard, (e) = no. 5 from a relief at *Nab. ch. Roustan*. See further *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 13 ff.

<sup>4</sup> G. Lafaye in Daubenberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* IV. 896 v.7. 'rota.'

mode of torture, which can be traced back to the fifth<sup>1</sup> and even to the sixth century B.C.<sup>2</sup>, is often mentioned by Hellenic and Hellenistic writers. Aristophanes, for example, in his *Peace* makes the chorus curse any man that seeks war for his personal profit:

May he be stretched and flogged upon the wheel<sup>3</sup>.

Similarly in the romance of Achilleus Tatios the ill-starred Leukippe, brought to bay by her tyrannical master, defies him in the following terms: 'Order up your tortures. Bid him bring a wheel. Here are my hands; let him stretch them out. Bid him bring whips too. Here is my back; let him lay on. Bid him fetch fire. Here is my body, ready to be burnt. Bid him bring a sword as well. Here is my throat: let him cut it! Behold a novel sight—a single woman pitted against your whole array of tortures and triumphant over all!' Later, her lover Kleitophon finds himself in an equally sensational plight: 'I, as a condemned criminal, was to be tortured that they might discover whether Melitte had been privy to the murder. Already I was bound, stripped of my clothing, and hoisted up by nooses. Some were fetching whips, others fire and a wheel. Kleinias with a groan was calling upon the gods, when lo, the priest of Artemis, wreathed with bay, was seen approaching.' Etc.<sup>4</sup> The verb commonly used of this torture, *trochizein*, 'to punish on the wheel,' is employed by the epigrammatist Asklepiades in an allusion to Ixion<sup>5</sup>; and the emperor Elagabalos, who bound parasites to a water-wheel, spoke of them as 'Ixions of the stream'.<sup>6</sup> Torture by the wheel, regarded by the Romans as a specially Greek institution<sup>7</sup>, is well known in connexion with Christian martyrdoms and mediaeval punishments. The final relic of it—the 'Catharine wheel' of our November fireworks—by a curious reversion, or rather by an interesting survival, still brings before us, if we have eyes to see it, the blazing wheel of Ixion.

But, while fully admitting Prof. Lafaye's contention that the

<sup>1</sup> Antiph. *ov.* 1. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Androkon *frag.* 21. 9 Bagk<sup>1</sup> *ap.* Athen. 534 A.

Aristoph. *pac.* 452.

<sup>3</sup> Ael. *Tat.* 6. 20.

*Id.* 7. 12, cp. Chantou *de Charita et Calamitate* 3. 45. 3. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 5. 180. 3 f. οὐ προχρεῖ τις τὸν Λαπίθη.

<sup>5</sup> Ael. Lamprid. *Illov.* 24. 5 Ixiones amicos (so Hirschfeld for MSS. Ixionios amicos).

<sup>6</sup> Apul. *met.* 3. 9 nec mora cum ritu Graecorum ignis et rota, tum omne flagrorum genus inferuntur, 10. 10 nec rota vel culeus more Graecorum tormentis eius apparatus iam decant sed offunditur mira praesumptione nullis verberibus ac ne ipso quidem succumbit igni. Plaut. *rest.* 206 ff. is probably based on a Greek original. And in Cic. *Tus.* 5. 9. 24 *rotas* is glossed by the word *tormenta*.

wheel of the mythical Ixion was the torture-wheel of real life, I would urge that we have not thus got to the bottom of the matter. Why were men burnt upon a revolving wheel? Why on a engine of this particular shape? Why not tied to a stake, or cross-bar, or triangles, for instance? Because—I venture to reply—this form of punishment, like so many others (impaling, hanging, crucifixion, perhaps even ordinary flogging), originated in the service of religion, or at least in a definitely religious idea. And the idea in the present case was that the victim represented the sun. The mythical Ixion, if I am not mistaken, typifies a whole series of human Ixions, who in bygone ages were done to death as effete embodiments of the sun-god. Evidence in support of this view will be forthcoming in subsequent sections.

### (β) Triptolemos.

Triptolemos is first mentioned in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, a poem referable to the seventh century B.C., as one of the 'kings' or chiefs at Eleusis, whom Demeter instructed in mystic rites for the fertility of the soil<sup>1</sup>. Apart from the fact that his name thrice heads the list, there is nothing to distinguish him from the other chieftains of the place—Diokles or Dioklos, Dolichos, Eumolpos, Keleos, Polyxeinos. The position of divine nurseling and favourite is reserved for Demophon, son of Keleos and Metaneira. But in course of time Triptolemos appears to have usurped the place of Demophon. His story is thus told by Apollodoros<sup>2</sup>: 'Metaneira the wife of Keleos had a child, whom Demeter took and reared. Wishing to make the babe immortal, she put it down every night in fire and so took off its covering of mortal flesh. Demophon—for that was the child's name—grew so fast by day that Metaneira kept watch, found him plunged in fire, and shrieked aloud. Consequently the babe was destroyed by the fire<sup>3</sup>, and the goddess revealed herself. But for Triptolemos, the elder of Metaneira's children, she made a chariot-seat (*díphros*) of winged snakes. She gave him grain, and he, soaring aloft through the sky, sowed the whole world with it.' Others make Triptolemos the son of Eleusis<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *H. Dem.* 474 ff., cp. 153 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod. 1. 5. 1—2.

<sup>3</sup> In the *h. Dem.* 250 ff. (cp. *Ov. fast.* 4. 555 ff.) the child is not destroyed by the fire, but only robbed of immortality through his mother's interruption of the rite—a ceremony of purification (F. B. Jevons *An Introduction to the History of Religion* London 1896 p. 365, E. E. Sikes on *h. Dem.* 239) and initiation (W. R. Halliday in the *Class. Rev.* 1911 xxy. 8 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Panyasis *frag.* 24 Kinkel *ap.* Apollod. 1. 5. 2.

or of Eleusius by Hioma<sup>1</sup>, or of Eleusinus by Cathonea<sup>2</sup> or Cyntania<sup>3</sup>—variants which attest his connexion with Eleusis. The hero Eleusis was said by some to be the son of Hermes by Daeira, daughter of Okeanos<sup>4</sup>; and it is noteworthy that another account represented Triptolemos as the child of Okeanos and Ge<sup>5</sup>. Verses ascribed to Orpheus asserted that Eubouleus and Triptolemos were sons of Dysaules, and that Demeter, as a reward for information given her about her daughter, entrusted them with grain to sow<sup>6</sup>. Dysaules, Triptolemos, and Eubouleus were reckoned by the Orphists among the 'earth-born' dwellers of Eleusis<sup>7</sup>. Choirilos, an early tragedian of Athens, took Triptolemos to be the son of Raros<sup>8</sup>. Others made him the son of Rar<sup>9</sup>, or the son of Keleos son of Raros<sup>10</sup>—names which point to the Rarian Plain near Eleusis. One late writer, doubtless by a mere confusion, has him as the son of Icarus (*sic*), eponym of the Attic deme Ikaria<sup>11</sup>. But in the time of Pausanias there was only one real rival to the Athenian tradition, namely that of the Argives, who maintained that Trochilos, a priest of the mysteries, had fled from Argos to Attike and had become by an Eleusinian wife the father of two sons—Eubouleus and Triptolemos<sup>12</sup>.

In this tangle of names Aristophanes found ample material for a parody of the divine pedigree<sup>13</sup>. But it will be observed that, so far as Triptolemos is concerned, all roads lead to Eleusis. His cult left traces of itself from Syracuse to Gordyene, from Scythia to Egypt; but all such traces are compatible with the belief that Eleusis was its prime centre<sup>14</sup>. It is, therefore, to Attic art that we naturally turn for further light on the wheeled seat of Triptolemos<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Ioh.* 2, 382.

<sup>2</sup> Hyg. *Ioh.* 147.

<sup>3</sup> Interp. Serv. in Verg. *georg.* 1, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 1, 38, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Mousaios p. 222 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 1, 14, 3, Pherekyd. *frag.* 12 (*frag. in l. Gr.* 1, 72 Vallet) *ap.* Apollod. 1, 5, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Orph. *frag.* 217 Abel *ap.* Paus. 1, 14, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Orph. *frag.* 215 Abel *ap.* Clem. Al. *procl.* 2, 20, 2 p. 15, 27 ff. Stahlin

<sup>8</sup> Choirilos *Alph. frag.* 1 Nauck *ap.* Paus. 1, 14, 3, Hesych. v. *Πάρος*.

<sup>9</sup> Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Πάρος*.

<sup>10</sup> Souda. s.v. *Πάρος*.

<sup>11</sup> Interp. Serv. in Verg. *georg.* 1, 19.

<sup>12</sup> Paus. 1, 14, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Aristoph. *Ach.* 47 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1173 n. 5.

<sup>15</sup> The vases, sculptures, wall-paintings, coins, and gems, illustrating the myth of Triptolemos have been collected and studied by Gerhard *Inscr. Lat. Gr.* 1, 217 ff. pls. 41–46, *id.* *Ueber den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Berlin 1865 n. Beilage A (*Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1868 n. 370 ff., 415 ff.), Lenormant *de Witte Pl. mon. égr.* in. 97 ff. pls. 46–48, L. Stephani in the *Compte rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 82 ff., 1862 pp. 32, 58, 1873 p. 115 n. 1, C. Stube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig

Vase-illustrations of the sixth century differ in some respects from those of the fifth, and again from those of the fourth. Sixth century vases, of which some seven are known, show Triptolemos as a bearded man holding a bunch of corn and sitting on a wheeled seat. The seat is a more or less simple affair, and is arranged in profile towards the right. Hence one wheel only is visible. This



Fig. 156.

has four spokes and sometimes rests on the ground, sometimes rises into the air (fig. 156)<sup>1</sup>. Wings and snakes are wholly absent<sup>2</sup>.

1870, *id. Supplement zu den Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1872, and above all by that master of detailed investigation Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter — Kora pp. 530-589. Monumental. 9. Gemmentaf. 4. Atlas pls. 14-16.

<sup>1</sup> Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i pl. 44. Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii pl. 67. Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 1. Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 33, 7 f. This black-figured *amphora*, once in the Fontana collection at Trieste, is now at Berlin.

<sup>2</sup> A black-figured *kylix* from Boiotia now at Athens (Collignon—Couvée *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 308 no. 967) shows Triptolemos with a sceptre in a car winged and drawn by a snake. This vase is presumably a belated example of the black-figure technique like the pseudo-archaic Panathenaic prize-jars, on which the columns of Athena are sometimes surmounted by a small representation of Triptolemos holding corn-ears in

## 214 The Solar Wheel in Greece

Further, there is a remarkable similarity between the equipment of Triptolemos and that of Dionysos. A small *amphora*, formerly in the collection of M. Lenormant, has Triptolemos with corn-ears and sceptre on its obverse, Dionysos with *kántharos* and vine-branches on its reverse, side. Both are seated in the same attitude on approximately similar thrones, and are obviously travelling across the world to dispense their respective bounties of corn and wine (fig. 157 *a* and *b*)<sup>1</sup>. Another *amphora* which passed from the



Fig. 157 *a*.

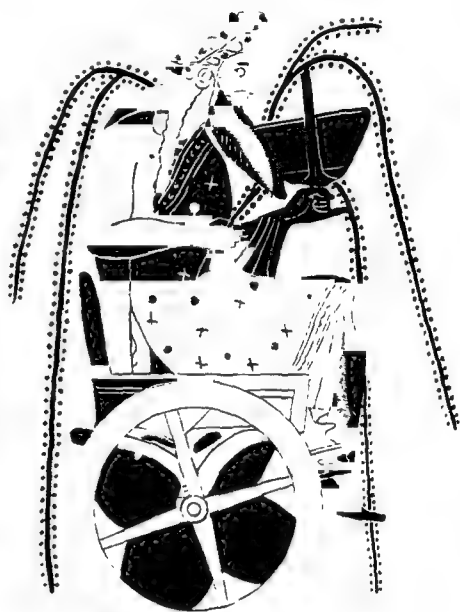


Fig. 157 *b*.

collection of Viscount Beugnot into the Musée Vivienel at Compiègne, represents Triptolemos conducted by Hermes on one side, Dionysos conducted by Seilenos on the other. Triptolemos has corn-stalks; Dionysos, a *kántharos* and a vine with grape-branches. Their travelling seats are similar, but not identical; for that of Dionysos has old-fashioned spokes<sup>2</sup> and is fitted with wings

a winged car drawn by snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vase*, n. 277 ff. nos. B 603, B 604, B 607, B 608).

<sup>1</sup> Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* in pl. 49 A, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 5 *a* and 5 *b*. C. Strube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1870 p. 8 takes the figure with the *kántharos* and vine-branches to be Ikaros, not Dionysos. The hero favoured by Dionysos would then balance the hero favoured by Demeter.

<sup>2</sup> On these see A. C. Haddon *The Study of Man* London and New York 1898 p. 161 ff. ('The Evolution of the Cart') and H. L. Lomax 'The Country Cart of Ancient Greece' in the *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* 1903 xxii. 132 ff.



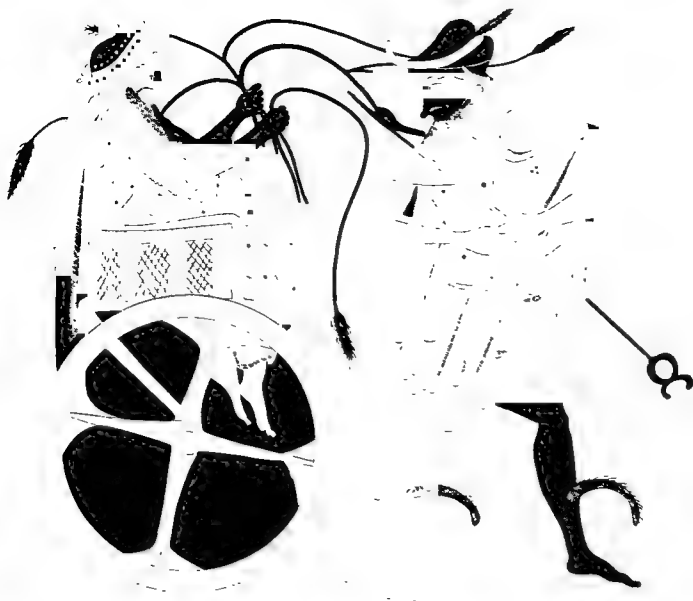


Fig. 158 a.



Fig. 158 b.

(fig. 158 *a* and *b*)<sup>1</sup>. *À propos* of this resemblance between Triptolemos and Dionysos we must here notice a red-figured *kylix* from Vulci, now at Berlin (fig. 159)<sup>2</sup>. Dionysos is again seen sitting on



Fig. 159.

a winged and wheeled seat. As on the Lenormant and Beugnot vases, he is wreathed, wears a *chiton* and a *himation*, and carries a *kántharos*. Only, in place of a vine he grasps a double axe, the 'ox-laughtering servitor of king Dionysos,' as Simonides termed it<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gerhard *op. cit.* i pl. 41, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii pls. 48 f., Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 4, Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 32, 4—6. For Strube's view see *supra* p. 214 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Furtwangler *Vasensamm.* Berlin ii. 548 no. 2273, Gerhard *op. cit.* i pl. 57, 1 f., Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* i pl. 38, Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 38, 8 f. The inscription according to Furtwangler, reads ΕΘΙ·ΤΟΣΚΑ·ΟΣ, i.e. perhaps Κηφ[ί]στος κα[λ]ός, not— as had been previously supposed—Ηφαιστος καλός. The god with a double axe on a mule escorted by a Satyr and two Maenads in Laborde *Vases Fambourg* i pl. 43 (= Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* in pl. 263) is probably Hephaistos rather than Dionysos, cp. Tischler in *Homilium Vas.* iv pl. 38 (Inghirami *op. cit.* in pl. 265, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* i pl. 43).

<sup>3</sup> Simonid. *frag.* 172 Bergk<sup>1</sup> *op.* Athen. 84 c f. For further evidence connecting Dionysos with the double axe see *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) 1 (a).

Furtwangler *loc. cit.* takes this axe-bearing figure to be Triptolemos, not Dionysos,— a most improbable view, though accepted by Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 38.

Triptolemos and Dionysos dispensing their several bounties of corn and wine from a two-wheeled throne suggest comparison with a spring custom observed at Kosti in northern Thrace. 'A man, called the *χάχαστος* or *καταππος*, dressed in sheep or goat

Passing from the sixth century to the fifth, or at least from black-figured to red-figured vases, we find Triptolemos invariably depicted as a beardless youth, not a bearded man. His seat is always winged and sometimes, especially on the later<sup>1</sup> vases, furnished with snakes. In the great majority of cases the scene represented is that of Triptolemos starting on his long journey. Demeter for

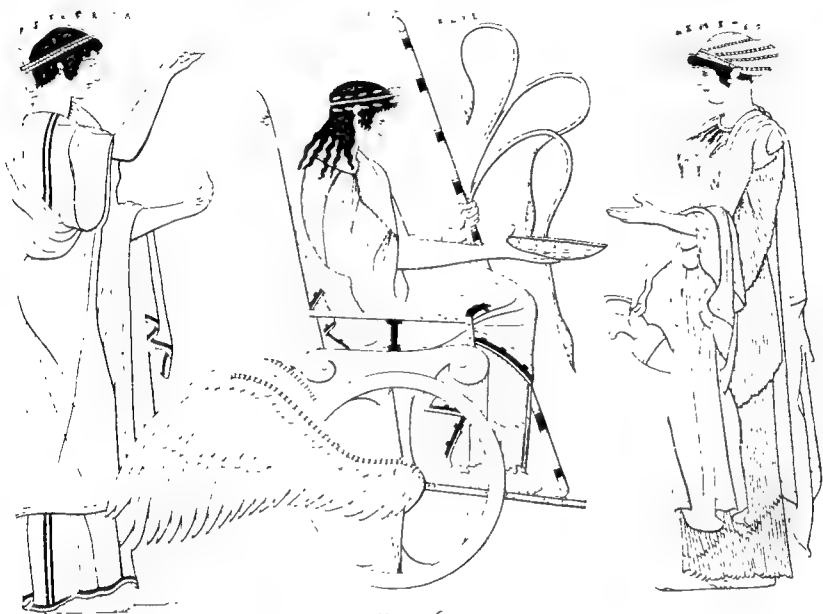


Fig. 161.

the most part fills him a *phiale*, that he may pour a libation before he goes. Two vases, out of many, will serve as illustrations. A

skins, wearing a mask and with bells round his neck, and in his hand a broom of the kind used for sweeping out ovens, goes round collecting food and presents. He is addressed as king and escorted with music. With him is a boy carrying a wooden bottle and a cup, who gives wine to each householder, receiving in return a gift. They are accompanied by boys dressed as girls. The king then mounts a two-wheeled cart and is drawn to the church. Here two bands are formed of married and unmarried men respectively, and each tries to make the king throw upon themselves the seed which he holds in his hands. This he finally casts on the ground in front of the church. He is then thrown into the river, stripped of his skin clothes (*δορυμνος*), and then resumes his usual dress' (R. M. Dawkins in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1906 xvi. 201 f.).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. an electrum *statêr* of Kyzikos c. 450-400 B.C., which shows the hero with his corn-ears drawn by two winged snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysie p. 26 pl. 6, 9; Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1425 f. pl. 175, 1; W. Greenwell in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 53 f. no. 16 pl. 1, 17). I figure a specimen in the McClean collection, Cambridge (fig. 160).



Fig. 160.

## 218 The Solar Wheel in Greece

*kálpis* at Munich, from the Canino collection, shows him with sceptre, corn-ears, and *phiale*, seated on a wheeled and winged throne between Demeter and Persephone: the former holds an *oinochóe*, the latter a necklace (fig. 161)<sup>1</sup>. A *kratér* at Palermo found in a tomb at Girgenti in 1841, has much the same scene amplified by the addition of Keleos on the right and Hippothon on the left. Keleos is present as the father of Triptolemos and king of Eleusis; Hippothon, as the representative of the tribe Hippothontis, to which the deme Eleusis belonged. The wheeled throne is here provided with snakes as well as wings. The column behind Keleos (pl. xviii)<sup>2</sup>, which occurs sometimes duplicated, on other vase-paintings of the scene<sup>3</sup>, may stand for his palace or for the temple of Demeter, but more probably represents—as Lenormant suggested<sup>4</sup>—the *Telestérion* at Eleusis with its forest of columns. Indeed, it seems reasonable to suppose that this very popular type, the departure of Triptolemos<sup>5</sup>, is based on an actual rite, part of the sacred drama performed at Eleusis, in which the *protégé* of the goddess, mounting his winged seat was swung aloft by means of a *géranos* or scenic crane<sup>6</sup>. Claudian in his description of the Eleusian rites plainly alludes to such a scene:

Triptolemos' snakes are hissing. Lo, they raise  
Their scaly necks beneath the bended yokes,  
And smoothly gliding rear their rosy crests  
To the sound of hymns<sup>7</sup>.

Thus uplifted into the air, Triptolemos both in ritual and in myth commenced his triumphant progress, scattering grain broadcast wherever he went. A red-figured *kylix* from the Pourtales collection, now at Berlin, shows him in mid course shedding a whole shower of seeds, while Nike hovering in front greets his advent (fig. 162)<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 105 f. no. 340 ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ, ΔΕΜΗΤΕΡ, ΠΕΡΕΦΑΤΑ (116), Inghirami *Uov. fill.* 1 pl. 35, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* in pl. 50, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 9, Furtwängler—Rachhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* n. 233 f. pl. 106, 1.

<sup>2</sup> R. Politi 'Cinque vasi di premio' in the Sicilian journal *La Concordia* 1841 ii. 109 f. pls. 7 f. ΗΙΠΠΟΘΩΝ ΑΣΑΦΕΞΕΦ ΣΟΜΕΝΟΤΗΤ ΔΕΜΗΤΕΡ ΚΕΛΕΟ, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* in pl. 62, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 30.

<sup>3</sup> See Overbeck *ib.* pl. 15, 16—18, 24, pl. 16, 1 a.

<sup>4</sup> Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* in. 176.

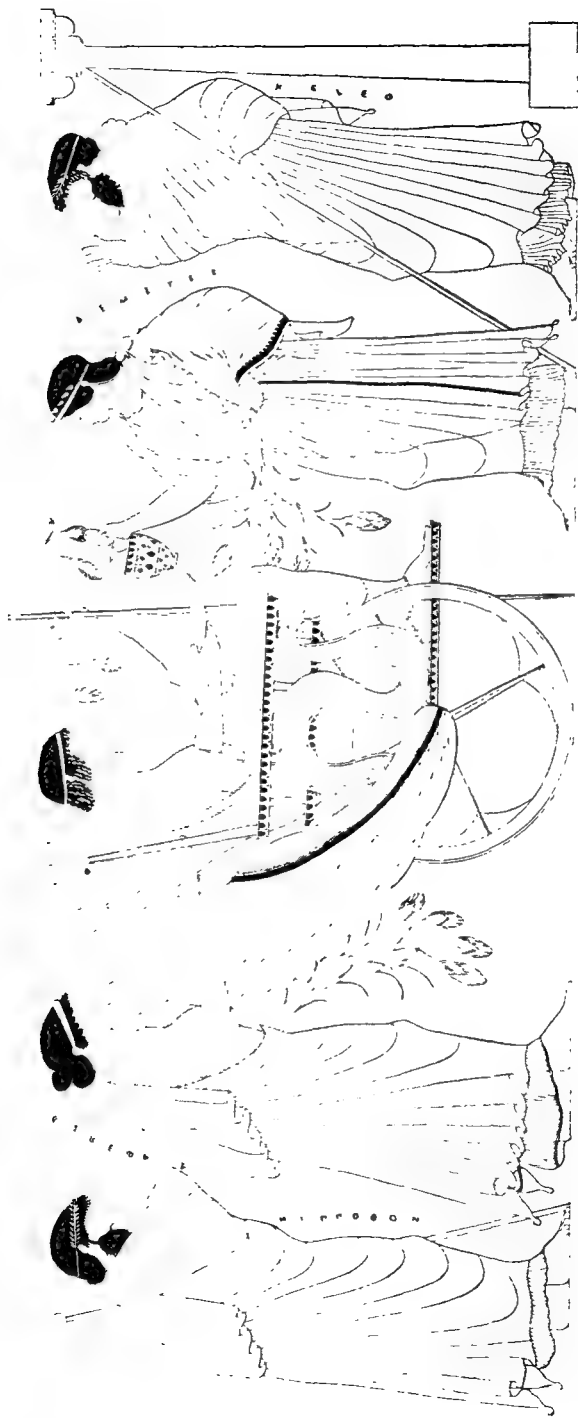
<sup>5</sup> H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 n. 27 f.

<sup>6</sup> This was the view of C. A. Bottiger and F. G. Welcker: see Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 534. Cp. also L. Bahe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 142 ff. 'Flugmaschine.'

<sup>7</sup> Claud. *de rapt. Prov.* 1. 12 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Furtwängler *La en assembl. Berlin* n. 702 f. no. 2521, *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii pl. 204.





*Krater* from Agrigentum: Triptolemos.

See page 218.

Fourth-century vase-paintings of Triptolemos may be subdivided into an earlier and a later group. The earlier group, comprising two specimens referable to the first half of the century,



Fig. 162.

represents the initiation of Herakles, or of Herakles and the Dioskouroi, either into the lesser mysteries at Agra<sup>1</sup> or Melite<sup>2</sup>, or

Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 21, Reinach *op. cit.* 1, 398, 1 ff. Overbeck *ib.* p. 540 n. d. and p. 587 compares a late jasper at Berlin (Furtwangler *Geschm. Stein. Berlin* p. 131 f. no. 2913 pl. 25), on which Triptolemos appears in a chariot drawn by two winged snakes and surrounded by enormous grains of corn. For similar coin-types see Overbeck *ib.* p. 584 f. Münzf. 9, 4—6, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* pp. 49, 71, 82, 120, 148, 163, 264 pl. 2, nos. 408, 582, 1332 (Alexandria), *ib.* Pontus etc. pp. 156, 158 pl. 32, 11 (Nikara), *ib.* Lydia p. 260 pl. 27, 4 (Sardeis), *ib.* Lycaonia etc. p. 195 f. (Tarsos).

<sup>1</sup> Steph. Byz. c. 7. "Αγρα καὶ Ἀγραί. The schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1013 states that the μικρὰ μυστήρια were devised by the Athenians in order to provide for the initiation of Herakles, who as a stranger could not otherwise have been initiated, but does not mention Agra.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 501.

(more probably) into the greater mysteries at Eleusis<sup>1</sup>. A *pelike* from Kertsch, now at St Peter-burg (fig. 163)<sup>2</sup>, shows Demeter seated in the centre with Persephone standing beside her. The former has a high head-dress and a sceptre; the latter leans on a column and holds a long torch. Between them stands the youthful Ploutos with a horn of plenty. To the left we see Aphrodite, Eros, and a male figure holding two torches—probably Eumolpos rather than a mere *daidouchos*; to the right, a seated female figure, whom we cannot identify with any assurance, and Dionysos



Fig. 163.

characterised by his ivy-wreath and his *thyrsos*. In the background, on the left, Herakles approaches. He carries his club in his right hand, but as an initiate wears a myrtle-wreath and holds in his left hand a *búchos* or bundle of sacred boughs<sup>3</sup>. Above all—like the

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. 2. 5. 12; Diod. 4. 25, cp. Soranos 7. *Hippocratis* (im. 853 Kuhn), *Cōrph. iussu*, G. 110, 434, 7 f. = Cougny, *Anth. Pal. Apollon* 1. 224, 7 f. Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3. 6 λέγεται μὲν Τρεπτόλემος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρῶτος τα Διμήτρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἑρὰ πρῶτος ξένους δρῖσαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀρχηγῆται καὶ Διοσκορίῳ τοῖν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Διμήτρος δὲ καρπὸν εἰς πρῶτην τῇν Πελοπόννησον ἀπέμια δωρήσασθαι is spoken by Kallias ὁ θαδοῦχος to the Spartans and probably refers to Eleusis. See further A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1. 2185 f., Mommsen *Fest d. Stadt Athen* pp. 411 f., 417, and *infra* ch. 1 § 6 (f) ix.

<sup>2</sup> Stephani *La collection. St. Peter-burg* p. 322 ff. no. 1792, *Compte rendu St. Pé.* 1850 p. 73 ff. Atlas pl. 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 18, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *cl.* 408, Eudok. *γιοτ.* 215, Soud. *v.* βῆχος, Bekker *anecd.* 1. 224, 32 f., *cl. ma.* p. 187, 13 f., Hesych. *v.* βῆχος, Favonius *lex.* p. 349, 17 ff. The



sun-god in the sky—hovers Triptolemos on his winged car. A bell-*kratér* from Santa Agata de' Goti, now in the British Museum (fig. 164)<sup>1</sup>, again depicts Demeter seated and Persephone standing beside her—the one with a sceptre, the other with a torch. Triptolemos on his wheeled seat, which is fitted with large wings and snakes, faces towards and converses with Demeter. To this Eleusinian company two *daidouchoi* (perhaps we may venture to regard them as Eubouleus and Eumolpos) are about to introduce Herakles and the Dioskouroi. Herakles has his club;



Fig. 164.

one of the Dioskouroi is accompanied by his star; all three wear wreaths and carry the mystic *bacchoi*. In the background, over a hill, appears a Doric building and two Doric columns: these may be taken to represent the *Telestérion*. In the foreground is set a stool (?), near which lie two uncertain objects of oblong shape, possibly tablets (?) required by the initiates.

The later group of fourth-century vases is decorated with a scene probably drawn from the theatre, not the *Telestérion*, though

*δάκχος* appears on silver (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica*, etc. p. 29 pl. 8, 3, p. 73 pl. 13, 6) and copper coins of Athens (*ib.* p. 23 pl. 6, 14 f., pp. 81, 91 pl. 15, 17), and on copper coins of Eleusis (*ib.* p. 112 ff. pl. 20, 1-4). It is also carved on the frieze of the small Propylaea (Durr *Baukunst d. Gr.* p. 118 coloured plate) and on that of the great altar at Eleusis (Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. ant.* n. 561 fig. 2633), as well as on that of the altar from the *Eleusinion* at Athens (*ib.* n. 570 fig. 2638).

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 45 f. no. F 68, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* m. 180 f. pl. 63 A, E. Gerhard *G. Gemmelle akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1868 pl. 71, 1. Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 18, 19.

attempts to connect it with the *Triptolemos* of Sophokles have failed for lack of evidence<sup>1</sup>. These vases, of which four are known<sup>2</sup>, regularly exhibit the departure of Triptolemos, though with considerable variations and innovations as to the surrounding figures, landscape, etc. A common feature is their treatment of the hero's wheeled seat, which in three out of the four cases has become a chariot facing us full-front and drawn by two monstrous snakes. As the snakes increase in size, the wings diminish<sup>3</sup> and on two of the vases are absent altogether. One of these, an Apulian *amphora* from the Pizzati collection now at St Petersburg, is here reproduced (pl. xix)<sup>4</sup>. It shows Demeter, as on the earlier red-figured vases, filling the *phiale* of Triptolemos, who richly clad in a stage costume stands erect in his chariot. A trait new to the vase-painters is that two ears of corn are visible in his hair, which is confined by a white band<sup>5</sup>. Close to Demeter and Triptolemos are two Horai appropriately holding corn-stalks. The background is occupied by figures frequent on Apulian vases and of no special significance here, *viz.* a group of Aphrodite, Eros, and Peitho on the right, and Pan with his *syrtinx* leaning against a tree-trunk on the left. In the foreground flows a river inscribed *Nellos*, 'the Nile.' The locality is further indicated perhaps by the flora, certainly by the fauna. Lotiform plants are growing on the river-bank, and a lynx-cat with a bird in its mouth is decidedly reminiscent of Egypt<sup>6</sup>.

With the St Petersburg *amphora* F. Matz<sup>7</sup> and O. Kern<sup>8</sup> justly compare two other monuments that exhibit Triptolemos in an Egyptian setting—the *tazza Farnese* of the Naples Museum, a magnificent sardonyx cup probably fashioned at Alexandria in the Ptolemaic period<sup>9</sup>, and the Petrossa cup of the Vienna collection, a gold *phiale* of later, clumsier workmanship found in 1837 by a

<sup>1</sup> See Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> (1) Heydemann *Über einen von Apollon* p. 557 f. no. 3245, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 16, 16. (2) *Supra* p. 126 n. 4. (3) Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 19 ff. no. 690, C. Strube *Supplement zu den Studien über den Bilderverbrauch von Eleusis* Leipzig 1872 pl. 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 16, 14 and pl. 13, 15. (4) Stephani *Über einen von Apollon*, St. Petersburg 1, 162 ff. no. 350, *id.* *Comptes-rendus St. Pétr.* 1862 p. 54 ff. Atlas pl. 4 f., Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 551 ff. Atlas pl. 16, 13, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Att.* p. lxx fig. 10, *supra* p. 127 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 126 fig. 96.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* n. 2 no. (4).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the head of Triptolemos on an 'Underworld' vase at Munich (Jahn *Über einen von Apollon* p. 273 ff. no. 849, Furtwängler - Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* 1, 48 pl. 10).

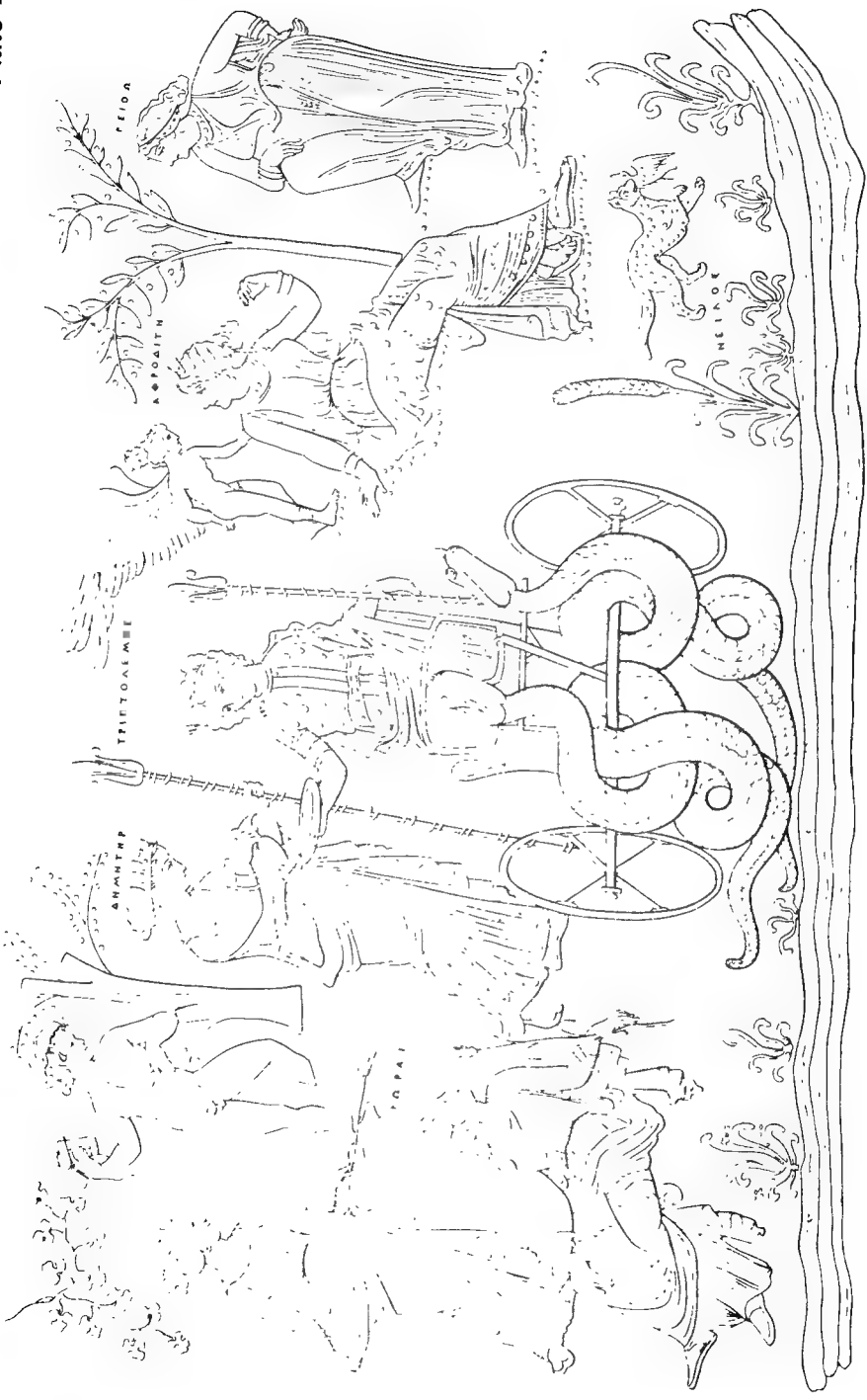
<sup>6</sup> O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 p. 71 ff.

<sup>7</sup> F. Matz 'Goldschale von Petrossa' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 cxix, 136.

<sup>8</sup> O. Kern 'De Triptolemo aetate' in the *Gesellschaft der Gelehrten zu Halle Saxorum* 1888 p. 103 f.

<sup>9</sup> Furtwängler *Ant. Gr. Museum* pls. 54, 55, n. 253 - 256.

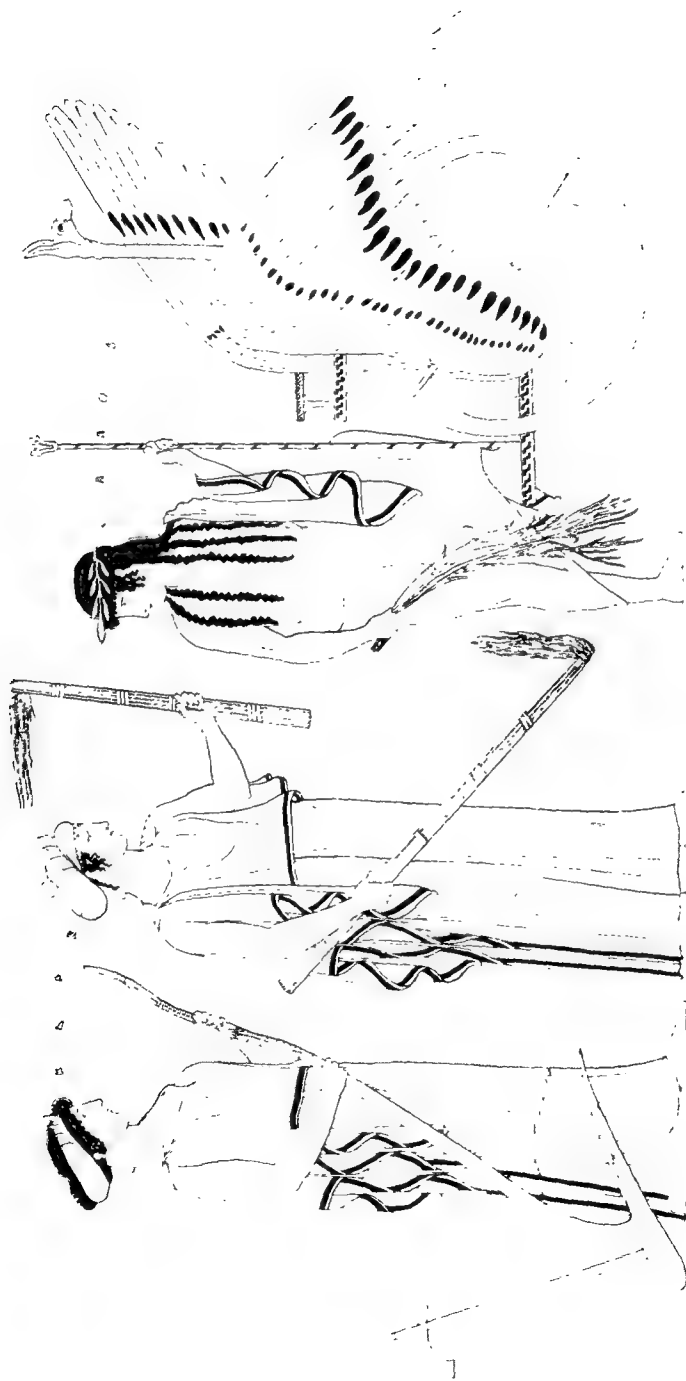




*Amphora from Ruvo: Triptolemos.*

*See page 222, cf. page 127 n. 1.*





*Kriati from Cumae: Tiptolemos.*

*See page 223.*

asant between Jassy and Bucharest<sup>1</sup>. Both these cups associate Triptolemos with Isis and the Nile-god, the inference being that in Egyptian soil the Greek agricultural hero was identified with Osiris.

On the *tazza Farnese* Triptolemos has not only a bag of seed on his left arm, but a plough-pole and yoke in one hand, a plough-share in the other. On the Petrossa *phiale* he holds a couple of ploughs. O. Kern<sup>2</sup> argues that all the evidence, whether literary<sup>3</sup> or monumental<sup>4</sup>, connecting Triptolemos with the plough is comparatively late, in fact that he first became a ploughman in the Alexandrine age owing to his identification with Osiris, who was regarded by the Greeks and Romans as the inventor of the plough<sup>5</sup>. This view has, however, been successfully refuted by O. Rubensohn<sup>6</sup>, who points out that in genuinely Egyptian sources Osiris is never conceived as a ploughman, so that in Hellenistic times he must have got the plough from Triptolemos, rather than Triptolemos from him. Moreover, Rubensohn is able to adduce two vases of the pre-Hellenistic period, on which Triptolemos is definitely associated with a plough. One is a bell-*kratér* of Attic make, which may be dated about 450 B.C. It was found at Cumae and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. On it we see (pl. xx)<sup>7</sup> Triptolemos, who has had his lesson in ploughing from Demeter and is about to start on his tour of instruction. He is in the act of mounting his winged seat, the high back of which terminates in a griffin's head. He takes with him his sceptre and a bunch of corn, but turns for a final word of advice or farewell to Persephone, who carries two torches, and her mother, who still holds the plough<sup>8</sup>. The other vase cited by Rubensohn is a *skyphos*

<sup>1</sup> F. Matz *loc. cit.* pp. 135—137 pl. 52.

<sup>2</sup> O. Kern *loc. cit.* pp. 102—105.

<sup>3</sup> Vano *fragg.* 77, 78 Funari *ap. interp. Serv. in Verg. Georg.* 1. 19, Ov. *fast.* 4. 559 f., Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 109, *Anth. Pal.* 11. 59. 4 ff. (Makedonios), cp. Soud. s.v. Παπιάς.

<sup>4</sup> Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 588 f. Gemmentaf. 4, 15—16. 18 (Furtwangler *Gesch. d. Stein. Berlin* p. 316 no. 8630 pl. 61, p. 248 no. 6747 pl. 48), *id. ib.* p. 625 f. Atlas pl. 17, 24 (Mazzara sarcophagus).

<sup>5</sup> Philostephanos *περὶ εἰρημάτων frag.* 28 (*frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 32 f. Muller) *ap. interp. Serv. in Verg. Georg.* 1. 19, Serv. *in Verg. Georg.* 1. 147, Prob. *in Verg. Georg.* 1. 19, Myth. Vat. 3. 7. 1, cp. what is said of Horos by Nigidius *ap. interp. Serv. in Verg. Georg.* 1. 19.

<sup>6</sup> O. Rubensohn 'Triptolemos als Pfluger' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 59—71.

<sup>7</sup> De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 315 f. no. 424, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii. 112 f., 183 f. pl. 64, Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 518 ff., 538 f. Atlas pl. 15, 13.

<sup>8</sup> So Gerhard, Lenormant and de Witte, Rubensohn, de Ridder. Overbeck thought that the holder of the torches was meant for Demeter, the holder of the plough for Persephone. But cp. Soud. s.v. Παπιάς. ἡ Δημήτηρ τὸν ἀπλόγον Ἰάρον Τριπτόλεμον

of Boeotian fabric at Berlin, referable to the fifth century or at latest to the early decades of the fourth century B.C. Triptolemos here (fig. 165)<sup>1</sup> holds the plough himself, while Demeter presents him with the corn-stalks and Persephone, as before, carries a couple of torches<sup>2</sup>. The *skyphos* thus forms a pendant to the *kratér*: On the *kratér* the goddess grasped the plough, her *protégé* the corn. On the *skyphos* their positions are precisely reversed. But it can hardly be doubted that both vases alike represent Triptolemos about to start on his mission. The winged car is absent from the *skyphos* either because this vase depicts a slightly earlier moment



Fig. 165.

than the other or perhaps merely by way of simplifying a somewhat ambitious design.

However that may be, it is plain that Triptolemos' association with the plough is not only Hellenistic, but Hellenic too. We need not, therefore, hesitate to accept the derivation of his name put forward by Agallis of Korkyra in the third century B.C.<sup>3</sup> *Triptolemos* is indeed the hero of the 'thrice-ploughed' (*trípolos*) field'. And Dr P. Giles has argued from the form of his name

ἔδιδασκε τὴν τοῦ σίτου γεωργίαν· παρέσχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄρμα πτηνῶν δρακόντων, εἰς δ' ἐποχούμενος οὐ Τριπτόλεμος περιήμι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, διδασκὼν τὴν τοῦ σίτου γεωργίαν—a passage well illustrated by our vase.

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Mitt.* 1899 xxiv. 67 n. pl. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The mother is clearly distinguished from the daughter by her sceptre, her more imposing head-dress, her richer clothing, and her more maternal form.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. *Il.* 18. 483; τριπόλον δὲ τὴν ἀρουραν φησιν· ἐπει Τριπτόλεμος πρῶτος ἐσπείρει σίτον, οὐ βασιλεὺς φησὶν. *Introd.* ch. ii § 9 (iii) n (δ).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Plout. *comicae*, p. 10. 1'. 42 Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσι· πρῶτον ἐπὶ



with its *-pt-*, not *-p-*, that his worship came to Eleusis along with improved methods of cultivation from the fertile plains of northern Greece<sup>1</sup>.

If such be the name and nature of Triptolemos, what are we to make of his wheeled seat? I believe it to have been simply an early expression to denote the sun. Just as Herakles, when he crossed the sea, voyaged in the solar cup lent him by Okeanos or Nereus or Helios himself<sup>2</sup>, so Triptolemos, when he crosses the earth, travels on the solar wheel received at the hand of Demeter. It will be observed that this explanation of the myth squares well with its progressive representation. The earliest vase-paintings showed Triptolemos sitting on a one-wheeled seat. This we naturally took to be a two-wheeled seat seen in profile<sup>3</sup>. But I now suggest that it arose from a yet earlier religious conception, that of the hero sitting on the single solar wheel. A possible survival of this conception occurs in the *Astronomica* of Hyginus, where we read that Triptolemos 'is said to have been the first of all to use a single wheel, that so he might avoid delay on his journey<sup>4</sup>'. It is noteworthy, too, that in the Argive tradition<sup>5</sup> the father of Triptolemos was *Trochilos*, 'he of the Wheel' (*trochíos*), the inventor—

Σκίρψ τοῦ παλαιστάτου τῶν σπόρων ἱπόμενμα· δεύτερον ἐν τῇ Παρίᾳ· τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν τὸν καλούμενον Βουξίγιον. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατός ἐστιν ὁ γαιήλιος σπόρος καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει with the remarks of O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1215 ff. *scilicet*, 'Ἄροτοι ἱεροί'.

<sup>1</sup> P. Giles in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 1908 p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 468 n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 213.

<sup>4</sup> Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14 qui primus omnium una rota dicitur usus, ne cursu moraretur.

J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 416 n. 3 calls attention to a passage in the *Rig-veda* i. 164. 2, which describes the solar chariot 'of the single wheel' drawn by 'the single horse' of seven-fold name.

This raises a suspicion that more than one mythical charioteer, who lost a wheel and thereby came to grief, was originally a solar hero. Myrtilos, the charioteer of Oinomaos, who compassed his master's death by inserting a linch-pin of wax, or by not inserting a linch-pin at all, and was subsequently thrown out of Pelops' car into the sea near Geraistos, is a figure comparable with Phaethon; indeed, according to one version he was the son of the Danaid Phaethousa (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 752, schol. Eur. *Or.* 998); on Apulian vases he often has as his attribute a wheel (Remach *Rel. Uses* 1. 128. 3, 140. 2, 290) or a couple of wheels (*ib.* 1. 167, Heydemann *Vasensamm.* *Neapel* p. 524 f. no. 3227). In a parallel myth (*Class. Rev.* 1903 vii. 270 f.) from Thrace Dryas, like Oinomaos, is killed through the removal of his linch-pins (Parthen. *narr. am.* 6, cp. Konon *narr.* 10).

K. Tumpel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3318, 3320. Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2261 has drawn up a list of handsome young charioteers, who came to an untimely end. He regards them all as various forms of the solar hero common to the coast-districts of the eastern Aegean. They include the following names—Apsyrtos, Atymnos, Killas, Malaos, Myrtilos, Phaethon, Tenages. To these we may add Sphaeros, a suggestive name given by the Troezenians to Killas (Paus. 5. 10. 7), and the great Troezenian hero Hippolytos himself, not to mention his *alter ego* Virbius.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 212.

## 226 The Solar Wheel in Greece

some said—of the first chariot<sup>1</sup>. But the word *trochilos* means also 'a wren.' And it can hardly be fortuitous that the Athenians made Triptolemos the son of *Kekrops*, the 'Green Woodpecker,' while the Argives made him the son of *Trochilos*, the 'Wren.' Conceivably both birds were bound to a wheel, like the *lynx*, and used as a solar charm<sup>2</sup>. But, to return from fancy to fact, red-figured as distinct from black-figured vases added wings and snakes to

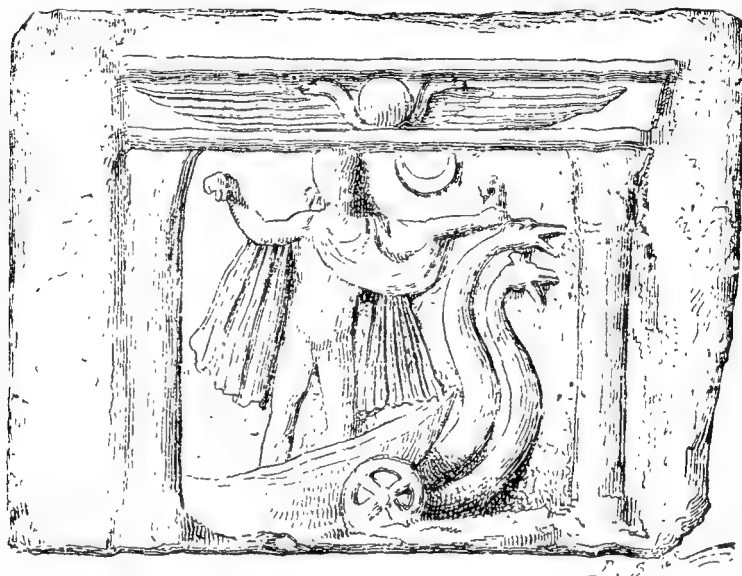


Fig. 166.

Triptolemos' seat<sup>3</sup>. In this again it followed the example of the solar vehicle; for a whole series of black-figured Attic vases at Cambridge<sup>4</sup>, Paris<sup>5</sup>, Berlin<sup>6</sup>, Vienna<sup>7</sup>, Athens<sup>8</sup>, Boston<sup>9</sup>, represents

<sup>1</sup> Tertull. *de spect.* 9.

<sup>2</sup> The matter is discussed *infra* ch. 1 § 6 (d) i (e).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 217. The snakes themselves are not winged till the second century B.C. (Apollod. 1. §. 2 διφρον πτηνῶν δρακόντων). The earliest extant monuments that so represent them are of Roman date (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 554 Atlas pl. 16, 11, 12; *infra* p. 248 n. 7). See further Gruppe (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 807 n. 2).

<sup>4</sup> L. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 52 no. 100 fig. The reproduction in E. Gerhard *Ueber die Lichtgötter auf Kunstdenkmalern* Berlin 1840 pl. 1. § after Stackelberg *Götter d. Hellenen* pl. 15, §, and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1. 1995 from the same source, is inadequate. I figure the central portion of the scene *infra* ch. 1 § 6 (d) vii.

<sup>5</sup> De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* 1. 128 f. no. 220, Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. céram.* 380 f. pl. 115. This vase has four unwinged in place of two winged horses.

<sup>6</sup> Gutwangler *Vasensamml. Berlin* 1. 421 no. 1983, unpublished.

<sup>7</sup> Laborde *Vases Lambert* n. Frontispiece, Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. céram.* 387 f. pl. 116, Reinach *Rép. Vases*, n. 241, 1.

<sup>8</sup> L. Savignoni in the *Mon. Hell. Stutt.* 1899 vii. 265 ff. pl. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Robinson *Cat. Vases Boston* no. 335.

Helios rising as a draped male figure standing between (*i.e.* on a car drawn by) two winged horses, the solar disk being visible over his head. The Berlin vase joins to the disk a couple of serpentine appendages, thereby recalling the winged and snaky disks of Egyptian and Assyrian art<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, a late bas-relief in black stone brought by E. Renan from Gharfin near Gábeil, the ancient Byblos, shows Triptolemos, who stands in a car drawn by two snakes and scatters grain, within a *naískos* actually decorated with the Egyptian disk (fig. 166)<sup>2</sup>. This, however,—as F. Lenormant was careful to point out—may be a matter of mere decoration. The crescent moon associated with the hero suggests rather that Triptolemos was here identified with the Phrygian god Men<sup>3</sup>, as elsewhere with the Egyptian Osiris<sup>4</sup>, the Lydian Tylos<sup>5</sup>, and the Cilician *Baal-tarz*<sup>6</sup>. Finally, the corn-ears borne along on Triptolemos' wheeled seat are comparable with the corn-ears attached to the *triskel's* on the coins of Panormos, etc.<sup>7</sup>—a symbol which, as we shall see, was solar in origin and, moreover, equipped with both wings and snakes.

In the foregoing section we have traced the gradual development of Triptolemos' snake-drawn chariot from the simple solar wheel. This derivation is emphatically confirmed by the myth of Antheias, as told in Pausanias' account of Patrai:

'Those who relate the earliest traditions of Patrai declare that Eumelos, a native of the soil, was the first to dwell in the land as king over a few people. When Triptolemos came from Attike, Eumelos received cultivated crops and, being taught to build a city, named it Aroe after the tilling of the ground. They say that once, when Triptolemos had fallen asleep, Antheias the son of Eumelos was minded to yoke the snakes to the chariot of Triptolemos and to try his own hand at sowing. But fate overtook him and he fell out of the chariot. Thereupon Triptolemos and Eumelos founded a city in common and called it Antheia after the name of Eumelos' son.'

Antheias falling off the car of Triptolemos is, as O. Gruppe

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 205 ff.

<sup>2</sup> F. Lenormant 'Triptoleme en Syrie' with fig. in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 97—100.

<sup>3</sup> So O. Rubensohn in the *Alt. Myth.* 1899 xxiv 61 n. 1. Lenormant had thought of Amynos and Magos of *κατέδειξαν κόμην καὶ πόλιν* (Philon Bybl. frag. 2. 11 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Muller)).

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 222 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. cxiii, 260 pl. 27, 4, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 657. Muller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* n. 79 pl. 10, 114, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 585.

<sup>6</sup> M. Mayer in the *Verhandlungen der XI. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* Götting 1889 p. 338 cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1173 n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (d) v.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. 7. 18. 2—3.

## 228 The Solar Wheel in Greece

observes<sup>1</sup>, 'a genuine variant of the Phaethon legend,' and supports our contention that Triptolemos' car was of solar origin.

Triptolemos was said to have received his car from Demeter<sup>2</sup>—a statement which cannot be traced back beyond the second century B.C.<sup>3</sup> It must, however, have been commonly accepted in Roman times, for a cameo at Paris (fig. 167)<sup>4</sup> shows Claudius and Messalina in the guise of Triptolemos and Demeter; the former scatters the grain from his *paludamentum*, the latter leans forward with corn-ears and poppies in her left hand, a roll in her right.



Fig. 167.

Moreover, later literature makes Demeter travel in a snake-drawn chariot when in search of her daughter Persephone. In this way

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 544 n. 5.

Possibly Demeter Ὠρηιοφώρος of Anthicia (Athen. 4601b) was a figure analogous to the drink-bearing Demeter of the Triptolemos vases (*supra* p. 217 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 807 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. 1. 5. 2 is our earliest authority.

<sup>4</sup> Babelon *Cat. Camées de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 144 f. no. 276 Album pl. 30 Müller - Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* 192 f. pl. 69, 380 identify the divinised pair as Germanicus and Agrippina, arguing that Germanicus appears again as a Roman Triptolemos on the silver *patra* from Aquileia at Vienna (*Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 4, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 78--84). In the middle ages this cameo was thought to represent the triumph of Joseph in Egypt!

she approached Eleusis<sup>1</sup>, and in this way she quitted it again<sup>2</sup>. Art follows suit. Demeter in her snake-chariot appears first on Roman *denarii* of the moneyer M. Volteius about the year 88 B.C.<sup>3</sup>, then on those of C. Vibius Pansa in 43 B.C.<sup>4</sup>, and not infrequently on late Greek coins<sup>5</sup>. Occasionally she holds corn-ears and a sceptre<sup>6</sup>, or a poppy-head and a sceptre<sup>7</sup>, more often a couple of torches (fig. 168)<sup>8</sup>, rarely corn-ears and torches too<sup>9</sup>. The scene of her quest was common on *sarcophagi* of Roman date;



Fig. 168.

<sup>1</sup> *Ov. met.* 5. 642 ff., *fast.* 4. 497 f. In *Orph. h. Dem. Eleus.* 40. 14 f. Demeter 'Ελευσσία has a snake chariot.

<sup>2</sup> *Ov. fast.* 4. 561 f. In *Ov. met.* 8. 794 ff. Ceres sends an Oread in her snake-chariot to fetch Fames from Scythia. But the mode of conveyance may be a touch due to Ovid himself.

<sup>3</sup> Babelon *Monn. r.p. rom.* ii. 566 no. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 545 f no. 17.

<sup>5</sup> See Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 502 f., 660 f. Munzaf. 8. 38—40. 9. 17—21.

<sup>6</sup> So on late bronze coins of Athens (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc.* p. 90 pl. 15. 15. p. 91 pl. 15, 17, cp. p. 89). The earlier bronze coins of Eleusis, which are said to represent 'Demeter or Triptolemos seated in winged car drawn by two serpents, and holding in r. two ears of corn' (*ib. Attica etc.* p. 112 pl. 20, 1), show Triptolemos rather than Demeter (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 581 ff., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 391: yet see E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 289 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> So on an imperial coin of Nikomedeta in Bithynia (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 81 no. 135).

<sup>8</sup> So on imperial coins of Thessalonike (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 117), Hadrianopolis in Thrace (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 661), Kretia-Flaviopolis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus etc.* p. 137 pl. 29. 4. Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 334 no. 8 pl. 54. 2. 338 no. 301. Nikaea in Bithynia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660), Erythrai in Ionia (*id. ib.*, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 117 no. 296 pl. 13, 19), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 165 pl. 19, 8), the Ionian League (*ib. Ionia* p. 16), Kyzikos (*ib. Mysia* p. 47 pl. 12, 12), Ankyra in Galatia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 661 Munzaf. 9. 21), Ammonion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 54), Brouzos (*ib. Phrygia* p. 114 pl. 14, 6, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 394 no. 69 = *Choix de monn. gr.* 1871 pl. 5, 187), Hierapolis in Phrygia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660), Pessinous (*id. ib.* Munzaf. 9. 20, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 229 f. no. 762 = *id.* and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 73 no. 31 pl. 12), Apollonis in Lydia (*Head Hist. num.*<sup>3</sup> p. 548), Gondus-Iulia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 96 pl. 10, 6), Magnesia ad Sipylum (*ib. Lydia* p. 152), Maonia (*ib. Lydia* p. 134 pl. 14, 8), Nysa (*ib. Lydia* p. 178, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660 Munzaf. 9. 17), Sardeis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 254), Stratonikeia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660), Kelenderis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia etc.* p. 58 pl. 10, 14, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 351 no. 19), Korakesion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia etc.* p. xxxv n. 6).

The goddess has one torch only on imperial coins of Kretia-Flaviopolis (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *op. cit.* i. 337 no. 25 pl. 54, 10), Claudio-Seleucia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 254).

<sup>9</sup> So on imperial coins of Hyrkans (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 125 pl. 13, 6), Sardeis (*ib. Lydia* p. 273).

## 230 The Solar Wheel in Greece

and here she is seen holding a torch and drawn by two monstrous snakes usually winged near the chariot-wheels<sup>1</sup>, or in more agitated guise holding two torches and drawn by snakes winged at the neck<sup>2</sup>. *Sarcophagi* of the former type show the snake's tail twined about the hub of the wheel, which takes the form of a lion's head (fig. 169)<sup>3</sup>. This detail perhaps points to the solar character of the vehicle in question<sup>4</sup>. For Greeks and Romans alike, therein agreeing with the Egyptians<sup>5</sup> and the nations of the



Fig. 169.

nearer east<sup>6</sup>, looked upon the lion as an animal full of inward fire and essentially akin to the sun<sup>7</sup>. The lion on Roman military

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 612 f. Atlas pl. 17, 1, 3=R. Foerster in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873, xlv. 72 ff. pl. 1 F 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 624 f., 642 Atlas pl. 17, 7, 9, 22, 24, *cp. ib.* 20, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 17, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Against this explanation is the apparent presence of a leonine head on the hub of Hades' chariot-wheel (*Ann. d. Inst. loc. cit.* pl. EF 1—it is not clearly seen in Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 17, 1). Yet Hades too may well have been credited with a fiery, if not with a solar (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 176), car.

<sup>5</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 14, 359 ff. See Plout. *symp.* 4. 5. 2, Ail. *de nat. an.* 5. 39, 12. 7, Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 17, Macroh. *Sat.* 1. 21. 16 f., Mart. Cap. 183.

<sup>6</sup> F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 pp. 201 f., 268, F. Cumont in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3041, A. Jeremias *ib.* iii. 255.

<sup>7</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 7, Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 1. 13, Macroh. *Sat.* 1. 21. 16, Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 13.

standards was interpreted as a solar emblem<sup>1</sup>. The Mithraic sun-god was figured with a lion's face<sup>2</sup>. The sign Leo was called 'the house of the sun'; and—be it noted—the sun was in Leo when Persephone was carried off<sup>3</sup>. What is perhaps more to the point, it was Helios that took pity on Demeter and told her where her daughter was to be sought<sup>4</sup>. Did he not also lend her his chariot for the search<sup>5</sup>?

Other deities too on occasion appear in a like conveyance. Dionysos, according to certain ceramic artists of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., roamed the world *à la* Triptolemos on a wheeled and winged seat<sup>6</sup>. And even Athena is represented, on a red-figured *pyxis* of fine style at Copenhagen, as drawn in a chariot by yoked snakes to the judgment of Paris<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lyd. *de mens.* 1. 22 p. 12, 15 Wünsch.

<sup>2</sup> Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1. 720 = Myth. Vat. 2. 19, Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 1. 13, Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 7, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 16, Serv. *in Verg. Georg.* 1. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Arat. *phoen.* 150.

<sup>5</sup> *H. Dem.* 62 ff.

<sup>6</sup> In *h. Dem.* *loc. cit.* 63, 88 Helios has a chariot drawn by horses. So has the questing Demeter on many *anaplagi* (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 627 ff. Atlas pl. 17. 4. 8, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, 23). But another line of tradition gave Helios a snake-drawn chariot: see *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) 1 (7, 8).

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Ktl.* pp. 130, 538 n. 2, 546, 1138 n. 2, 1145, 1149, 1167 n. 1 suggests that Helios was often associated in cult with Demeter. But of this I find no convincing proof.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 214 ff.

<sup>8</sup> A. Conze *Herren- und Göttergestalten der griechischen Kunst* pl. 102, 1, A. Dumont—J. Chaplain—E. Pottier *Les Vases antiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1888 i. 368 f. pl. 10 = Roscher *Lex. Myth.* in. 1617 f. fig. 7. Hera's chariot on this vase is drawn by four horses; that of Aphrodite by two Froles. Probably the artist gave Athena a team of snakes because the snake was associated with her on the Akropolis at Athens: cp. also the cults of Athene *Hapēia* on the road from Sparta to Arkadia (Paus. 3. 20. 8), of Athene *Tryia* at Achaia (Paus. 1. 31. 6) and Athens (Paus. 1. 23. 4 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*), and the word *ōpākava* used of Athena in Orph. *h. Ath.* 32. 11.

Athena is not normally connected with the solar wheel. In a vase-painting already described (*supra* p. 199) she brings up the winged wheel of Ixion and may perhaps be regarded as Athena *Ἐργάνη* later replaced by Hephaistos (*supra* p. 200 ff.). Certain small silver coins of Lampsakos (fig. 170) have as their reverse type a head of Athena, whose helmet is marked with a wheel (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 80 no. 21. The specimen figured is from my collection); cp. a silver obol of Massalia c. 500 B.C. with obv. archaic head wearing a helmet on which is a wheel, rev. a four-spoked wheel (E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1889 p. 12, H. de la Tour *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* Paris 1892 no. 520 pl. 2, Head *Hist. num.* p. 6), and a barbarised copy of it—both found at Morella in Spain (E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *loc. cit.*, H. de la Tour *op. cit.* no. 524 pl. 2, R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donauländer* Strassburg 1908 p. 81 figs. 154, 155 pl. 7). A. de Ridder *Collection de Clérey* Paris 1905 iii (Les Bronzes) 206 f. no. 296 pl. 48 publishes a bronze statuette of Athena holding lance and owl. The crest of her helmet is supported by 'une rouelle,' as on Panathenaic amphoras found in Kyrenaike (*ibid.* p. 203; but see G. von Brauchitsch *Die panathenaischen Preisamphoren* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 46 ff.).



Fig. 170.

## 232 The Solar Wheel in Greece

In this connexion we must take account of a unique silver *drachme* or quarter-shekel, which has been for many years in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> (pl. xxi and fig. 171 *a, b*)<sup>2</sup>. It is struck on the Phoenician



Fig. 171.

standard<sup>3</sup>. The obverse shows a bearded head in three-quarter position (not double-struck) facing towards the right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet with a bay-wreath upon it. The reverse has a square incuse surrounded by a spiral border, within which we see a bearded divinity enthroned. He wears a long garment, which covers his right arm and extends to his feet. He is seated on a winged and wheeled seat: the wing is archaic in type and rises high behind his back; the wheel has six spokes and an inner ring round its axle. The god has an eagle (or hawk?)<sup>4</sup> on his outstretched left hand. Before him in the lower right hand corner of the square is an ugly bearded head. In the field above the seated deity are the Phoenician letters  $\text{YHWH}$ , that is, *YHWH*<sup>5</sup>.

The credit of being the first to decipher and to interpret aright the inscription belongs to Monsieur C. Clermont-Ganneau. As far back as 1880 he suggested to Prof. P. Gardner and Dr B. V. Head that it was the trilateral form of the divine name Jehovah; and in

<sup>1</sup> Taylor Combe *Vetrum populum et regum numi qui in Museo Britannico adservantur* London 1814 p. 242 no. 5 pl. 13, 12, H. de Laynes *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapes et de la Phénicie sous les rois Achéménides* Paris 1846 p. 29 no. 1 pl. 4, C. D. Ginsburg in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1881* London p. 19 ('Jehu in his carriage the name Jehu in the old Hebrew characters exactly resembling the letters on the Moabite stone, only in fact more perfectly written'), A. Neubauer in the *Revue des Études juives* 1881 ii, 290 cp. *ib.* 154, F. Babelon *Le Peuple Achéménide* Paris 1893 p. lxxi fig. 30, J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron. New Series* 1877 xvii, 229 no. 43, *ib.* 1878 xviii, 123 ff. no. 3 pl. 6, 8 (Obv. the Syrian god Hadrian, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 109 Mariertini no. 2  $\Delta\Delta\text{PANOY}$  [and K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i, 405]. Rev. *Jahu*=the Chaldaean god Iao, cp. *Lyd. de mens.* 4, 53 p. 111, 11f. Wunsch, E. J. Pilcher in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1908 xxx, 45 ff. pl. 1, 1, A. Blanchet in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1908 xii, 276 f., A. W. Hands in the *Num. Chron. Fourth Series* 1909 ix, 121 ff. fig. 1, G. Maedonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1909 p. 53, R. Weil in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1910 xxviii, 28—34 (the Hellenising of Semitic cults in Syria began before the expeditions of Alexander the Great), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii, 2, 675 f. pl. 124, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. xxi is an enlarged photograph of a cast of the reverse.

<sup>3</sup> It weighs 507 grains (3·3 grammes), and is therefore somewhat lighter than the average quarter-shekel. It is a well-preserved specimen.

<sup>4</sup> The bird is described as a hawk by Taylor Combe, J. P. Six, and E. Babelon (with a query).

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. the comparative tables of Phoenician, Egyptian Aramaic, Old Hebrew, etc., forms given by J. Euting *Tabulae scripturae Hebraicae* Argentorati 1882, *Forer Reallex.* p. 714 pl. 202.





Quarter-shekel of Gaza showing the Hebrew Godhead as a solar Zeus.

*See page 232 ill.*



1892, when lecturing at the *Collège de France* he treated it as such<sup>1</sup>. Dr Ginsburg's rival attempt to read it as the name of Jehu, king of Israel, makes shipwreck—as A. Neubauer was prompt to point out—on the chronology, the coin being nearly five centuries later than Jehu's reign<sup>2</sup>. There can, in fact, be little doubt that we have here a gentile representation of the Hebrew Godhead.

Now a bearded god enthroned with an eagle on his hand is a common art-type of Zeus. And it will be remembered that in 168 B.C. Antiochus iv Epiphanes transformed the temple at Jerusalem into a temple of Zeus *Olympios* and the temple on Mount Gerizim into a temple of Zeus *Xenios*<sup>3</sup> or *Hellenios*<sup>4</sup>. Further, the winged wheel is, as we have seen, solar in its origin. It follows that the coin represents Jehovah under the guise of a solar Zeus<sup>5</sup>.

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that *Iáo*—the form usually taken by Jehovah's name in magical texts of the Hellenistic age<sup>6</sup>—was equated sometimes with Zeus, sometimes with Helios. A papyrus at Berlin, acquired by Lepsius at Thebes in Egypt and published by Parthey in 1866, records an incantation, which begins by summoning Apollon in company with Paian to quit Parnassos and Pytho, and then continues in a quasi-Semitic strain:

Come, foremost angel of great Zeus *Iáo*,  
And thou too, Michael, who holdest heaven,  
And, Gabriel, thou the archangel, from Olympus<sup>7</sup>.

The Anastasy papyrus of the British Museum, published by Wessely in 1888, includes among other magical *formulae* the following prose invocation: 'I summon thee the ruler of the gods—Zeus, Zeus,

<sup>1</sup> In the Judæo-Aramaic *Papyrus* recently found at Elephantine (*Assuan*) the name of Jehovah is similarly trilateral (A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan* London 1906 p. 37 n. on pap. B. 4. E. Sachau *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine* Leipzig 1911 p. 277 Index).

<sup>2</sup> C. D. Ginsburg and A. Neubauer *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> 2 Maccab. 6. 1 f. Euseb. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 1850 (i. e. 1848) n. 126 f. Schoene.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph. *ant. Jud.* 12. 5. 5. *Antiq.* 4. 19 (n. 317 Dindorf). See Append. B Samaria.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbols* London 1910 p. 67 states that in the convent church of Kaisarian on Mt. Hymettos 'the winged fiery wheel is a throne for the Divine feet of Almighty God'.

<sup>6</sup> W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 179 - 254. Cf. A. Dersmann *Religionsstudien* Marburg 1895 pp. 1-20, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 3 ff. This is not, of course, necessarily inconsistent with the view that *Iáo* is the final form of the Babylonian god Ea (see C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roschet *Lea. Myth.* iv. 358 ff., *supra* p. 188 n. 11).

<sup>7</sup> G. Parthey *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums* Berlin 1866 p. 128. Pap. i. 300 ἀγγελε πρωτεων (so Kuchhoff for MS. πρωτεων εν) Ζηρος μεγαλοιο 'Iáo' α. γ. α. Baudissin *op. cit.* i. 198 observes that ἀγγελε here refers to Apollon, the theme of the preceding lines. Zeus is identified with Jehovah, and Apollon his mouthpiece with the angel of Jehovah.

that thunderest on high, king Adonai, lord Iaooueei<sup>1</sup>. Apollon *Klarios*, whose ancient oracle near Kolophon in Asia Minor enjoyed a new lease of life in Roman times<sup>2</sup>, was once questioned concerning the nature of the dread mysterious Iao<sup>3</sup>. His answer has—thanks to Macrobius—been preserved:

They that know mysteries should conceal the same.  
But, if thy sense be small and weak thy wit,  
Mark as the greatest of all gods Iao—  
In winter Hades, Zeus when spring begins,  
Helios o' the summer, autumn's soft Iao<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 115 Brit. Mus. pap. 46. 483 ff. ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὸν δυνάστην τῶν θεῶν, ὑψιζρεμέτα Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, τίρανε Ἀδωνάι (so Buresch for MS. αἰδωναι sic), κύριε Ἰαουουεε (sic) = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 80 no. 46, 469 ff.

<sup>2</sup> K. Buresch *Klarios* Leipzig 1889 p. 38 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hardly less remarkable was the response given by Apollon *Klarios* touching his own godhead (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 140. cp. the Tübingen *Χρησμοὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν* in Buresch *op. cit.* p. 97 f.; Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 7). The two oracles are confused in Kedien. *hist. comp.* 41 c f. (i. 73 f. Bekker).

<sup>4</sup> *Orac.* (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 135) *ap.* Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 18. 19 ff. Macrobius introduces the oracle as follows: *eis* Ζεὺς, *eis* Αἰδης, *eis* Ἥλιος, *eis* Διόνυσος. *huius* versus auctoritas fundatur oraculo Apollinis Clarii, in quo aliud quoque nomen soli adicitur, qui in isdem sacris versibus inter cetera vocatur Ἰάω. Clearly, then, the autumn-god of the oracle must be some form of Dionysos. Hence for the concluding words ἀβρον Ἰάω C. A. Lobeck *Agrophanus* p. 461 ingeniously conjectured ἀβρον Ἀδωνιν and L. Jan *ad loc.* yet more ingeniously ἀβρον Ἰακχον. Baudissin *op. cit.* i. 215 quotes in support of Jan's emendation a gem inscribed ΙΑΩ ΙΑ Η ΑΒΡΑ ΙΑΧΗ ΙΩ ΦΩΞ ΑΩ, which he renders: 'Iao, Ia, der volle Jubelhuf, Io, Licht, ΑΩ.' But Buresch *op. cit.* p. 52 f. surmises that the gem should be read ΙΑΩ ΙΑΗ ΑΒΡΑΣΞΕ ΗΙΩ etc.; in which case Baudissin's argument collapses. Indeed, Baudissin now (*Idons und Esmon* Leipzig 1911 p. 124) supports Lobeck's conjecture. Buresch himself *op. cit.* p. 49 and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 4 defend the text ἀβρον Ἰω, on the ground that the epithet ἀβρον suffices to describe the Dionysiac character of the Jewish deity.

This identification of Jehovah with Dionysos is later than the identification with Zeus. In fact it seems possible to trace the steps by which the transition was effected. On the Phoenician coin under discussion Jehovah appears as a solar Zeus (*supra* p. 232 f.). To Antiochos Epiphanes he was Zeus *Ολύμπιος, Νύκτωρ, Ἑλλήνιος* (*supra* p. 233). Varro, perhaps following Posidonios, equated him with Jupiter *Capitolinus* (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 4, quoting Reitzenstein *Zwei religionsgesch. L.* p. 78 n.). The first hint of the new comparison occurs in the age of Tibullus (Val. Max. 1. 3. 3 (n. Cornelius Hispanus Iudaeos, qui *Sabazii* Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit)). After this we find successive identifications with Bacchos (Plaut. *ymf.* 4. 6. 2), Liber pater (Tac. *hi l.* 5. 5), Dionysos (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 111, 7 ff. Wunsch).

The connexion of Jehovah with Helios may have been facilitated by the belief that *Zio* meant 'light' (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110, 25 ff. Wunsch ο δὲ Ῥωμαῖος Βάρρων περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλαβὼν φησι παρὰ Χαλδαίους ἐν τοῖς μυστικοῖς αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι Ἰάω ἀντὶ τοῦ φῶς νοητὸν τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ, ὥς φησιν Ἐρμένιος, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 169 A (n. 296 Bekker) οτι Ἡω παρὰ Χαλδαίους ἐμνησκειται φῶς νοητὸν τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ where for Ἡω Baudissin rightly read Ἰάω). The gem cited above has φῶΞ for φῶς, as another gem gives ΜίθραΞ for Μίθρας (Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* i. 215). The Anastasy papyrus invokes φωσφόρ Ἰάω (C. Wessely *op. cit.* Brit. Mus. pap. 46.

Iao is here expressly identified with both Zeus and Helios. These identifications might be illustrated by some of the bizarre devices to be seen on Gnostic amulets. For example, an onyx published by Spon (fig. 172)<sup>1</sup> represents a youthful, beardless Zeus enthroned with sceptre, thunderbolt, and eagle, the legend on the back being *Iao Sabaoth*;<sup>2</sup>

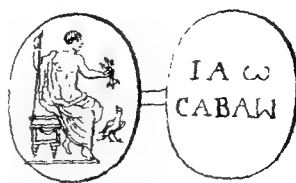


Fig. 172.

The Phœnician quarter-shekel—to judge from its weight, style, and fabric—was struck about 350 B.C., and therefore furnishes our earliest evidence of Jehovah conceived by the gentiles as Zeus. Unfortunately we do not know where the coin was issued. The eminent numismatist J. P. Six ascribed it, along with a series of somewhat similar pieces, to Gaza *Minôa* in southern Palestine<sup>3</sup>. If this attribution is sound—and it has been widely accepted<sup>4</sup>,—I would suggest that the helmeted head with a bay-wreath on the obverse is that of Minos the eponymous founder, who figures as a helmeted warrior holding the branch of a sacred bay-tree on later coins of the town (fig. 174)<sup>5</sup>. The grotesque face or mask on the

179 f. = F. G. Kenyon *op. cit.* i. 70 no. 46, 175 f.) and  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\tau$  'Iao  $\phi\omega\sigma\phi\acute{o}\rho\epsilon$  (Wessely *ib.* 46, 304 f. = Kenyon *ib.* i. 74 no. 46, 300 f.): see H. van Herwerden in *Memosyne* N.S. 1888 vi. 323 f. Finally, in the Gnostic gospel *Prot. Sophia* 26, 34, 193, 322 we get *Iai* (who is distinguished from three several divine powers named *Iad*: see Baudissin *op. cit.* i. 186) described as the  $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  of Light, cp the prayers *ib.* 357  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\tau\omega\varsigma$  Light:  $\alpha\epsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\omega$ ,  $\iota\omega$ ,  $\omega\omega$ ,  $\omega\iota\alpha$   $\tau\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\Sigma\alpha\delta\alpha\omega$ , 375  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\tau\omega\varsigma$  Light:  $\iota\omega$   $\iota\omega\omega$   $\iota\omega\omega$   $\omega\iota\omega$   $\omega\iota\alpha$   $\omega\iota\omega$   $\iota\alpha\omega$ . The ultimate source of these conceptions is, doubtless, 'the glory of the LORD' familiar to us from the Old Testament (B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 94 f.).

<sup>1</sup> J. Spon *Miscellanea erudita antiquitatis* Lugduni 1685 p. 297 f. 'Amuleta' no. 14. Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 in. 232 pl. 50, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Another gem given by Montfaucon *op. cit.* 1725 Suppl. i. 242 pl. 52, 4 = fig. 173 bears no inscription, but exhibits the same latter-day syncretism. It shows Zeus enthroned with a sceptre (?) in his hand amid a group of signs apparently representing the heavenly bodies—a winged globe, the moon, the evening star, the constellation Cancer, and other symbols of more doubtful meaning. For Babylonian and Greek ideas were freely blended in an omniscient age.

<sup>3</sup> J. P. Six in the *Ann. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvi. 229 f., *op. ib.* 1878 xviii. 125 'dans le sud de la cinquième satrapie.'

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* by Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 805, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2, 655 f. pl. 124, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Eckhel *Dobl. num.* 7: 2 m. 449, 451, Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. ii. 1196, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 805, inscr.  $\text{MEIN}\Omega$ . K. B. Stark *Gaza und die phönizische Küste* Jena 1852 p. 580 ff. regards the alleged connexion of Minos with Gaza as 'eine gelehrte Sagenbildung aus römischer Zeit': but he is over-sceptical.



Fig. 173.

reverse is probably, as E. Babelon surmised, that of Bes<sup>1</sup>; and the bust of Bes too is a known type on autonomous silver coins of Gaza<sup>2</sup>. Further, there was at Gaza an image of Io the moon-goddess with a cow beside it<sup>3</sup>. And Iao, the supposed sun-god, was early represented as a golden calf<sup>4</sup>. Is it not permissible to think that the inhabitants of Gaza imported the cult of the Jewish deity as a pendant to that of their own Io? Certainly their Cretan ancestors had worshipped the sun and the moon as a bull and a cow respectively<sup>5</sup>. Nor need we be surprised at their



Fig. 174.



Fig. 175.

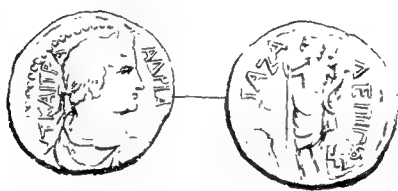


Fig. 176.



Fig. 177.

borrowing the type of Triptolemos' throne, wheeled and winged. Triptolemos, according to Argive tradition, was the son of *Trochilos*, the 'Wheel'-man<sup>6</sup>; and Trochilos in turn was the son of *Kallithéa*<sup>7</sup>, another name of Io<sup>8</sup>. Moreover, Triptolemos is said to have gone eastwards in quest of Io, taking with him a company of Argives, who founded Tarsos in Kilikia<sup>9</sup>, Ione<sup>10</sup> or Iopolis on Mount Silpion

<sup>1</sup> E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. lxxvi. E. J. Pilcher's contention (*supra* p. 232 n. 1) that this is the promontory near Tripolis called τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόσωπον (Strab. 754, 755, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 914) or *Theoprosopon* (Mela i. 67) is ingenious, but unconvincing.

<sup>2</sup> Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* n. 2, 657 ff. pl. 124, 8 f., 18 ff. Head *Hist. num.* p. 805.

<sup>3</sup> Steph. Byz. s. τῷ Πάρα, Ἰόνιον, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 92. On imperial coins of Gaza representing ΕΙΩ (fig. 175) see Eckhel *op. cit.* iii. 449 ff., Rasche *op. cit.* iii. 1331 ff., Suppl. ii. 1198 ff., Head *Hist. num.* p. 805, Stark *op. cit.* p. 585 ff. These coins (figs. 176, 177) often show the Tyche of Gaza with a bull or cow or cow's head at her feet (Eckhel *ib.* iii. 450, Rasche *ib.* iii. 1333 f., Suppl. ii. 1199 f., Head *ib.* Stark *ib.* p. 585 f. pl. i. 4)—a type inspired, as Eckhel pointed out, by the image of Io.

<sup>4</sup> B. Stade *op. cit.* p. 120 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (g) xi.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* pp. 212, 225 f.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Arat. *phæn.* 161.

<sup>8</sup> *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (g) viii.

<sup>9</sup> Strab. 673, 750.

<sup>10</sup> Liban. *or.* ii. 44 ff. (l. 451 ff. Foerster), cp. Steph. Byz. s. τῷ Ἰώνη. Liban. *or.* ii. 51

in Syria<sup>1</sup>—better known as Antiocheia on the Orontes<sup>2</sup>—, and even settled in Gordyene beyond the Tigris<sup>3</sup>. If Triptolemos followed Io thus far afield, he may well have pursued her to Gaza<sup>4</sup>.

(1. 453 Foerster) states that Triptolemos founded at Ione a sanctuary of Zeus Νέμειος, whom the inhabitants after learning agriculture called Zeus Ἐπικάρπιος.

<sup>1</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 28 ff. Dindorf, *Chron. Paschale* i. 74 ff. Dindorf, cp. Io. Antioch. *frag.* 6. 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 544 Muller), Kedren. *hist. comp.* 20 D ff. (i. 37 f. Bekker), Soud. s.v. Ἰώ, Exc. Salmasii in Cramer *anecd.* Paris. ii. 387, 22 ff. The narrative of Ioannes Malalas, our fullest source, is as follows:—In the days of Pikos Zeus a certain man named Inachos, of the tribe of Japheth, arose in the west. He was the first king over the land of Argos, where he founded a town and named it Iopolis; for he worshipped the moon, and Ἰώ is a mystic name by which the Argives have known the moon from that day to this (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii). Inachos, then, built a temple to the moon with a bronze *stelē* inscribed Ἰὼ μάκαιρα λαμπαδηφόρε. His wife Melia bore him two sons, Kasos and Belos, and a fair daughter called Io after the moon. Pikos Zeus, king of the west, sent and carried off Io, by whom he became the father of Labye. Io, in shame and anger, fled to Egypt and stayed there; but on learning that Hermes, son of Pikos Zeus, ruled over Egypt she was afraid and went on to Mt. Silpion in Syria, the site of the later town of Antiocheia. According to Theophilos, Io died in Syria; according to others, in Egypt. Inachos meantime sent her brothers and kinsfolk in search of her under the guidance of Triptolemos. The men from Iopolis in Argos heard that she had died in Syria. So they went and sojourned there awhile, knocking at the door of each house and saying Ψυχὴ Ἰοῦς σωτέσθω. But, when they had a vision of a heifer that spoke with human voice and said to them Ἐνταῦθά εἰμι ἐγὼ ἡ Ἰώ, they decided to stop where they were on Mt. Silpion, arguing that Io must be buried on that very mountain. They therefore founded a sanctuary for her there and a town for themselves, named Iopolis. They are in fact still called Ionitai by the Syrians of the district. And to this day the Syrians of Antiocheia, in memory of the search-party of Argives sent out to find Io, year by year at the self-same season knock on the doors of the Hellenes. The reason why these Argives took up their abode in Syria was because Inachos had bidden them either return with his daughter to Argos, or not return at all. So the Ionitai aforesaid founded a sanctuary of Kronos on Mt. Silpion. The sources other than Malalas give no important variants (*ἱερὸν Κρονίονος* for *ἱερὸν Κρονου* *Chron. Paschale*: κροῖόντες εἰς τὰς ἀλλήλων θύρας κατ' ἔτος ἔλεγον Ἰὼ Ἰώ Soud.).

In this, as in other Levantine stories of Io, we may suppose that the Argive heroine was but the Greek equivalent of a foreign deity. In Egypt she was identified with Isis, cow-goddess and moon-goddess (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii); in Syria, with Astarte, whose art-type with bovine horns and lunar disk was determined by that of Isis (E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 652). Cp. Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 569 Muller) Ἀστάρτη δὲ ἡ μεγίστη καὶ Ζεὺς Δημαροῦς καὶ Ἀδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν ἐβασίλευον τῆς χώρας Κρόνου γυνώμη. ἡ δὲ Ἀστάρτη ἐπεθῆκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν ταύρου· περιρροισσα δὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην κ.τ.λ. (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (b)). The *θηροκοτία* of the Antiochenes probably implies a ritual search for Astarte as a goddess of fertility annually lost and found (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 970 n. 8, *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) 1). The Babylonian form of this incident was the well-known 'descent of Ishtar,' daughter of the moon-god Sin, into the nether world (M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 563 n.).

<sup>2</sup> Strab. 750.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. 747, 750, Steph. Byz. s.v. Γορδυναία (from Gordys, son of Triptolemos). Cp. the supposed image of Io with budding horns at Nineveh (Philostr. z. *Apoll.* i. 19 p. 19 Kayser).

Others told how Inachos sent out Kynos (not Triptolemos), who founded Kynos in Karia (Diod. 5. 60), and Lykos, son of Phoroneus, who settled at Kaunos in Karia (Parchen. *narr. am.* i. 1 ff. = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 313 f. Muller).

<sup>4</sup> That the influence of Triptolemos was felt at Gaza might be inferred from the fact

## (γ) Kirke.

Another mythological personage that travelled in the sun's wheeled chariot was Kirke, the first mistress of magic. In the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus she is carried off from Kolchis by a team of winged snakes<sup>1</sup>, and Aphrodite, personating Kirke, is believed to have returned thither in the same equipage<sup>2</sup>. O. Gruppe thinks that this trait was borrowed by the poet from the myth of Medeia<sup>3</sup>; and that is certainly a possibility to be reckoned with<sup>4</sup>. At the same time it must be remembered that Kirke was the daughter of Helios and as such might well claim to use the solar car. Apollonios of Rhodes had in fact described how Helios once took her in his own car from east to west, from Kolchis to Etruria<sup>5</sup>, and Apollonios, according to a Greek commentator, was but following the still earlier narrative of Hesiod<sup>6</sup>. So that, whether Valerius Flaccus was or was not the first to mention Kirke's team of snakes, Kirke riding in the solar chariot is a much older conception. Conformably with it the author of the Orphic *Argonautiká* invests her with a solar halo:

Straightway a maiden met them face to face,  
The sister of Aietes great of soul,  
Daughter of Helios—Kirke was the name  
Asterope her mother and far-seen  
Hyperion gave her. Swift to the ship she came,  
And all men marvelled as they looked upon her:  
For from her head floated the locks of hair  
Like glittering sunbeams and her fair face shone,  
Yea, gleamed as with a gust of flaming fire<sup>7</sup>.

In a Pompeian wall-painting Kirke's head is surrounded by a circular blue *nimbus*<sup>8</sup>. But a Roman lamp and a contorniate medal

that Dagon the chief god of the Philistines is described as Zeus *Arótrios* in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2, 20 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Muller) ὁ δὲ Δαγών, ἐπειδὴ εἶπε σίτον καὶ ἀροτρον, ἐκλήθη Ζεὺς Ἀρότριος. cp. *ib.* 14 (iii. 567) Δαγών, ὅς ἐστι Σίτων with F. Cumont's note in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1985 f.

<sup>1</sup> Val. Flacc. 7. 120 ut aligeri Circei ripuere dracones.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* 7. 217 ff. ο tandem, vix tandem reducta Circe; dura tuis, quae te laevis serpentibus egit hinc fuga?

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 544 n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Val. Flacc. 1. 224 aligeris secat anguibas auras (5. 453) of Medeia. For the supposed influence of the Medeia-myth on the Kirke-myth see further K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1194, 38 ff., 1202, 51 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. Rhod. 3. 309 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 311=Hes. *frag.* 195 Flach. K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1200 denies it.

<sup>7</sup> Orph. *Arg.* 1214-1221. In Ap. Rhod. 4. 725 ff. Kirke recognizes Medeia by her possession of a similar halo: πᾶσα γὰρ Ἡελίου γενεῇ ἀριόηλος ιδέσθαι | ἦεν, ἐπεὶ βλεφάρων ἀποτηλότι μαρμαρυγῆσιν ὅσιν τε χρύσειον ἀντωπιον ἔσαν αἰγλήν.

<sup>8</sup> Hellög *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 293 no. 1329, F. Mazois *Les ruines de Pompéi* Paris



show her wearing a rayed crown<sup>1</sup>, the proper attribute of a solar power, whose island-home is placed by Homer precisely at the sunrise<sup>2</sup>.

That Kirke was in some sense solar is further shown by the parallels to her myth which can be adduced from various quarters. Thus in the Celtic area we have many accounts of the Otherworld-visit. These fall into two well-defined groups. On the one hand, in such tales as *The Voyage of Bran*, *The Adventures of Connla*, *Oisín*, *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain*, and *Laegaire mac Crimthainn* the hero crosses the sea to an Elysian island, where he mates with a divine queen and so becomes its king. On the other hand, in such tales as *The Adventures of Cormac*, *The Adventures of Tadg*, and *The Bailé an Scáil* he is entertained, but not married, by the queen, and receives at her hands a magic cup, after which he returns home in safety. Intermediate between the two groups is *The Voyage of Maol-Duin*, where we get at once the marriage, the entertainment, and the safe return. I have discussed these tales elsewhere<sup>3</sup> and here would merely point out that the goddess-queen inhabiting with her maidens the Otherworld island is regularly solar<sup>4</sup>. Indeed, in the story of *Laegaire mac Crimthainn* she bears the appropriate name *Deorgraine*, 'Tear of the Sun.' J. G. von Hahn compared the Kirke-myth with a modern Greek folk-tale from Wilza in Çagorí, in which a princess living with her maidens in an island mates with a prince described as 'sprung from the sun' and subsequently tries to kill him through the machinations of an iron dervish<sup>5</sup>. But the closest parallel<sup>6</sup> to the Homeric story is cited by

1824 n. 85 pl. 43, W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herculaneum und Stabiae* Berlin 1859 n. pl. 44, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 784 Atlas pl. 32, 11, R. Engelmann *Bilder-Atlas zum Homer* Leipzig 1889 *Od.* pl. 9, 47.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xvi pl. 194 figs. 4 and 3, J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* London 1882 p. 77 f. pl. 24 a, b, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1197—1199 figs. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 12. 3 f. *ἠὲρόν τ' Αἰαίην, ὅθι τ' Ἡὸς ἀργεῖνός ἐσσι καὶ ἑοῖοι εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἥελίοιο.*

<sup>3</sup> In *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 141—173. The latest writer on the Celtic island-Elysium is the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 385 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-Lore* loc. cit. p. 156 ff. For a criticism of my view see G. L. Gomme *Folklore as an historical science* London 1908 p. 106 ff.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 79 ff. no. 4, ii. 186 ff. In another Greek folk-tale, translated by E. M. Geldart *Folk-Lore of Modern Greece* London 1884 p. 22 ff. 'My lady Sea' (Thera) from the original text in the journal *Παρπασσος*, the prince marries a beautiful maiden whose sister is the Sun and whose mother is the Sea. On children of the Sun in Greek folk-lore see N. G. Polites *Ὁ Ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημώδεις αἰθῶρας* Athens 1882 p. 24 f.

<sup>6</sup> For Indian parallels see G. Geldart *Altgriechische Märchen in der Odyssee* Magdeburg 1869 p. 35 f., E. Rohde *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* Leipzig 1876 p. 173 n. 2; for a Mongolian parallel F. Bender *Die merkwürdigen Bestandtheile der*

Miss J. E. Harrison<sup>1</sup> and K. Seeliger<sup>2</sup> from *The Thousand and One Nights, viz. The Tale of King Bedr Bâsim*<sup>3</sup>. I quote Miss Harrison's summary of it :

'King Bedr Bâsim, like Odysseus, is seeking to return to his kingdom. He is shipwrecked, and escapes on a plank to [a tongue of land jutting out into the deep, on which is a white city with high walls and towers]; he desires to go up to it. But as he tries to approach, "there came to him mules and asses and horses, numerous as the grains of sand, and they began to strike him and prevent him from going up from the sea to the land." Later on a sheykh, who plays the part of Hermes, tells him that this is the city of the Enchanters, wherein dwells Queen Lab, an enchantress, who is like to a she-devil. A curious, and, I think, significant fact is, that the [Old] Persian word "lab" means sun<sup>4</sup>. We remember that Circe was daughter of Helios. The conceptions of magic and sun-worship seem to have been closely interwoven, and this seems the more natural if the Greek myth were of Eastern origin. The sheykh tells Bedr Bâsim that the strange mules and horses and asses are the lovers of this wicked witch. With each of them she abides forty days, and after that enchants them into beast-shapes. Queen Lab sees Bedr Bâsim, and falls in love with him. He goes up to her castle, but after some suspicious experiences begins to fear that his appointed day is drawing nigh. [He has seen a white she-bird consorting with a black bird beneath a tree full of birds, and has learnt that this was Queen Lab with one of her many lovers.] His friend the sheykh gives him a magic "sawek." This "sawek," which he is to give to the queen in place of her own magic potion, is the meal of parched barley made into a sort of gruel—thick, but not too thick to drink—a curious parallel to the "mess of cheese and barley meal and yellow honey mixed with Pramnian wine." Queen Lab fares worse for her evil deeds than did Circe. Bedr Bâsim gives her the "sawek," and commands her to become a dappled mule. He then puts a bridle in her mouth and rides her forth from the city, and the sheykh thus addresses her. "May God, whose name be exalted, abase thee by affliction."

The name *Kîrke* denotes a 'Hawk' (*kîrkos*)<sup>5</sup>. But this does not militate against our solar interpretation of the myth. For not only in Vedic mythology is Sûrya, the sun, sometimes conceived as a bird<sup>6</sup>, but Mithraic worshippers spoke of Helios as a hawk<sup>7</sup>. In

*Hom., Gedichte* Darmstadt 1878 p. 22 ff.; on both, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 708 n. 2 Cp. also the tales noted by the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch *op. cit.* p. 385 f.

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Harrison *op. cit.* p. 86 f.

<sup>2</sup> K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1195 f.

<sup>3</sup> Nights 751 ff. ed. Captain Sir R. F. Barton. The name *Bedr Bâsim* means 'I all moon smiling.'

<sup>4</sup> So Burton; but Profs. E. G. Browne, A. A. Bevan, and J. H. Moulton, to whom I have applied, all view the statement with the greatest suspicion. The last-named wittily declares that *lab* is 'moonshine.'

<sup>5</sup> This rather obvious derivation has, I find, been anticipated by C. de Kay *Bird Gods* New York 1898 p. 164, of whose ornithological interpretations ('Betes' = eagle, 'Ouhxes' = owl, etc.) the less said, the better.

<sup>6</sup> A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 pp. 31, 152; E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 pp. 45, 49, 113, 123 f., 140, 164.

<sup>7</sup> Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16 τὸν δὲ Ἡλίου σαρπῶν, λέοντα, δράκοντα, ἱέρακα with the preceding context.

Egypt too the hawk was sacred to the sun<sup>1</sup>, or to Horos, Râ, Osiris, Seker, and other solar deities<sup>2</sup>: it was here regarded as the only bird that could look with unflinching gaze at the sun<sup>3</sup>, being itself filled with sunlight<sup>4</sup> and essentially akin to fire<sup>5</sup>. These beliefs certainly found an echo in Greek literature<sup>6</sup>: and they may serve to explain the frequent association of the hawk with Apollon<sup>7</sup>. To Homer the hawk was the 'swift messenger of Apollon', who himself on occasion took its form<sup>8</sup>. Aristophanes implies that Apollon was sometimes represented with a hawk on his head or on his hand<sup>9</sup>. The mythographers told how Apollon had transformed Daidalion son of the Morning Star into a hawk<sup>10</sup>. And later writers agreed that the hawk was the sacred bird of Apollon<sup>12</sup> or of Helios Apollon<sup>13</sup>. All this goes to make it probable that *Kirke* was originally a solar power conceived as a 'Hawk.' A relic of her ornithomorphic state may perhaps be traced in the curious Homeric description of her as a 'dread goddess endowed with human speech<sup>14</sup>.' Had she been purely anthropomorphic, the phrase would have been superfluous, not to say impertinent. Given that her name betokened her nature, the explanation is not only pardonable, but necessary. Again, it might fairly be urged that the Italian myth of Kirke's love for Picus<sup>15</sup> becomes more intelligible if the

<sup>1</sup> Porph. *de abst.* 4. 9, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 12. 2.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 372, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 7, 10, 22, 187. See Ail. *de nat. an.* 7. 9, 10. 14, 12. 4 (Horos); Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 51 (Osiris); Philon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 572 Muller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 48 (Knepl).

<sup>3</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Porph. *de abst.* 4. 9 *ἐν οἷς τὸ ἡλιακὸν κατοικεῖν πεπιστεύκασι φῶς.*

<sup>5</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Infra* ch. i § 6 (e).

<sup>7</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 14 expressly equates Horos the hawk-god with Apollon.

<sup>8</sup> *Od.* 15. 526 *κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἀγγελος.*

<sup>9</sup> *Il.* 15. 237 *ἰρηκεῖ οἰκῶς.*

<sup>10</sup> Aristoph. *avn.* 516, schol. *ad loc.*

<sup>11</sup> *Os. met.* 11. 339 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 200, *infra* ch. i § 6 (e).

<sup>12</sup> Porph. *de abst.* 3. 5, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1014. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Eustath. *in Il.* p. 87, 6 *ἱέραξ δὲ ἱέρωται Ἥλιφ Ἀπόλλωνι κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>14</sup> *Od.* 10. 136, 11. 8, 12. 150 *δευὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα.* The same expression is used of Kalypso (*Od.* 12. 449), who in various respects is the doublet of Kirke (O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 940 ff.) and may well have borrowed an epithet belonging to her. Similarly of the horse Nanthos, gifted with human speech, we read: *Il.* 19. 407 *αὐδήεντα δ' ἔθηκε θεὰ Λευκώλεος Ἥρη.* Conversely Leukothea, ἡ πρὶν μὲν ἐν βροτῶς αὐδήεσσα (*Od.* 5. 334), dives into the sea *αἰθνή εἰκύα* (*ib.* 353, cp. 337).

<sup>15</sup> K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1202. 22 ff. collects the evidence. Πικόλοος, the giant who fled to Kirke's isle and was there slain by Helios—the plant μῶλον springing from his blood (Alexandros of Paphos *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1658. 49 ff.), is possibly related to the Lathuanian deity *Pikūlas* or *Pikullis* (H. Usener *Gottarnamen* Bonn 1896 p. 98).

former was, like the latter, a humanised bird. And the parallel of the 'Speaking Bird,' which in a Sicilian folk-tale turned men into statues<sup>1</sup>, is at least worth noting.

The exact species of the *kirkos* cannot be determined from the casual notices of it found in ancient authors<sup>2</sup>. But the same word is used by the modern Greeks<sup>3</sup> of the gyr-falcon (*falco gyrfalco* Linnæus), a bird so called from its wheeling flight. Now there was another word *kirkos* in ancient Greek, which was akin to the Latin *circus*, *circulus*, and meant 'circle'. It is, therefore, tempting to suppose with A. Kuhn<sup>4</sup> that the bird *kirkos* derived its name from the circularity of its motion. Circular motion would make it all the more appropriate as a symbol of the sun. Still, in view of the enormous number of purely onomatopoeic bird-names, it is safer to assume<sup>5</sup> that *kirkos* the 'hawk' was so called on account of the shrill cry *kirk! kirk!* with which it wheels its flight<sup>7</sup>. If so, any connexion with *kirkos* a 'circle' must be due to popular misconception<sup>6</sup>.

J. F. Cerquand long since surmised that Kirke's name was related to *circus*, a 'circle'; but he regarded Kirke as a moon-goddess and Odysseus as a sun-god<sup>8</sup>. Obviously, however, the connexion with *circus* would suit a sun-goddess as well as, if not

<sup>1</sup> Append. F.

<sup>2</sup> D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 83 f.

Ail. de nat. an. 4. 5, 4. 58 distinguishes the *κίρκη* from the *κίρκος*, as does Eustath. in Il. p. 1262, 50 ff., in Od. p. 1613, 65 f. But one author is late, the other later.

<sup>3</sup> N. Contopoulos *Greek-English Lexicon*<sup>5</sup> Athens 1903 p. 320.

<sup>4</sup> L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* II. 409, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 224, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la langue Gr.* p. 458, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Gottertranks*<sup>2</sup> Gutersloh 1886 p. 144 n. 1. See also L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> So Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 458, cp. p. 440 f. s.v. *κέρκας*. See also Eustath. in Il. pp. 1126, 46 ff., 1262, 59 ff., in Od. p. 1734, 21 ff.

<sup>7</sup> L. Hopf *op. cit.* p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> Since this paragraph was written A. Fick has discussed the word *κίρκος* in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xlv. 345 ff. He rejects the rendering 'der Kreiselnde' and inclines to the onomatopoeic explanation 'der Kreischer.' He adds, however, a third possibility, that the bird was so called from its 'crooked' claws, cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 337 γανυφούς οἰωνούς for γανυφώνυχας, Paul. ex l est. p. 88 Müller *filhones* a similitudine falcis, Hesych. ἀπὴν· εἶδος ὀρνέου, καὶ ὀρέπαρον ἢ ἱκτίον Κρήτες. After this he gives free rein to his fancies. *Κίρκη Αἰαίν* is the goddess of the circular or rather semicircular path described by Eos and Helios in the course of the year. She is in-constant, because the point at which Eos rises is always shifting. As mistress of the zodiac she is surrounded by the lion (summer), the swine (winter: ἵς suggests *vet*), the wolf (Λύκος plays on λόκη, *λύκάβας*). Her four maidens are the four Seasons. Etc. etc.

<sup>9</sup> J. F. Cerquand *Études de Mythologie grecque. Ulysse et Circé. Les Sirenes*. Paris 1873 pp. 28 ff., 67 ff. So too R. Brown *The Myth of Kirke* (reviewed by H. Bradley in *The Academy* 1884 xxi. 40 f.). W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 15-99, 144 likewise derives *Κίρκη* from *κίρκος* = the moon's disk.

better than, a moon-goddess<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, it is easy to imagine more ways than one in which a circle might be fittingly attributed to a solar Kirke. She was a 'Hawk,' and the hawk may have been fastened *lynx*-like to a solar wheel<sup>2</sup>. She was a magician, and magicians have always dealt in magic circles<sup>3</sup>. But above all she was a goddess comparable with the island-queen of Celtic myths<sup>4</sup>, and Celtic myths—especially in their Welsh form—spoke of the island-palace as the 'Revolving Castle'. In that castle was a mystic vessel, the pagan original of the Holy Grail. And it is to be noticed that the heroes best qualified to seek the Grail on the one hand are the chief representatives of the 'Table Round,' and on the other stand in intimate relation to the hawk<sup>5</sup>. Thus Arthur's favourite knight was *Gwalchmei*, the 'Hawk of May,' whose brother, even stronger than himself, was *Gwalchaved*, the 'Hawk of Summer.' The latter is better known to us as Galahad; the former, as Gawain—a name which Sir John Rhŷs derives from *Gwalch-gwyn*, the 'White Hawk,' or *Gwalch-herwin*, the 'Summer Hawk<sup>7</sup>.' Now in the myth of Kirke it is easy to recognize the mystic vessel and the human Hawk. But can we also detect any trait to correspond with the 'Revolving Castle' or the 'Table Round'? In short, has the notion of circularity left any mark upon it? Not, I think, on Greek soil, real or imaginary. But it is to Italy rather than to Greece that we should look for correspondence with Celtic myth; and the Italian Kirke seems to have dwelt on a circular island. In the territory of the *Volsci*—whose name may be akin to that of the *Welsh*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Io, Antioch. *frag.* 24. 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 551 Muller) Καλυψώ καὶ Κίρκη Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης ἦσαν ἰέπειαι is indecisive.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 226, *infra* p. 253 ff. Cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 14 (the leg-bone of a hawk attracts gold) ἵγγι ἀπορρήτω τι.

<sup>3</sup> A wall-painting from the *Casa dei Dioscuri* at Pompeii shows a peasant consulting a sorceress, who is seated in the middle of a circular base, holding her wand and presenting him with a cup (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 392 f. no. 1565, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1500 fig. 4781). This sorceress has been sometimes identified with Kirke (e.g. Smith—*Marindin Clavis. Dict.* p. 233), but the identification is precarious.

*Supra* p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> J. Rhŷs *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* Oxford 1891 pp. 116, 302 f., 325, 392, A. C. L. Brown 'Iwam' in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* (Harvard University) 1903 viii. 53, 56, C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London 1905 pp. 319 n. 3, 366 ff., J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Percival* London 1909 ii. 266 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Peredur Paladr-hir*, the 'Spearman of the Long Shaft' (Sir Percivale), is not so related to the hawk. But then Miss J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Percival* London 1906 i. 171 f., 1909 n. 301, 305 ff. proves that Percival was not the original hero of the Grail.

<sup>7</sup> J. Rhys *op. cit.* pp. 13 f., 166 ff., C. Squire *op. cit.* p. 369.

<sup>8</sup> F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*<sup>6</sup> Strassburg 1899 p. 420 compares *Welsh* with the Celtic tribal name *Volcae*. So do W. W. Skeat *A concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* new ed. Oxford 1901 p. 599 s.v.

and consequently denote a 'Hawk' tribe<sup>1</sup>—was the coast town of *Cerrei*, later called *Circei* (the modern *Circelli*), at the foot of the *Cerceius* or *Circeius mons* (*Monte Circello*). This calcareous and cavernous mountain was originally an island; and here the myth of *Kirke*, the 'Hawk,' was localised<sup>2</sup>; where her image was said to catch the first rays of the rising sun<sup>3</sup>. Nonnos makes her as the mother of the Italian Faunus inhabit—

Deep-shaded circles of a rocky home<sup>4</sup>.

He is presumably referring to *Monte Circello* and, if I mistake not, intentionally hinting at its circularity.

On the whole I am disposed to conclude that *Kirke* began life as a solar hawk, that originally and in Greece she had nothing to do with Revolving Castles or Tables Round, but that later and in Italy<sup>5</sup>, under the influence of folk-etymology, she may have been brought into connexion with Celtic ideas of the solar circle.

#### (δ) *Medeia*.

We come now to *Medeia*, the niece or, according to some, the sister of *Kirke*<sup>6</sup>. As grand-daughter of *Helios* she too could summon the solar chariot at need. *Diodoros*<sup>7</sup> relates that *Medeia*, when she fled from *Kolchis* with the *Argonauts*, put in to *Iolkos* and there plotted the death of king *Pelias*. She made a hollow image of *Artemis*, stuffed it with all sorts of charms, and passed herself off as a priestess of the goddess. She declared that *Artemis* had come from the country of the *Hyperboreoi*, travelling through the air in a car drawn by serpents and seeking the world over for the most pious of kings, in order that she might establish her cult with him and bless him with renewed youth. As proof of her

<sup>1</sup> 'Walnut,' *J. Rhys op. cit.* p. 13 n. 1, and A. Nutt in *Folk-Lore* 1910 xvi. 233 n. 3. The *Voleae* were a tribe of southern Gaul (*Tolosa*, *Nemausus*, etc.). ? Cf. *Volei* in Etruria and *Voleen* in Lucania. On *Volei* (for \**Vole-sci*) corresponding with the Celtic *Voleae* see H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1905 i. 164, *op. cit.* 127, 169.

<sup>2</sup> See *J. Rhys op. cit.* p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> K. Seeliger in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 1201 f., C. Hulsen in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc.* iii. 2565 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1705, 31 f. ἐψηλοῦ φασὶν ὄντος τοῦ Κίρκαιον Ἡλίου ἐκ νεκρὸς ἐπιλάμπει το τῆς Κίρκης ἕσανον.

<sup>5</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 13, 332 ἦκε πετραίοιο βαθύσκια κύκλα μελάθρον.

<sup>6</sup> Near *Luna* in northern Etruria was an ἀκρον *Σελήνης* (*Ptol.* 3. 1. 4). W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 15 identifies this with the *Σελήναιον ὄρος*, on which were shown the mortars used by *Medeia* and *Kirke* for pounding their charms (*schol. Theokr.* 2. 15). This supports a lunar rather than a solar connexion.

<sup>7</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2482.

<sup>8</sup> *Diod.* 4. 51 f.

words, Medeia changed her own looks from those of an old woman to those of a maid, and further by means of her enchantments caused the alleged serpents to appear in visible form. The king, convinced of her powers, bade his daughters do whatever she commanded. Medeia came by night to the palace and ordered them to boil the body of their sleeping father in a caldron. When they demurred, she took an old ram, bred in the house, cut it limb from limb, boiled its body, and by her magic art produced out of the caldron the figure of a lamb. The maidens, thus persuaded, slew their father, whom Medeia cut up and boiled. She then sent them up to the palace-roof with torches, saying that she must offer a prayer to Selene. The torches served as a fire-signal to the Argonauts, who were lying in wait outside the city. They at once attacked it, overcame all resistance, and secured the palace. In this romantic narrative Diodoros is following the *Argonautai* or *Argonautika* of Dionysios Skytobrachion, an Alexandrine grammarian of the second century B.C.<sup>1</sup> The snaky chariot is here that of Artemis the moon-goddess, as on a copper coin of Aureliopolis in Lydia, struck under Commodus, which shows Artemis with a crescent moon on her head in a chariot drawn by two serpents<sup>2</sup>. But Artemis, thinly disguised as Hekate<sup>3</sup>, is in this story made the mother of Medeia and daughter of Helios. The serpent-chariot, therefore, may have been either solar or lunar in its origin.

Ovid, after recounting the murder of Pelias, adds that Medeia would have had to pay the penalty of her crime, had she not forthwith mounted into the air on her winged snakes<sup>4</sup> and made her way by a devious track to Corinth. His version of her escape seems modelled on the common account of her disappearance from Corinth, not without some admixture of Triptolemos' tour.

As to what happened at Corinth, various tales were told<sup>5</sup>. According to our oldest authority, Eumelos<sup>6</sup>, whose *Korinthiaka* was composed about 740 B.C., Helios had by Antiope two sons, Aloeus and Aietes: Helios gave Arkadia to the former, Corinth to

<sup>1</sup> Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 929 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1350, viii. 713. Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 659.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. 4. 45. Ελάττην φιλοκυνήγων ἀνθρώπους ἀντὶ τῶν θηρίων κατατοξεύειν ἐπειτ' Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἰδρυσαμένην καὶ τοῖς καταπλέοντας ξένους θέσθαι τῇ θεῷ καταδείξασαν ἐπ' ὁμότητι διονομασθῆναι. Medeia herself was said to have founded a sanctuary of Artemis on one of the islands in the Adriatic, whither Iason had sailed *via* the river Istros! (Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 105).

<sup>4</sup> Ov. *met.* 7. 350f. quod nisi pennatis serpentibus isset in auras | non exempla foret pene. fugit alta etc.

<sup>5</sup> These are collected and discussed by K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2492 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Eumel. *frag.* 2. 3, 4 Kinkel.

the latter. But Aietes, dissatisfied with his portion, went off to Kolchis, leaving Bounos<sup>1</sup>, a son of Hermes by Alkidameia, as regent on behalf of himself and his descendants. On the death of Bounos, Epopeus, son of Aloeus, succeeded to the throne. Marathon, son of Epopeus, fled to Attike to escape the lawless violence of his father, and, when Epopeus died, divided the kingdom between his own two sons, Sikyon and Korinthos. Korinthos leaving no issue,



Fig. 178.

the Corinthians sent to Iolkos for Medeia, daughter of Aietes, to come and reign over them. Iason was king in virtue of his wife's descent. The children born to them Medeia hid in the sanctuary of Hera, thinking to make them immortal. In this she failed. Iason detected her action and would not forgive it, but sailed away to Iolkos. So Medeia too took her departure and left the kingdom to Si-yphos.

<sup>1</sup> The eponymous founder of the sanctuary of Hera *Borvaia* (Paus. 2. 4. 7), 'of the Hill' (*βορρός*), = Hera *Aspaia* (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* 1. 1193).



This genealogy throws some light on early Corinthian religion; for it enables us to see that the kings of Corinth were regarded as near akin to Zeus, or perhaps even as successive incarnations of him. Korinthus, the eponym of the town,—who must be carefully distinguished from Korinthus, the personification of the town<sup>1</sup>,—is represented on a bronze mirror, found at Corinth and now in the Louvre, as a majestic Zeus-like man seated on a throne and holding a sceptre. A *himation* is wrapped about him, and Leukas the Corinthian colony is in the act of placing a wreath upon his head (fig. 178)<sup>2</sup>. This Korinthus, according to Eumelos, was the son of Marathon. But Pausanias, who cites the Eumelian pedigree, begins by the following naive admission: 'That Korinthus was the son of Zeus has never yet, to my knowledge, been seriously asserted by anybody *except by most of the Corinthians themselves*.' The claim of the Corinthians was indeed so well known to the Greeks in general that it passed into the proverb 'Korinthus son of Zeus' used in cases of wearisome iteration<sup>3</sup>. If then the Corinthian populace regarded Korinthus, son of Marathon, as the son of Zeus, it is not unlikely that Marathon was held to be an embodiment of Zeus. Indeed, a scholiast on Aristophanes—if the text of his *scholion* is sound—declares: 'This "Korinthus son of Zeus" was the son of Zeus a king of Corinth'. Again, Marathon in his turn was the son of Epopeus; and an epic poet, probably of the seventh century B.C., informs us that Epopeus had the same wife as Zeus. It would seem then that, when Medeia came to Corinth, the kings of the town had for three successive generations (Epopeus, Marathon, Korinthus) stood in a relation of peculiar intimacy to Zeus. What

<sup>1</sup> The former is masculine (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1381 f.), the latter feminine (Athen. 201 D).

<sup>2</sup> A. Dumont in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Etudes grecques en France* No. 2 1873 p. 23 ff. pl. 3, K. D. Mylonas in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1873 p. 440 ff. pl. 64, *id.* *Ἑλληνικά κάτοπτρα* Athens 1876 p. 17 ff. pl. A' 3, V. Duruy *History of Greece* English ed. London 1892 ii. 130 n. 1 fig.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 2. 1. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Pind. *Mon.* 7. 155 with schol., Aristoph. *ran.* 439 with schol., *ecc.* 828 with schol., *frag.* 434 Dindorf, Plat. *Euthyd.* 292 E with schol., Ephor. *frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 237 Muller), Liban. *op.* 565, Theodoros Hyrtakenos in Boissonade *anecd.* ii. 433, 2 f., Zenob. 3. 21, Makar. 7. 46, Apostol. 6. 17, 12. 30, Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς Κόρινθος, Phot. *lex. s.v.* ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος, Περσέως ὁδός, ὑπέρου περιτροπή, Soud. *s.v.* Διὸς Κόρινθος, ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος, ὑπέρου περιτροπή. On the attempts made by the later grammarians to explain this proverb see Appendix C.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 439 ὁ δὲ Διὸς Κόρινθος παῖς Διὸς βασιλέως Κορίνθου. Unfortunately the text is not free from suspicion. Cod. V omits the word βασιλέως; and F. H. M. Blaydes *ad loc.* would read πασιλέως. Blaydes' emendation may be right, for another *scholion* on the same passage has ὁ δὲ Διὸς Κόρινθος παῖς Διὸς βασιλέως Κορίνθου.

<sup>6</sup> *Infra* ch. i. § 7 (d).

now of Medeia herself? 'Zeus,' says the old scholiast on Pindar, 'was enamoured of her there; but Medeia would not hearken to him, as she would fain avoid the wrath of Hera'.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough the love of Zeus for Medeia was balanced by the love of Hera for Iason.<sup>2</sup> Analogous cases<sup>3</sup>, to be considered later, suggest that this reciprocity implies the Zeus-hood, so to speak, of Iason<sup>4</sup> and the Hera-hood of Medeia.

Thus the myth of Medeia as told by Eumelos serves to connect the earliest dynasty of Corinth with Zeus; but it does not help us to decide whether the serpent-chariot was of solar or lunar origin. On this point Euripides is the first to satisfy our curiosity. His Medeia, when about to be banished from Corinth by king Kreon, makes her escape to Athens in the car of Helios—a device somewhat unfairly criticised by Aristotle<sup>5</sup>. Ere she goes, she flings the following defiance at her husband:

Cease this essay If thou wouldst aught of me,  
Say what thou wilt: thine hand shall touch me never.  
Such chariot hath my father's sire, the Sun,  
Given me, a defence from foeman's hand<sup>6</sup>.

Euripides does not, indeed, definitely state that the Sun's chariot was drawn by serpents. But later writers are unanimous. Medeia, say they, received from the Sun a chariot of winged snakes and on this fled through the air from Corinth to Athens<sup>7</sup>. That her

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 74 εἰ δὲ αὐτῆς ὁ Ζεὺς ἡράσθη, οὐκ ἐπειθέτο δὲ ἡ Μήδεια τὸν τῆς 'Ηρας ἐκλείνουσα χόλον'. *Λ.Τ.Λ.*

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 12. 72 ἀλλ' Ἥρῃ παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων, *Λρ. Rhod.* 3. 66 ἔτι καὶ πρὶν ἐμοὶ (sc. *Ἡρα*) μέγα φίλατ' Ἰήσων, *schol. Pind. Pynh.* 4. 156 ὅστι δὲ εὐπρεπὴς ἦν ὁ Ἰάσων, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν κατὰ τινὰς αὐτῶ ἐπιμανῆναι.—cited by K. Seeliger in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* II. 68.

<sup>3</sup> See *Class. Rev.* 1906 xv. 378.

<sup>4</sup> For Διομήδης as the alleged older name of Iason see K. Seeliger *op. cit.* II. 64 and C. von Holzinger on *Lyk. Al.* 632.

<sup>5</sup> *Aristot. pol.* 13. 1454 b 15, with the comment of A. E. Haigh *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks* Oxford 1896 p. 289. See, however, E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 143 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Eur. Med.* 1319 ff. trans. A. S. Way.

<sup>7</sup> *Dikaearch. hyp. Eur. Med.* ἐπὶ ἄρματος δρακόντων περωτῶν, ὁ παρ' Ἡλίου ἔλαβεν, ἐποχος γενομένη κ.τ.λ., *Apollod.* 1. 9. 28 λαβούσα παρὰ Ἡλίου ἄρμα πτηνῶν δρακόντων ἐπὶ τοιούτων φειγούσα κ.τ.λ., *Tzet. in Lyk. Al.* 175 (p. 83 Scheer) ἐφ' ἄρματος δρακόντων περωτῶν [τῶν παρὰ Ἡλίου ληφθέντων] ins. Muller, om. Scheer] εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημεῖ.

(cp. *Op. met.* 7. 398 f. line Titaniacis (= Solis) ablata diacomibus intrat, Palladias arces, Val. Flacc. 5. 453 aligenis aut quae secret angulis auras. *Hom. epod.* 3. 14 serpente fugit alite usus the singular, and is followed by *Myth. Vat.* 1. 25 and 2. 138 alato serpente aufugit. The *schol. Eur. Med.* 1320 says vaguely οχομένη δρακοντίους ἄρμασι.

In *Sen. Med.* 1031 ff. squamosa gemini colla serpentes iugo submissa praebent, recipe iam gnatos parens, ego inter auras aliti curru vehar we have a description of the older type of solar vehicle, in which the chariot is winged, not the snakes (*Myth. Vat.* p. 226 n. 3.)

peculiar conveyance was long felt to be of a specially fiery sort, may be gathered from a high-faluting description of it by Dracontius, who wrote at the close of the fifth century A.D.:

Then came the snakes  
Raising their combs aloft and viperous throats  
Scaly: and lo, their crested crowns shot flame.  
The chariot was a torch, sulphur the yoke,  
The pole bitumen: cypress was the wheel:  
Yea, poison made that bridle-bit compact,  
And lead that axle, stolen from five tombs<sup>1</sup>.

In art, as in literature, Medeia escapes from Corinth on a serpent-chariot. Roman *sarcophagi*, which date from the second century of our era, represent her mounting a car drawn from left to right by two winged snakes of monstrous size<sup>2</sup>. In her right hand she grasps a short sword. Over her left shoulder hangs the body of one of her children. The leg or legs of the other child are seen projecting from the car. Of this type there are two varieties. In the first, of which but a single specimen is known, Medeia has a comparatively quiet attitude<sup>3</sup>. In the second, of which there are seven examples, she adopts a more tragic and pathetic pose, raising her sword aloft and turning her head as if to mark Iason's futile pursuit (fig. 179)<sup>4</sup>. There can be little doubt that this sarcophagus-type was based on the tradition of earlier paintings. In fact, almost identical with it is the scene as shown on an *amphora* from Canosa now at



Fig. 179

<sup>1</sup> Dracont. *carmin. prof.* 10. 556 ff. (*Poet. Lat. Min.* v. 212 Baehrens).

<sup>2</sup> The *sarcophagi* are collected, figured, and discussed by Robert Sarkis, *Relig.* ii. 205 ff. pls. 62-65. See also K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2508-2511.

<sup>3</sup> Robert *op. cit.* ii. 205 pl. 62 no. 193, a fragment formerly at Florence in the Palazzo Martelli. Robert notes that the purse in Medeia's right hand is due to a mistake of the draughtsman or of the restorer—it should be a sword—and that the scalloped side of the chariot probably implies a misunderstanding of the second dead child's leg. The attempt to distinguish the male snake (bearded and crested) from the female is likewise a suspicious trait.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 213 f. pl. 64 no. 200, formerly at Rome in possession of an engineer named Canton; now in the Berlin Museum. This sarcophagus was found in 1887 near the Porta S. Lorenzo. See further the monograph by L. von Ulrichs *Die Medea-Sarcophagi* Würzburg 1888 pp. 1-22 pl.

Naples (fig. 180)<sup>1</sup>. Medeia on a car drawn by two snakes, which are not winged, holds the reins in her left hand and one end of a fluttering sail-like *himation* in her right. She turns her face towards Iason, who pursues her hotly on horseback. He is accompanied by a couple of followers, probably the Dioskouroi, for one of them wears a *pilos* and above them we see two stars. Of the children, one lies dead upon the ground, fallen on his face beside the fatal sword; the other, dead also, is with Medeia in the car; the back of his head and one arm being visible beside her. In front of and facing Medeia stands Erinys, a *nimbus* round her head; she holds a sword in one hand, a torch in the other. Lastly, on the extreme right Selene rides her horse: she too has her head circled with a *nimbus*, which is painted red-brown and yellow. She is present possibly as a goddess of magic, who might naturally be associated with Medeia<sup>2</sup>, but more probably to furnish a variation on the hackneyed sun-and-moon theme, Selene on the lunar horse forming



Fig. 180.

a pendant to Medeia on the solar car. There is every reason to think with L. von Ulrichs<sup>3</sup> and C. Robert<sup>4</sup> that the above-mentioned *sarcophagi*—and this *amphora* cannot be separated from them—present us with a scene ultimately derived from Euripides' play. Mr J. H. Huddilston<sup>5</sup> says with justice: 'I know of no monuments of ancient art that grasp the spirit of a Greek tragedy more effectually than the Medeia sarcophagi. The strange and secret power of the sorceress hovers over and pervades the whole. The dreadful vengeance exacted by the slighted queen is shown in the most graphic manner. Standing before the Berlin replica, which is the best preserved and most beautiful of all the sculptures, one cannot

<sup>1</sup> Heydemann *Vasensamm.* *Napfel* p. 506 ff. no. 3221. O. Jahn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1867 xxx. 62 ff. pl. 224. 1. Remach *Rép. Vas.* i. 402, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> L. von Ulrichs *op. cit.* p. 13 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Robert *op. cit.* ii. 205, cp. K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2511.

<sup>5</sup> J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Painting*, London 1898 p. 19.

but feel that he is face to face with a marvellous illustration of the great tragedy. The marble all but breathes; the dragons of Medeia's chariot may be heard to hiss.'

Euripides was not the last to compose a drama about Medeia; and it is in all probability a post-Euripidean play that is illustrated by another Apulian vase, the famous *Medeia-kratēr* of Munich<sup>1</sup>. This magnificent example of later ceramic art has for its principal theme a representation of the vengeance taken by Medeia on Iason, who in her despite contracted wedlock with king Kreon's daughter (pl. xxii)<sup>2</sup>. In the centre of the scene rises the royal palace containing a throne surmounted by two eagles and a pair of circular shields slung from the roof. The king's daughter Kreonteia<sup>3</sup> (*Kreonteia*) has just received from Medeia the fatal gift of a poisoned crown<sup>4</sup>. The casket in which it came stands open on the ground before her. But the poison is potent and is already doing its deadly work. The princess falls in her agony across the throne. Her father ([*Kre*]on), dazed with grief, drops his eagle-tipped sceptre, and with one hand clutches at his grey locks, while he supports her prostrate form with the other. From right and left two figures hasten to the rescue. Kreon's son (*Hippotes*)<sup>5</sup> is first to arrive and vainly attempts to pluck the crown from his sister's head. The queen too (*Merope*)<sup>6</sup> hurriedly approaches with gestures of grief and alarm. Behind her are an old *paidagogós* and a young hand-maid; the former cautiously advancing, the latter disposed to pull him back. Behind Hippotes is an elderly veiled woman, evidently the princess's nurse, who hastens to escape from the horrible sight.

<sup>1</sup> C. Robert *Bild und Lied* Berlin 1881 p. 37 ff. and J. H. Huddilston *op. cit.* p. 145 ff. hold that this vase was intended to illustrate the *Medeia* of Euripides, and that the points in which its design differs from the subject as conceived by Euripides are to be regarded as natural and legitimate additions or subtractions on the part of the painter. A. Furtwangler in his *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 164 ff. refutes their view and concludes that the vase echoes the work of some unknown poet.

<sup>2</sup> Jahn *Vasensamm.* München p. 260 ff. no. 810. Furtwangler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 161—166 pl. 90 (which supersedes all previous reproductions). The vase was found in a tomb near Canosa. Sept. 16, 1813.

<sup>3</sup> *Kreonteia* is her name, not an abbreviation of *Kρεοντεία* (παῖς), nor of *Kρεόντεια* (ἀνὰκτορα), nor yet the title of a drama comparable with *Οἰδίποδεια*, *Ὀρέστεια*, etc. Other sources name her *Πλακῆ* (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1676 no. 4) or *Kρέονσα* (*ib.* ii. 1426 f. no. 3). In Euripides she is nameless.

<sup>4</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 25 coronam ex venenis fecit auream eamque muneri filios suos iussit novercae dare.

<sup>5</sup> The name Hippotes is attested by Diod. 4. 55, schol. Eur. *Med.* 20, Hyg. *fab.* 27, though none of these authors describes him as playing the part here assigned to him.

<sup>6</sup> The painter of this vase is our sole authority for Merope as the mother of Iason's bride, though elsewhere she is mentioned as the wife of Sisypbos or as the wife of Polybos (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2838 f.).

Meantime still greater horrors are in progress before the palace. Medeia (*Médeia*), wearing a Phrygian cap and an embroidered oriental costume, has grasped by the hair one of her two boys and is about to run him through with a sword, in spite of the fact that the little fellow has taken refuge on a square altar<sup>1</sup>. He is making desperate efforts to reach his father (*Iáson*), who with spear and sword, followed by an armed retainer, is hurrying towards him—but just too late to prevent the murder. Another retainer behind Medeia's back safeguards the second boy, who otherwise would share his brother's fate<sup>2</sup>. Between Iason and Medeia is the chariot drawn by two monstrous snakes, which will carry her beyond reach of his vengeance. In it stands her charioteer, a sinister-looking youth with snakes in his hair and torches in his hands. His name *Oistros* shows that the artist, doubtless copying the dramatist<sup>3</sup>, conceived him as a personification of Medeia's frenzy, past, present, and future<sup>4</sup>. Standing on a rocky eminence at the extreme right and pointing with a significant gesture to the over-turned bridal bath<sup>5</sup> and the whole tragic scene before him is a kingly figure draped in a costume resembling that of Medeia. The inscription *eidolon Aíctou*, the 'ghost of Actes,' suggests that in the play Medeia's father, who during his lifetime had done his best to thwart her marriage, appeared after his death to point the moral. If so, he probably spoke from the *theologeíon*, a raised platform here indicated by the rock. Finally, in the background by way of contrast with all the human action and passion we get the tranquil forms of the gods—Herakles and Athena on one side, the Dioskouroi on the other. Their domain is bounded by a pair of Corinthian columns supporting votive tripods, perhaps a hint that the whole painting was inspired by a successful play.

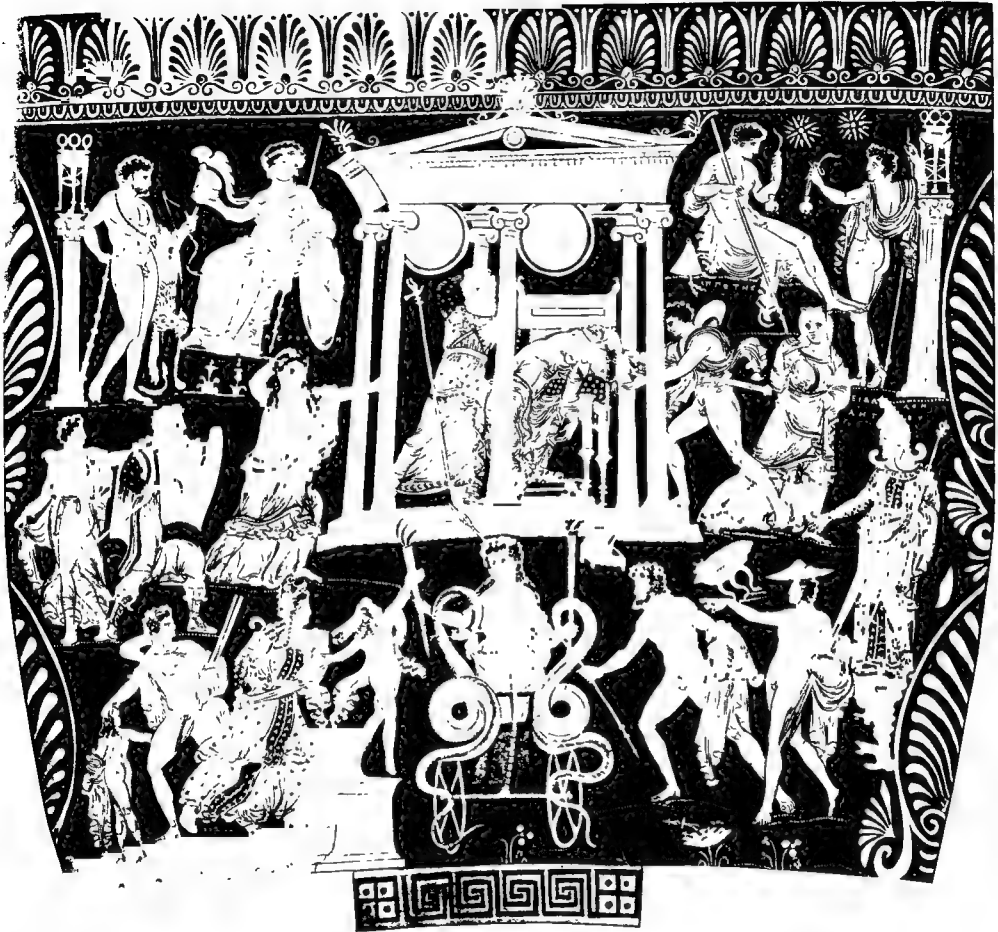
<sup>1</sup> J. H. Huddilston *op. cit.* p. 149 inclines to think that Medeia has lifted the boy on to the altar in order to slay him there. That is certainly a possible interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Diod. 4. 54 πλὴν γὰρ ἐνὸς τοῦ διαφιγόντος τοῖς ἄλλοις νηὶς ἀποσφρασαι.

<sup>3</sup> Poll. 4. 142 includes *Oíστρος* among a list of *ἐκσκειᾶ πρόσωπα* (along with *Δίκη*, *Θάνατος*, *Ἐρινός*, *Λύσσα*, *Τῆρις* etc.). See also E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 147 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This figure is usually taken to represent the mad rage that drove Medeia to commit the desperate deed. Furtwangler *op. cit.* II 165 f. prefers to regard it as the embodiment of Medeia's remorse, at least of the torments that await her as a murderess of her own child. He holds that, whereas Euripides had allowed his Medeia to escape, exulting and unpunished, the later dramatist thus hinted at repentance to come. Furtwangler may well be right; but it must be remembered that, from a Greek point of view, the infatuation that instigates to the deed and the punishment that avenges it are one and the same. See e.g. K. Wetmcke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* II. 1898 s.v. *Ate*, 'Personification der Unheil bringenden Verblendung, ebenso aber auch eines durch diese herbeigeführten Frevels und des ihm als Strafe folgenden Unheils.'

<sup>5</sup> Furtwangler *op. cit.* II. 163 n. 1.



*Kithor* from Canosa — the vengeance of Medea.

See page 251 f.





## (e) Iynx.

When the Argonauts first came to Kolchis, Aphrodite helped Iason to win Medeia by means of an *īynx* or 'wry-neck' fastened to a magic wheel. Pindar describes the incident in a noteworthy passage:

Kyprogeneia, queen of the quick shaft,  
Down from Olympus brought  
The wriggling wry-neck bound beyond escape —  
The mad bird—to a wheel of four-spoked shape,  
And then first gave it unto men and taught  
The proper craft  
To the son of Aison, that he might be wise  
With all the wisdom of her sorceries  
And thereby steal Medeia's shame  
Of her own parents,—yea, the very name  
Of Hellas her desire  
With Penthos whip should spin her heart on fire<sup>1</sup>.

We are nowhere told that this *īynx*-wheel stood for the sun. But that it did, is—I think—a possible, even a probable, inference from the following facts. To begin with, the heroes had after a long series of adventures reached their goal—Aia, the land of the sunrise<sup>2</sup>, ruled by Aietes the offspring of Helios,—and more than one event that befell them in this locality is susceptible of a solar interpretation. Again, Aphrodite is stated to have brought the *īynx*-wheel 'from Olympus,' an obvious source for celestial magic<sup>3</sup>. In his description of the bird on the wheel Pindar uses a peculiar, indeed barely logical, phrase, to which only one precise parallel

<sup>1</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 213ff. It should be noticed that there is a certain parallelism between the beginning and the end of this extract. As Iason spins the magic *īynx*-wheel, so Pentho with her whip spins the heart of Medeia (ποθευῶν δ' Ἑλλάς αὐτάν | ἐν φρασὶ καιόμεναν ὁνέει μαστιγὴ Πειθοῦς). One form of magic wheel is said to have resembled a whip-top (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1139 ῥόμβος δέ ἐστι τροχίσκος ὃν στρέφουσι ἱμάσι τύπτοντες, καὶ οὕτω κτύπον ἀποτελοῦσιν, *id.* *ib.* 4. 144 citing Eupolis *Baptae frag.* 15 Memeke ὃ ῥιμβοῦσι μαστιγῶν ἐκεί, Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1387, 42 ff. τροχίσκον δὲ οἱ τὸν καὶ ῥομβον καλοῦμενον, ὃν τυπτοντες ἱμάσι καὶ στρέφοντες ἐποιοῦν διενεῖσθαι καὶ ψόφον ἀποτελεῖν, *id.* *ib.* p. 706, 29 ff. ἐστὶ δὲ τροχίσκος, ὃν τυπτοντες ἱμάσι καὶ στρέφοντες ποιοῦσι περιδονεῖσθαι καὶ ψόφον ἀποτελεῖν) see P. C. Levesque in *Histoire et mémoires de l'institut royal de France, classe d'histoire et de littérature*, Paris 1818 iii. 5 ff., who argues that the ῥόμβος 'avait le plus souvent la forme du jouet nommé parmi nous *sabot* ou *loupié*,' and O. Jahn in the *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1854 p. 257. A vase representing such a top is figured by G. Fougeres in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1154 fig. 3087.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Escher-Burkh in Pauly Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 919 f., 942 f.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. J. B. Bary in the *Journ. H.E. Stud.* 1886 vii. 157 ff. argues that the Ἥρῃς was originally a moon-charm or invocation of the moon-goddess 'Iḗ. But it is very doubtful whether Io was *an imit*e a moon-goddess (*infra* ch. i § 6 (1g) viii), and quite impossible to connect her name with Ἥρῃς (*īrḗw*). See also the criticisms of D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 73.

could be quoted; and that occurs in the same poet's previous description of Ixion<sup>1</sup>. But Ixion's four-spoked wheel, as I have already pointed out<sup>2</sup>, probably represented the sun. It may, therefore, fairly be surmised that the four-spoked *lynx*-wheel also was a mimic sun. We have in fact definite evidence that on the shores of the Euxine Sea the sun was conceived as a four-spoked wheel. Coins of Mesembria in Thrace c. 450–350 B.C. have the name of the town (ΜΕΤΑ or ΜΕΣΛΛ) inscribed between the four spokes of a wheel, which is surrounded by rays diverging from its rim (fig. 181)<sup>3</sup>. This, as Dr B. V. Head observes, is the radiate wheel of the midday



Fig. 181.



Fig. 182.



Fig. 183.



Fig. 184.

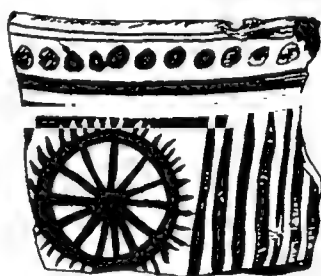


Fig. 185.

(*mesembria*) sun<sup>4</sup>. Again, coins of Kalchedon in Bithynia c. 480–400 B.C. show a four-spoked radiate wheel (fig. 182)<sup>5</sup>, which on other specimens c. 400 loses its rays (fig. 183)<sup>6</sup>: this example is

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 214 ποιῖλαν ἑνγχα τετράκναμον (462 B.C.) with *Pyth.* 2. 40 τὸν δὲ τετράκναμον ἔπραξε δεσμὸν (475? B.C.). B. L. Gildersleeve's remark—'It was poetic justice to bind Ixion to his own *lynx* wheel'—is ingenious, but misleading.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 205 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace* etc. p. 132, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 421 pl. 28. 8. I figure a specimen in my collection.

<sup>4</sup> Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 278, following P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus* etc. p. 124 pl. 27. 1 (my fig. 182), 2, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 290 pl. 45. 9–13, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1493 ff. pl. 181. 7–9, 10<sup>2</sup>, 11, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. pl. 20. 1114 f., Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 511.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus* etc. p. 124 pl. 27. 3 (my fig. 183), Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 290 f. pl. 45. 14. 15<sup>2</sup>, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1495 f. pl. 181. 12, 13<sup>2</sup>, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. pl. 20. 1116, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 511.

instructive for the light that it sheds on a numerous series of wheel-types in the coinage of Greece and Italy<sup>1</sup>. The toothed or radiate wheel is found once more as a countermark on a coin of Populonia in Etruria (fig. 184)<sup>2</sup>. It is also known as a *motif* on



Fig. 186.

'Dipylon' pottery (fig. 185)<sup>3</sup>, where again it may well have denoted the sun.

The magic wheel as seen on Greek vase-paintings (fig. 186)<sup>4</sup> has

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>2</sup> Gansucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 55 pl. 74. 2.

<sup>3</sup> I. Poulsen *Dipylongraber und Dipylonvasen* p. 117. I figure a sherd from Delos after I. Poulsen and C. Dugas in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 371 fig. 29.

<sup>4</sup> (a) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 136 ff. no. F 279 an Apulian *kratér*. (b) *Ib.* iv. 186 f. no. F 399 an Apulian *kylix*. (c) *Ib.* iv. 180 no. F 373 pl. 12, 1 an Apulian *prochoos*. Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* in pl. 1, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* London

## 256      The Solar Wheel in Greece

likewise a jagged or more probably a pearly edge. This little object was strung on a double cord passing through its centre and was set spinning with a jerk<sup>1</sup>: made of glittering bronze<sup>2</sup> and rotating rapidly on its axis, it would provide the magician with a very passable imitation of the sun (fig. 187).

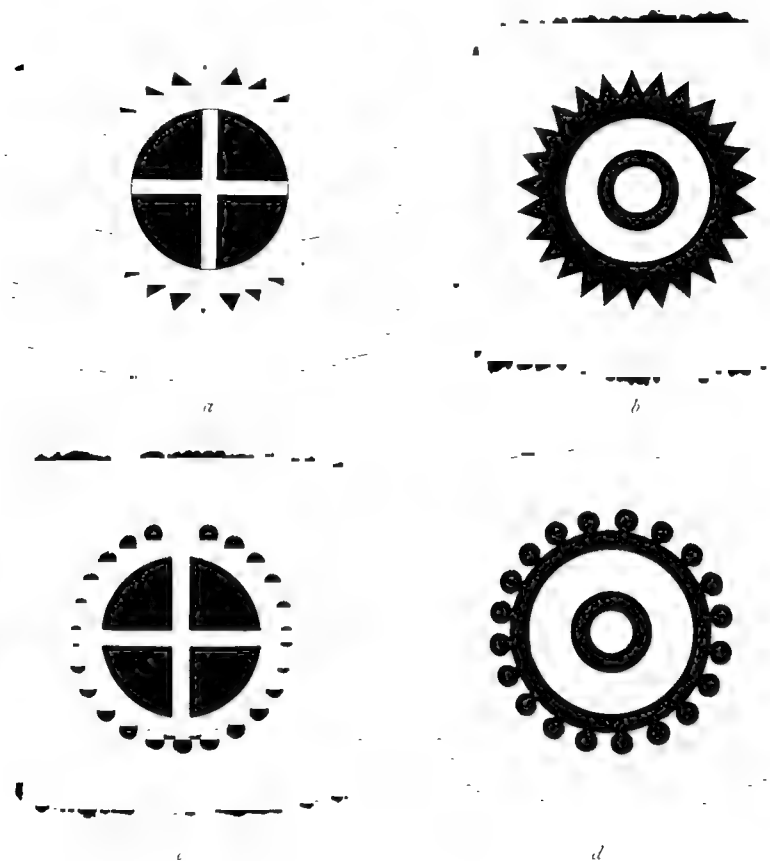


Fig. 187.

On this showing the magic wheel of the Greeks was the western analogue of the eastern 'praying-wheel,' whose essential relation to sun-worship has been satisfactorily established by W. Simpson:

1822 i pl. 16. (d) J. V. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs* Rome 1813 pl. 45 an Apulian *krater*.

For other varieties see *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 164 ff. no. F 331 = *Ach. Zett.* 1853 vi. 42 f. pl. 54, 1 an Apulian *amphora*, *ib.* iv. 110 no. F 223 pl. 9, 1 a Campanian *hydria*.

<sup>1</sup> E. Saglio in Daremberg *Saglio Dict. Ant.* iv. 863 f.

<sup>2</sup> Theokr. 2. 30.

<sup>3</sup> W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel* London 1896 *passim*.

It remains to ask why a wry-neck was attached to the solar wheel. And here we are naturally reduced to mere conjecture. Two main reasons suggest themselves. On the one hand, the bird can and does twist its head round in a most surprising fashion: hence its names *wry-neck* or *writhe-neck* in our own country, *Drehhals* or *Wendehals* in Germany, *torcol*, *tourlicou*, *tourne tête*, etc., in France, *torcicollo* in Italy, *capu tortu* in Sicily<sup>1</sup>. This odd faculty of rotary movement may well have been thought to quicken or intensify the rotation of the solar wheel. On the other hand, the wry-neck breeds in the hole of a tree and, if disturbed, utters a peculiar hissing noise calculated to make the observer believe that its hole is tenanted by a snake<sup>2</sup>; this reason, added to the mobility of its neck and tongue, has earned for it the sobriquet of *snake-bird* in Sussex, Hampshire, and Somerset, *Natterwendel* in Switzerland, *Nattervogel* in Germany, *cò de couleuvre* in the department of Meuse<sup>3</sup>. Now the solar wheel, as we have had occasion to note more than once<sup>4</sup>, tends to be represented with the wings of a bird and a couple of snakes. The wry-neck, combining as it did the qualities of both bird and snake, was a most desirable appendage.

Alexandrine wits were busied over the task of providing the wry-neck with a suitable myth. According to Zenodotos, Iynx was called by some Mintha, being a Naiad nymph whose mother was Peitho<sup>5</sup>. Kallimachos in his work *On Birds* made Iynx a daughter of Echo, who by her spells attracted Zeus to Io and suffered the feathery change at the hands of Hera<sup>6</sup>. Nikandros told how Pieros, king of Pieria, had nine daughters, who vied with the nine Muses in dance and song. A contest was arranged on

<sup>1</sup> C. Swainson *The Folk-Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 103, E. Rolland *Faune populaire de la France* Paris 1879 ii. (Les oiseaux sauvages) 661.

<sup>2</sup> J. L. Bonhote *Birds of Britain* London 1907 p. 178 pl. 53, W. P. Pyecraft *A Book of Birds* London 1908 p. 109 pl. 23, 6. Cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 2. 12. 504 a 12 ff. (ἡ ἰνξὶς) ἔχει τὴν γλωτταν ὁμοίαν τοῖς ὄφεσιν ἐπὶ δὲ περιστρέφει τὸν τράχηλον εἰς τοῦπίσω τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἡρεμούντος, καθάπερ οἱ ὄφεις, Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 256 iynx. *linguam serpentium similem in magnam longitudinem porrigit.*

<sup>3</sup> C. Swainson and E. Rolland *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 205 ff., 227, 228 ff., 248 f.

<sup>5</sup> Zenod. *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v. μένθα*. Menthe or Minthe was beloved by Hades and, when maltreated by Persephone or Demeter, was changed by him into the herb 'mint' (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2801, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 852).

<sup>6</sup> Kallim. *περὶ ὀρνέων* *frags.* 100<sup>7</sup>, S. Schneider *ap.* schol. Theokr. 2. 17, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 56, *Tact.* in Lyk. *ll.* 310, Nikephoros Gregoras in Synes. *περὶ ἐννεπνίων* p. 360 Petavius, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ἰνξίς, Soud. *l.c.* s.v. Ἰνξίς. In schol. Theokr. *loc. cit.* H. L. Ahrens restores *φαρμακεύων δὲ τὸν δια· ἐπὶ Ἰοῖ·, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ μυχθῇ*, O. Schneider *ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ· Ἰοῖ· μυχθῇ*. In Phot. and Soud. *loc. cit.* we should probably read *ἀπωρυθώθη* for *ἀπελθώθη* (C. Bernhardy *cj.* *ἀπωρυεώθη*, cp. *Tact.* in Lyk. *ll.* 310).

## 258 The Solar Wheel in Greece

Mount Helikon. The mortals, vanquished by the immortals, were transformed into birds; and the *lynx* was one of these<sup>1</sup>.

But the earlier unsophisticated view saw in the wry-neck merely a bird appropriate to the solar wheel, and useful therefore as a fertility-charm. This explains its connexion with Dionysos, who bore the titles *Lyngies* and *Lyngyi*<sup>2</sup>. Finally, the fertility-charm, as so often happens, dwindled into a love-charm, and the *lynx* or *lynx-wheel* was associated with the deities of soft emotion—Aphrodite and Eros, Himeros and Peitho<sup>3</sup>.

If the *lynx-wheel* was indeed a representation of the sun, we might reasonably expect to find it in the *entourage* of Apollon. For this god, though not himself primarily or originally solar, can be shown to have absorbed into his cult certain features of early sun-magic<sup>4</sup>. In point of fact there is some ground for thinking that the *lynx* was admitted into the Apolline cult at Delphoi. That past master in magic Apollonios of Tyana, when wishing to prove that the Delphic god did not disdain wealth and luxury, remarked that at Pytho Apollon had required temple after temple, each greater than its predecessor, and added that 'from one of them he is said to have hung golden *lynxes* which echoed the persuasive notes of siren voices'. This obscure passage has been brought into connexion with another equally obscure Pausanias, *à propos* of the third or bronze temple at Delphoi, states: 'I do not believe that the temple was a work of Hephaestus, nor the story about the golden songstresses which the poet Pindar mentions in speaking of this particular temple:—

And from above the gable  
Sang charmers all of gold.

Here, it seems to me, Pindar merely imitated the Sirens in Homer<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Nikandros *op. Ant. Lib.* 9.

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. *Ἰνγίης ὁ Διόνυσος* and *Ἰνγυῖ ὁ Διόνυσος*. M. Schmidt suggests *Ἰνγκηῖς* 'quasi *emulator*' in both cases.

The names *κιναιδός* (schol. Theokr. 2. 17), *κιναιδίων* (schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 494 E, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ἰνγέ, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰνγέ, *κιναιδίων*, Soud. *s.v.* Ἰνγέ), and *σεισοπιγίς* (Soud. *s.v.* Ἰνγέ, schol. Theokr. 2. 17, schol. Aristeid. iii. 307 Dindorf, Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 310, *et. Gud.* p. 285, 12. c10. p. 625, 53 f. Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἰνγέ) imply that the wry-neck was confused with the wag-tail, but afford no proof of 'phallic symbolism' (D'Arcy W. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 71).

<sup>3</sup> F. Saglio *op. cit.* iv. 864, R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 772 f.

<sup>4</sup> See the excellent discussion by Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* iv. 136 ff., especially pp. 143, 285.

<sup>5</sup> Philostr. *vi. Apoll.* 6. 11 p. 221, 32 ff. Kayser ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσᾶς ἰνγίας ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχοῖσας (leg. ἐπηχοῖσας) πειθῶ.

Prof. G. Murray thinks that ἐπεχοῖσας might be rendered 'enticing' a kind of Siren persuasion, but himself suggests ἐπηχοῖσας, 'seducing' a kind of Siren spell.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. 10. 5. 12 trans. J. G. Frazer. The fragment of Pindar is here cited in the

Now Monsieur S. Reinach in an ingenious and penetrating article has argued that the early Greeks, conforming to a custom widespread throughout western Europe, sought to protect their temples against lightning by means of an eagle, the lightning-bird *par excellence*, bound and fastened to a post in either pediment: the pediment in fact thence derived its name *actós*, *aétoma*<sup>1</sup>. I would suggest that on or in both pediments of the primitive temple at Delphoi was another bird bound and fastened with like intent—the *íynx* on its wheel (later replaced by a simple *íynx*-wheel), which secured the protecting presence of the sun itself. This suggestion may be reinforced by two lines of argument. On the one hand, when we come to deal with the solar disk, we shall find that the pediment of a sacred edifice was the favourite place for that symbol<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, Apulian vases often depict a pair of four-spoked wheels hanging from the roof of a temple<sup>3</sup> or palace<sup>4</sup> or chieftain's hut<sup>5</sup>. These wheels are commonly supposed to be chariot wheels<sup>6</sup>. But, although in heroic days the wheels of a chariot when not in use might doubtless be taken off and kept separately<sup>7</sup>, we should hardly imagine that they were habitually

following form: *χρύσται δ' ἐξ ὑπερέτων (οἱ ὑπαρέτων) αἰδὼν κηλήμονες*. But (Galen. *in Hippocrat. de artibus* 3. 23 (xviii. 1. 519 Kuhn) has *καὶ ὁ Πίνδαρος φησιν ἐν ταῖς Πλειάσιν (leg. τοῖς παιάσι) χρύσται δ' οὐδέποτε αἰετοῦ αἰδὼν κηλιδόνες*. Hence Schneidewin proposed *ἐξ ὑπέρ αἰετοῦ*, Bergk *ἐξ ὑπερβ' αἰετοῦ*, Casaubon *κηλιδόνες*. Of recent editors C. A. M. Fennell *frag.* 30 prints *Χρύσται δ' ἐξ ὑπερώων | αἰδὼν Κηλιδόνες*, W. Christ *frag.* 53 *Χρύσται δ' ἐξ ὑπερβ' αἰετοῦ αἰδὼν Κηλιδόνες*, O. Schroeder *frag.* 53 *χρύσται δ' ἐξ ὑπερβ' αἰετοῦ αἰδὼν κηλιδόνες*. The fragment is referred to by Athen. 290 E τῶν παρὰ Πινδάρῳ Κηλιδόνων, αἱ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ταῖς Σειρήσι τοὺς ὀκρωμένους ἐποίουν ἐπιλανθανομένους τῶν τροφῶν διὰ τὴν ἥδονην ἀφαναιέσθαι. The passage from Athenaeus in turn is alluded to by Eustath. *in Od.* pp. 1689, 33 ff., 1709, 58 ff.

<sup>1</sup> S. Reinach 'Aetos Prométheus' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 59 ff. = *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1908 in. 68 ff., cp. J. E. Harrison 'Prométhée et le culte du pilier' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 in. 429 ff. and 'Bird and Pillar Worship' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religion* Oxford 1908 ii. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* p. 292 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The temple of Apollon at Delphoi (O. Jahn *Vasenbilder* Hamburg 1839 p. 1 ff. pl. 1, K. Boetticher *Der Omphalos des Zeus zu Delphi (Winckelmannsfest- Progr. Berlin)* Berlin 1859 pl. 1; and perhaps Reinach *Rép. Vas.* i. 351). The temple of Hera at Thebes (2) (*Id. ib.* i. 161, 4).

<sup>4</sup> The palace of Hades (*Id. ib.* i. 258, 4 = *infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (γ), i. 355 = *supra* p. 200, i. 455, 1). The palace of Lykourgos at Nemea (*Id. ib.* i. 235).

<sup>5</sup> The hut of Achilles (*Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1908 vii. 406 ff. pl. 19).

<sup>6</sup> Raoul-Rochette *Monuments inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1831 p. 210 n. 2, Pieller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 805 n. 1. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 176 I adopted this explanation myself, but took the chariot in question to be that of the sun. I was, as I now see, half-wrong, half-right.

<sup>7</sup> *Il.* 5. 722 f. "Ἡβ' δ' ἄμφ' ὀχέεσσι θοῶς βάλε καμπύλα κίελα, ἡάλκεα ὀκτάκνημα, σὶδηρέω δέξον ἄμφω. The chariot itself, as distinct from the wheels, was put on a stand and carefully covered with a cloth (*Il.* 8. 441, cp. *ib.* 2. 777 f.). Before the wheels were removed the chariot might be set alight against the front wall of the building (*Il.* 8. 435, *Od.* 4. 42).

hung from the ceiling of a palace, still less from that of a temple<sup>1</sup>. And why—we may pertinently ask—is the rest of the supposed chariot never shown<sup>2</sup>? A wheel can perhaps serve on occasion as a tachygraphic sign for a chariot<sup>3</sup>. But the painters of these great Apulian vases would surely sometimes have represented the vehicle

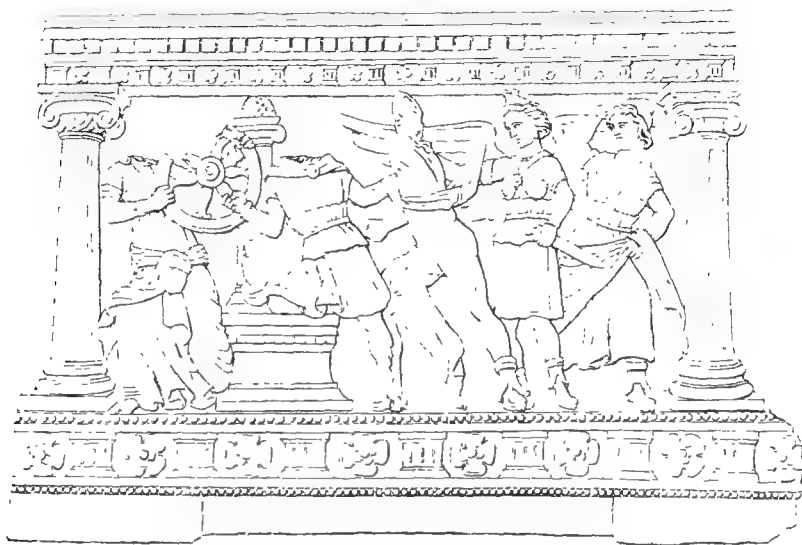


Fig. 188.

as a whole had that been their meaning. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the wheels depending from the roof of temple and palace are rather to be interpreted as magic wheels of a

<sup>1</sup> Raoul-Rochette *loc. cit.* adduces Paus. 2. 14. 4 τοῦ δὲ Ἀνακτόρου καλομένου πρὸς τῷ ὀρόφῳ Ἡελοπος ἀρμα λέγονσιν ἀνακείσθαι. But J. G. Frazer translates: 'On the roof of what is called the Anactorium stands a chariot which they say is the chariot of Pelops.' And, if the Ἀνακτόρον at Keleai resembled that at Eleusis (cp. Paus. 2. 14. 1), this may well be right.

<sup>2</sup> On an Apulian *amphora* from Ruvo at St. Petersburg (Stephani *Vasensamm.* St. Petersburg i. 215 ff. no. 422 and in the *Compte-rendu St. P.* 1863 p. 267 n. 4; *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 11 f.; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1849 xvi. 240 ff.; Overbeck *Gall. Gr.* *Biblat* i. 472 ff. Atlas pl. 20. 4; Reinach *Rép. Vase.* i. 138. 3, 139), which shows the ransoming of Hector's body (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 246), a chariot is apparently suspended in the background along with a pair of greaves, a shield, and a *phlois*; but, though the scene is probably laid before Achilles' hut, there is no indication of architecture.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the wheel of Myrtilos, on which however see *supra* p. 225 n. 4, or the wheel in the exergue of a Syracusan coin signed by Euameos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* pp. 166, 173; G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 63; Head *Ill. t. num.* 2 p. 175), or the wheel held by a reclining female figure named *Via Traiana* on coins of Trajan (Rasche *Lev. Num.* x 1116; Stevenson-Smith—Madden *Diet. Rom. Coins* p. 858 fig.), or that held by a figure commemorating the Circus-games of 121 A.D. on a medallion and coins of Hadrian (Griech *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 16 no. 56 pl. 144, 5; Rasche *op. cit.* i. 648 ff. Suppl. i. 691 f.; Stevenson-Smith—Madden *op. cit.* p. 46 f. fig.).



prophylactic sort, in a word as *lynges*. However that may be, the Delphic *lynx* is evidenced by other works of art. A series of Etruscan funerary reliefs at Florence, Volterra, etc., represents the death of Neoptolemos<sup>1</sup>. A *cista* in the Museum at Volterra (fig. 188)<sup>2</sup> will serve as an example. The hero, suddenly attacked by Orestes, has fled for refuge to the altar in front of the Delphic temple<sup>3</sup>, and, in order to put himself still more effectually under the protection of the god, clasps with uplifted hand a six-spoked



Fig. 189.

wheel apparently conceived as hanging from the entablature. A priestess on the left would wrest the sacred wheel from his grasp. A priest on the right is horror-struck at the murder. And the scene is completed by the presence of a winged Fury. The wheel,

<sup>1</sup> A list of these reliefs is drawn up by Raoul-Rochette *op. cit.* p. 209, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* p. 746 f. pl. 30, 15, P. Weizsacker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 176, and above all by Korte *Kilren delle Urn Etrusche* 1890 ii. pl. 53 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Korte *op. cit.* ii pl. 54, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the scene of the tragedy as depicted on an Apulian *amphora* in the Jatta collection (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1868 xl. 235 ff. pl. E=Baumeister *D. n. m.* ii. 1009 fig. 1215 = Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 175—176 fig. 5).

with which alone we are concerned, has been very variously interpreted<sup>1</sup>. It is—I submit—none other than the Delphic *ζυγος*. That this symbol should be found so far west as Etruria need not surprise us. We have here again to reckon with the possibility of Celtic influence. A silver disk forming part of a hoard unearthed in 1836 at Notre-Dame d'Alençon near Brissac (Maine-et-Loire) and later acquired by the Louvre brings the wheel—presumably the Gallic solar wheel<sup>2</sup>—into close relation with Apollon (fig. 189)<sup>3</sup>.

Philostratos, who in his *Life of Apollonios* spoke of the golden *ζυγες* that hung from the Delphic temple as 'echoing the persuasive notes of siren voices', records an interesting parallel from the far east. In describing the palace of the king of Babylon he mentions 'a hall, whose ceiling was vaulted like a sky and roofed with sapphire, a stone of the bluest and most heavenly colour. Images of the gods whom they worship are set up above, and appear as golden figures emerging from the upper air. Here the king passes judgment; and *ζυγες* of gold are hung from the roof, four in number, assuring him of divine Necessity and bidding him not to be uplifted above mankind. These the Magians declare that they themselves attune, repairing to the palace, and they call them the voices of the gods'. We should, I think, attempt to elucidate Philostratos' account in the light of a stone tablet found by the veteran explorer Mr Hormuzd Rassam at Abû-Habbah, the site of the old Babylonian city Sippar (fig. 190)<sup>4</sup>. This monument, which is now in the British Museum, is officially described as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Koerte *op. cit.* ii. 130 argues that the figure holding the wheel must be Mytilos, not Neoptolemos at all, because in one example (pl. 56, 8) four horses are present. But the horses may quite well be those of Neoptolemos or Orestes, or may even represent the race-course at Delphoi, where Orestes according to the fabled tale (Soph. *El.* 681 ff.) was killed by his own festive team. The pillar in the background of our illustration is equally indecisive: it stands, I think, for the Delphic *omphalos*, though it might perhaps be explained as the goal-post of Omomaos' race. Our real and conclusive reason for regarding the scene as the death of Neoptolemos, not Mytilos, is that the former was notoriously slain at the altar of Apollon (Koscher *Lev. Myth.* iii. 172), while the latter was no less notoriously flung into the sea by Pelops (*ib.* ii. 3315 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 288 f.

<sup>3</sup> F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du type pyramidal* Paris 1854 pp. 107, 261 ff., 362 pl. 20, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 258 n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Philostr. *τ. Apoll.* i. 25 p. 29, 1 ff. Καίτοι δικάζει μὲν δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνταῦθα, χρυσαὶ δὲ ἕλγες ἀποσρέμνται τοῦ ὀρόφου τέτταρες τὴν Ἀδράστειαν αὐτῷ παρεγγίψαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰρεσθαι. ταῦτας οἱ μάγοι αὐτοὶ φασὶν ἀρμόττεσθαι φοιτῶντες ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς θεῶν γλωττας.

<sup>6</sup> T. G. Pinches in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1885 xiii. 164 ff., C. J. Ball *Light from the East* London 1899 pp. 155–157, L. W. King *Babylonian Religion and Mythology* London 1899 p. 19, G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization* London 1901 p. 657.

Tablet sculptured with a scene representing the worship of the Sun-god in the Temple of Sippar, and inscribed with a record of the restoration of the temple by *Nabû-pal-idinna*, king of Babylonia, about B.C. 870. In the upper part of the tablet the Sun-god is seen seated within a shrine upon a throne, the sides of which are sculptured with figures of mythical beings in relief; in his right hand he holds a disk and bar, which may be symbolic of the sun's orbit, or eternity. Above his head are the three symbols of the Moon and the Sun and the planet Venus. The roof of the shrine is supported by a column in the form of a palm-trunk. Before the shrine upon an altar or table stands the disk of the sun, which is held in position by means of ropes tightly drawn in the hands of two divine beings who form part of the celestial canopy. Approaching the disk are three human figures; the first of these is the high priest of the Sun-god, who is leading by the hand the king to do worship to the symbol of the solar

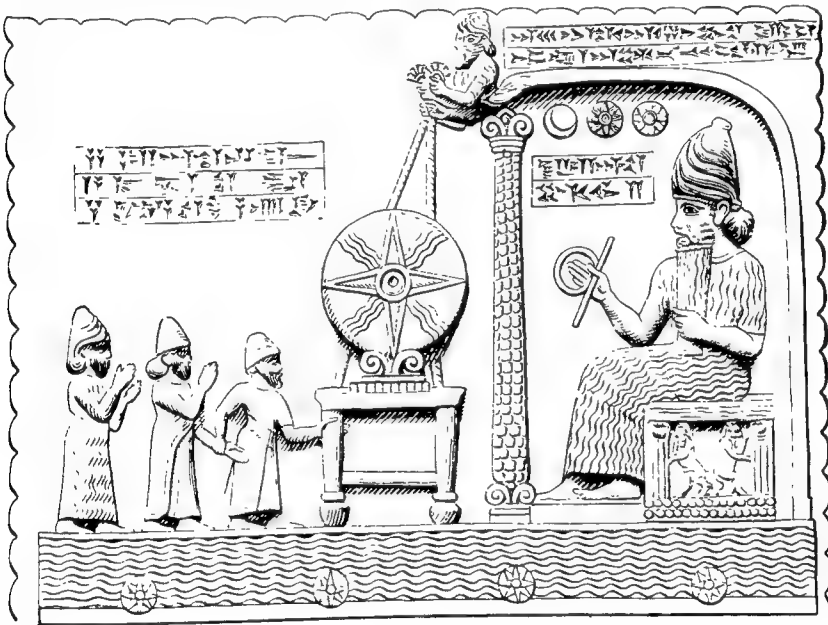


Fig. 190.

deity, and the last figure is either an attendant priest or a royal minister. The shrine of the god stands upon the Celestial Ocean, and the four small disks upon which it rests seem to indicate the four cardinal points. The text describes the restoration of the Temple of the Sun-god by two kings called *Simmash-Shikhu* (about B.C. 1050) and *E-ulbur-shakin-shum* (about B.C. 1020). It then goes on to say that *Nabû-pal-idinna*, king of Babylonia, found and restored the ancient image of the Sun-god and the sculptures of the temple, which had been overthrown by the enemies of the country. He also beautified the ancient figure of the Sun-god with gold and lapis-lazuli....This tablet was made by *Nabû-pal-idinna* in the ninth century before Christ, but he probably copied the sculptured scene at the top from a relief of a very much older period<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *British Museum. A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* London 1900 p. 128 f. pl. 22 no. 91,000.

Comparing now the tablet with the words of Philostratos, we note that it exhibits a throne-room with a ceiling vaulted like the sky, from which emerge certain divine figures. It also mentions lapis-lazuli and gold, thereby recalling the sapphire vault and golden images of the Greek author. Above all, the solar disk suspended by cords and the emblems of sun, moon, and star seen beneath the ceiling are analogous to the four *lynges* said to have been hung from the roof. I shall venture to conclude that Philostratos was not talking at random, but was describing an actual chamber in the Babylonian palace, such as we know to have been constructed by various grandees from that day to this<sup>1</sup>. Golden disks representing the principal heavenly bodies there dangled from a mimic sky. That of the sun, upheld by two genii of gold, announced by its mobility and resonance the divine will. Indeed, all alike were known as 'the voices of the gods.'

We have thus won our way to an explanation, which further clears up the only difficulty remaining with regard to the Delphic *lynges*. They—we argued—were wheels on or in the pediments of the early temple at Delphoi. Now if, as Philostratos says<sup>2</sup>, these golden *lynges* 'echoed the persuasive notes of siren voices' (literally, 'echoed a certain persuasion of Sirens'), and if, as Pindar says<sup>3</sup>, 'from above the gable sang charmers all of gold,' we may suppose that the Delphic wheels were suspended from the hands of siren-like figures placed upon the roof much as we see the solar disk suspended on the Babylonian tablet.

That the *lynx* as a bird was sacred among the ancient Babylonians and Persians has been inferred by Dr L. Hopf<sup>4</sup> and Prof. D'Arcy Thompson<sup>5</sup>. This inference, so far as it is based on the Philostratos-passage above discussed, is obviously precarious. Marinus, it is true, states that Proklos was familiar with Chaldean rites 'and by moving a certain *lynx* in the correct manner caused a rain-fall and freed Attike from a destructive drought'.<sup>6</sup> But that this charm was strictly Chaldean, may well be doubted. And, even if it was, the wheel rather than the bird is probably meant<sup>7</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> See R. Eisler *Wiltonmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 n. 614 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 258 n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 258 n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> L. Hopf *Theorabel und Orakeltiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> Marin. v. *Procl.* 28 οὐδὲν τε ἐκωσεν, ἐγγά τινα προσφόρως κινήσας, καὶ αἰχμῶν ἐξαισίων την Ἀττικὴν ἡλευθέρωσεν. Cp. Proklos in Plat. *Crat.* p. 33, 14 f. Pasquali τοιοῦτον δὲ τι νοεῖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ διαπύρρμιον ὄνομα τῶν ὀγγῶν, ὃ πάσας ἀνέχειν λέγεται τὰς πηγὰς, and see further G. Kroll *Die orakuli. Chaldaica* Vratislaviae 1894 pp. 39—44.

<sup>7</sup> Yet L. Hopf *loc. cit.* notes that near Radoltszell on the Bodensee wry-necks are called 'Ram-birds' (*Regenwogel*).

same consideration disposes of an allusion to the *lynx* in a supposititious fragment of Zoroastres<sup>1</sup>. The Rev. W. Houghton, who has minutely studied the birds of the Assyrian monuments and records, discusses no fewer than fifty-seven species; but the wry-neck is not among them<sup>2</sup>. Clearly, then, we cannot without further proof assert that the wry-neck was a sacred bird in Babylonia and Persia. At most we might maintain that the bird-like solar wheel or disk or ring of Assyrian and Persian art<sup>3</sup> originated in the custom of binding a bird, some bird, not necessarily the wry-neck, upon a revolving wheel to serve as an imitative sun-charm.

### (ζ) Isis, Nemesis, Tyche, Fortuna.

The *lynx*-wheels suspended at Delphoi suggest comparison with other temple-wheels. Aristotle in his treatise on *Mechanics* alludes to certain revolving wheels of bronze and iron as dedicated in sanctuaries<sup>4</sup>. Dionysios the Thracian (c. 170–90 B.C.) wrote a book on the symbolism of wheels; and Clement of Alexandria cites from it a passage in which mention is made of ‘the wheel that turns in the precincts of the gods, being derived from the Egyptians<sup>5</sup>.’ Plutarch too has a reference to these Egyptian wheels. By way of explaining Numa’s precept that men should turn round when they pay adoration to the gods, he remarks: ‘The turning round of the worshippers is said to be an imitation of the rotatory movement of the world. But the meaning would rather seem to be as follows. Since temples face the east, the worshipper has his back to the sun-rise. He here changes his position and turns round towards the (sun-) god, completing the circle, and with it his prayer, by means of both deities (i.e. by turning from the sun-god to the god of the temple again). Unless indeed the Egyptian wheels have a hidden significance and this change of position in like manner teaches us that, inasmuch as no mortal matter stands still, it is right to accept with contentment whatever turns and twists God gives our life.’ Still more explicit is Heron, an Alexandrine mathematician of the third century B.C., who twice describes the wheels in question. ‘In the sanctuaries of the Egyptians,’ he says,

<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Zoroastres *frag.* 54 Κοῦν<sup>2</sup> νοούμεναι ἡγγες πατρώθεν νόεονσι καὶ αὐταί· | βουλαῖς ἀφ’ ἑλκτοῖσι κινούμεναι ὥστε νοῆσαι.

<sup>2</sup> W. Houghton in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1885 viii. 42–142.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 207 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Aristot. *mech.* i. 848a 24 f.

<sup>5</sup> Dion. Thrax *ap.* Clem. Al. *str.* 5. 45. 4 p. 356, 9 ff. Stahlm.

<sup>6</sup> Plout. *c.* *Num.* 14.

'by the door-posts are bronze wheels that can be made to revolve, so that those who enter may turn them about, because bronze is believed to exercise a purificatory influence. There are sprinklers too so that those who enter may sprinkle themselves.' Heron proposes to make a wheel, which, if turned round, shall emit water for the sprinkling<sup>1</sup>. Again, another of his problems is the 'construction of a treasury provided with a revolving wheel of bronze, termed a purifier; for this those who come into the sanctuaries are accustomed to turn round.' Heron's idea is to decorate the treasury with a bird, which, as often as the wheel is turned, shall turn itself about and whistle<sup>2</sup>. The first of these passages is accompanied by

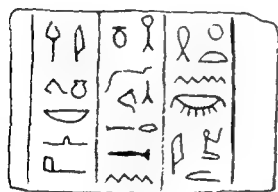
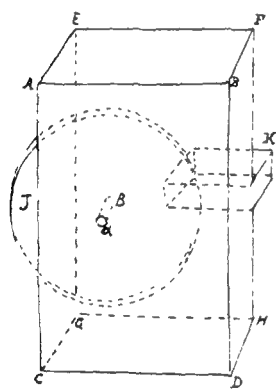


Fig. 191.

a diagram of the wheel, or rather disk, which is thin, solid, and vertical. In the second the wheel is thin and vertical, with six spokes.

In 1900 Prof. A. Erman drew the attention of Egyptologists to these alleged Egyptian wheels<sup>3</sup>; and with excellent result; for the next year Prof. F. W. von Bissing published a wheel of the sort that he had procured at Thebes (fig. 191)<sup>4</sup>. It is a copper disk revolving on an iron pin in such a way as to project from a copper box once sunk in a wall or gate-post. The box bears an inscription hard to decipher, but apparently referring to the wheel as a 'golden ring (or disk)': hence the discoverer infers that the wheel was formerly gilded.

Whether these wheels were Egyptian in origin or imported into Egypt from some foreign religious system, is a further question. Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie surmised that Buddhist mission-

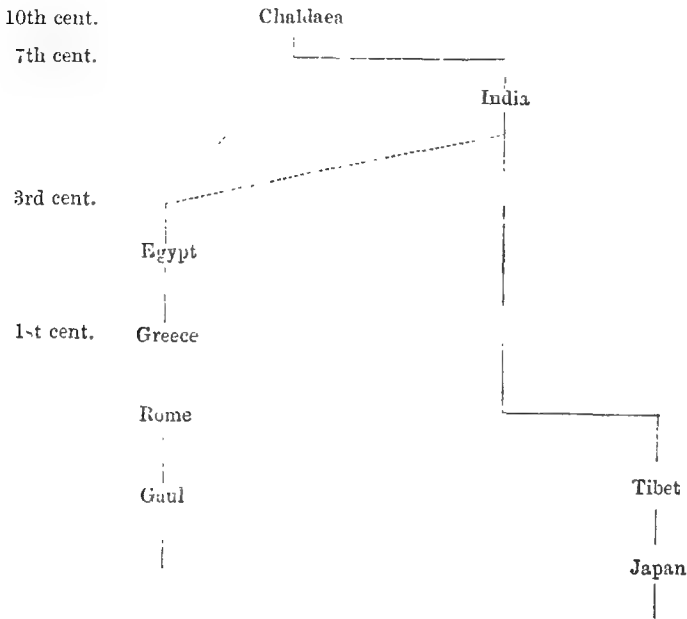
<sup>1</sup> Heron *Al. pneumatica* i. 32 p. 148 Schmidt. On the purificatory powers of bronze see the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xiii. 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 2. 32 p. 298 Schmidt.

<sup>3</sup> A. Erman 'Kupferringe an Tempelhoren' in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1900 xxxviii. 53 f.

<sup>4</sup> F. W. v. Bissing 'Zu Limans Aufsatz "Kupferringe an Tempelhoren"' *ib.* 1901 xxxix. 144 f. with fig.

elucidation of ritual wheels, inclines to accept that view<sup>1</sup>. Count Goblet d'Alviella suggests the following lines of transmission<sup>2</sup>:



None of these authors call in question Plutarch's statement that the Greeks derived their temple-wheels from Egypt. J. Capart, however, thinks that the current may have set the other way, the custom being introduced into Egypt by the Greeks<sup>3</sup>. Decisive considerations are not as yet to hand. But, whatever the precise lineage of these Graeco-Egyptian temple-wheels may have been, it can hardly be doubted that they were akin to the 'wheel of Fortune'—a common sight in mediaeval churches, where it was made of wood, hung up to the roof, worked with a rope, and regarded as an infallible oracle<sup>4</sup>. Indeed, it seems probable that the automatic gypsy-wheel of our railway platforms is a degenerate descendant of the same respectable stock.

<sup>1</sup> W. Simpson 'The Buddhist Praying Wheel' in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1898 pp. 873—875.

<sup>2</sup> Goblet d'Alviella 'Un curieux probleme de transmission symbolique.—Les roues liturgiques de l'ancienne Egypte' in the *Bulletins de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* in Série 1898 xxvi. 439—462 and in his *Croyances, Rites, Institutions* Paris 1911 v. 25—40.

<sup>3</sup> J. Capart in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1901 xxxix. 145 f.

<sup>4</sup> H. Gaudoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 142 ff. Such wheels are still, or at least were recently, to be found in some continental churches (W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel* London 1896 p. 229 n. 1).

## 268 The Solar Wheel in Greece

The wheel as a cult-utensil gave rise to the wheel as a divine attribute. Fortune's wheel is often mentioned in Latin literature from the time of Cicero onwards<sup>1</sup>, but is comparatively seldom seen on the monuments<sup>2</sup>. An example or two from imperial coin-types will serve to illustrate the conception<sup>3</sup>. Thus a coin of Elagabalos shows Fortuna with a rudder in her right hand, a *cornu copiae* in her left, seated on a throne beneath which is a four-spoked wheel (fig. 192)<sup>4</sup>. On another of Gordianus Pius the



Fig. 192.



Fig. 193.



Fig. 194.

throne has almost vanished and we have Fortuna *Redux* seated apparently upon a mere wheel (fig. 193)<sup>5</sup>. On a third of Gallienus her attributes have passed by a somewhat cynical transition to Indulgentia Augusti, who stands leaning on a short column and holding a rod in her right hand (fig. 194)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *in Pis.* 22, Tib. i. 5, 70, Tac. *dial. de or.* 23, *Fronto de orat.* p. 157 Naber, Amm. Marc. 26, 8, 13, 31, i. 1, Boeth. *de cons. phil.* 2 *pr.* 1, 2 *pr.* 2, cp. Sen. *Agam.* 71 f. So Hor. *od.* 3, 10, 10 ne currente retro funis eat rota, according to Acton and Comm. Crug. *ad loc.*; but see W. Hirschfelder's note on the passage. Later references are collected by J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 866 n., iv. 1567 f.

<sup>2</sup> Fortuna standing—a bronze statuette (K. Friederichs *Berlin antike Bildwerke* Dusseldorf 1871 ii. 424 no. 1978 cited in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1506). Fortuna, with rudder in right hand and *cornu copiae* in left, seated over a wheel—a brown paste at Berlin (Furtwangler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 87 no. 1510 pl. 16; *ed. Ant. Comm.* i. pl. 27, 61, ii. 137). Fortuna standing with rudder and *cornu copiae* in her hands and a wheel at her feet—two gems (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphrey, London 1721 i. 197 pl. 89 nos. 16, 17 after A. Goulay. Modern work?). Cp. Fatum personified as a female standing with left foot raised on a six-spoked wheel and body inclined in the act of writing (*Fata Sribunda*)—a grave-relief (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1445 after Zoega *Bas-reliefs* i. pl. 15).

<sup>3</sup> The coin-types of Fortuna are most fully listed by Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 1135—1179, Suppl. ii. 1089—1110. I figure three specimens from the Cambridge collection.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen *Mon. imp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> iv. 338 no. 147. A similar design is found on the reverse of a bronze medallion of Albinus (W. Kubitschek *Ausgewählte röm. u. byzantin. Münzen der Kaiserzeit* in *Wien* 1909 p. 8 no. 71 pl. 5, Gneecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 73 nos. 1, 2 pl. 92, 1—3).

<sup>5</sup> Cohen *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> v. 31 no. 98. *Id. ib.* no. 96 (the same type in gold) is well figured in the Sale Catalogue of M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt *Monnaies d'or romaines et byzantines* Paris 1887 p. 71 no. 481 pl. 18. Mr F. W. Lincoln has a fine specimen of it. A very similar reverse occurs on coppers of the same emperor (Cohen *ib.* nos. 99, 100).

<sup>6</sup> Cohen *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> v. 337 no. 331. On a bronze medallion of Gallienus Fortuna *Redux* is standing with a rudder in her right hand, a *cornu copiae* in her left, and a wheel at her feet (Gneecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 107 no. 8 pl. 113, 9).



The wheel of Nemesis, on the other hand, though rarely alluded to in literature<sup>1</sup>, is common enough in art<sup>2</sup>. A marble relief, found in the Peiraieus and now in the Louvre (fig. 195)<sup>3</sup>, represents the goddess as winged and standing on the back of a naked man. In her left hand she holds a measuring rod; beneath her right is a large four-spoked wheel. Beside her a bearded snake raises its head. This sinister figure occupies the interior of a little chapel and is accompanied by the following epigram:

I am—you see—the Nemesis of men,  
Well-winged, immortal, dwelling in  
the sky.  
I flit throughout the world exult-  
ingly  
And have all mortal tribes within my  
ken.  
Aitmidoros, proud and wise—I  
trow—  
Wrought me in stone and duly paid  
his vow.



Fig. 195

<sup>1</sup> Mesomedes *h. Nem.* i ff. Νέμεσις πτερόεσσα | . ὑπὸ σὸν τροχὸν ἄστατον, ἀστιζῇ χαροπὰ μερόπων στρέφεται τύχη, Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 375 ff. Νέμεσιν δὲ μετῆεν | καὶ τροχὸς αὐτοκίλιστος ἐν παρὰ ποσσὶν ἀνασσης, | σημαίνων ὅτι πάντας ἀγῆρορας εἰς πῆδον ἔλκει ὑπόθεν εἰληφώσα δικῆς ποιήτορι κίλῳ. | δαίμων πανδαμάτειρα, βίον στροφώσα πορεύειν, Anon. Marc. 14. 11. 25 f. Adriaan. quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesein adpellamus: ius quoddam sublime numinis efficax, humanarum mentium opinione lunari circulo superpositum. pinnae autem ideo illi fabulosa vetustas aptavit, ut adesse velocitate volueri cunctis existimetur, et praetendere gubernaculum dedit, eique subdidit rotam, ut universitatem regere per elementa discurrens omnia non ignoretur, Claud. *de bello Getico* 631 f. sed dea, quae nimis obstat Rhamnusia votis, | ingemunt flexitque rotam.

<sup>2</sup> O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 144 f., 156 ff., and in greater detail H. Posnansky *Nemesis und Adasteia* (Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen v. 2) Breslau 1890 pp. 109 ff.

<sup>3</sup> P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xii. 600 pl. 15. J. Delamare in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1894 xiii. 266—270. Cp. the coins of Alexandria and the statuettes from Memphis(?) and Sebennytos(?) discussed by P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 248—274 pl. 1 f.

A limestone relief in the museum at Gizeh (fig. 196)<sup>1</sup> shows Nemesis in the act of flitting through the world. The sculptor has made a clumsy attempt to combine three different modes of progression—wings spread for flight, limbs in the attitude of running,



Fig. 196.

and a wheel as a vehicle. Beside the goddess is her familiar animal, the griffin, one of its forepaws likewise resting on a wheel. Griffin and wheel are frequently associated with Nemesis on coins and gems<sup>2</sup>. An interesting development of the type occurs at



Fig. 197.

Smyrna, where there was an ancient cult of two wingless Nemeseis<sup>3</sup>. On the reverse of a coin struck by Commodus (fig. 197)<sup>4</sup> we have a corresponding duplication of attributes; the two Nemeseis are drawn by a pair of griffins in a two-wheeled car. The wheel has become a chariot. The same thing has happened on a red jasper in the British Museum (fig. 198)<sup>5</sup>. A winged

Nemesis holding her robe with her right hand and an apple-branch in her left is standing in a car drawn by a large snake. The transformation of the wheel into a chariot

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xii. 601 pl. 16, 1.

<sup>2</sup> H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 131 ff. pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i. 33. 7, 7. 5. 1 ff., 9. 35. 6, A. Boeckh on *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii nos. 2663, 3148, 3163, 3193. H. Posnansky *op. cit.* pp. 61-67, O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 121 f.

<sup>4</sup> H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 136 pl. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 138 no. 1141, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 166 pl. 1, 40. Posnansky would here recognize 'eine Verschmelzung der Nemesis mit Hygieia.' This is hardly necessary. Nemesis had a bearded snake on the Pentateus relief (*supra* p. 269); and Zeus, according to one version, wooed her in the form of a snake (schol. Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2. 37. 2 p. 308, 13 Stahlin cited *infra* p. 279 n. 4).

even led to the total disappearance of the former. On a small prase at Berlin the goddess with a wreath or branch in her left hand and a measuring-rod in her right is drawn by a couple of snakes in a car, the wheels of which are not visible at all<sup>1</sup>.

Isis too was occasionally represented with a wheel<sup>2</sup>. A billon statuette found in France and formerly in the Charvet collection<sup>3</sup> shows the goddess fairly laden with attributes. On her wings are the busts of Sun and Moon. In her left hand she holds a twofold *cornu copiae*; in her right a rudder, corn-ears, fruit, and a purse. Round her right arm coils a snake; and at her feet is a wheel with projecting hub. Again, on an engraved cornelian<sup>4</sup> she is recognisable by her characteristic head-dress. A snake in her right hand is feeding out of a *phiale* in her left; and at her feet, as before, is the wheel.



Fig. 198.

It is supposed that Isis borrowed her wheel from Nemesis<sup>5</sup>, and that Nemesis in turn borrowed it from Fortuna<sup>6</sup>. These borrowings would be facilitated by the general resemblance subsisting between the deities in question.

Fortuna is commonly regarded as the goddess of luck or destiny<sup>7</sup>, and such she undoubtedly became. But that this was her original character can be maintained only by those who are prepared to leave many features of her cult unexplained. Mr Warde Fowler in his admirable book on *The Roman Festivals* hinted that Fortuna might be ranked among 'deities of the earth, or vegetation, or generation', being 'perhaps not only a prophetess as regards the children, but also of the good luck of the mother in

<sup>1</sup> Furtwangler *Geschmitt. Steine Berlin* p. 115 no. 2451 pl. 22, O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 164. Furtwangler, however, regarded this gem as figuring Nike with wreath and staff standing behind a round altar on the forepart of a ship (?).

<sup>2</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1551, ii. 544, Gruppe G. *Myth. Rel.* p. 1040 n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue de la vente Charvet* Paris 1883 p. 171 f. no. 1831, Reinach *Rep. Stat.* ii. 263 no. 7, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1551, ii. 546.

<sup>4</sup> A. L. Millin *Galerie Mythologique* Paris 1811 l. 88 no. 350 pl. 79. The bibliography of this gem is given by W. Drexler in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 127 f.

<sup>5</sup> For *Isis Némēsis* see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 544 f., iii. 140 f., H. Posnansky *op. cit.* pp. 57, 123, 167. We have also to reckon with an *Isis Tēxē*, *Isis Tyche* or *Isityche* (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1530 ff., 1549 ff., ii. 545 f.). Cp. P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 256 ff.

<sup>6</sup> For *Némēsis* in relation to *Tēxē* or *Fortuna* see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 135 ff., H. Posnansky *op. cit.* pp. 38 n. 1, 52 ff., 166.

<sup>7</sup> Pieller—Jordan *Rom. Myth.* i. 179 ff., R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1503 ff., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Rom.* p. 206 ff.

<sup>8</sup> W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 67, cp. *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 235, 245 n. 30.

childbirth<sup>1</sup>. This suggestion was published in 1899; and in 1900 Prof. J. B. Carter considered the problem of Fortuna's origin 'unsolved as yet'.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless in 1905 I felt justified in urging that she was at the first no mere personification of luck, but rather a great goddess of fertility<sup>3</sup>. And that is still my conviction, based on a variety of accepted facts—the derivation of her name from the root of *ferre*, 'to bear', the agricultural and horticultural character of her reduplicated self *Fors Fortuna*, her own intimate association with the *Mater Matuta*, her worship by women under the titles *Virgo* or *Virginalis*<sup>4</sup>, *Muliebris*<sup>5</sup>, *Virilis*<sup>6</sup>, *Mammosa*<sup>7</sup>, by men as *Barbata*<sup>8</sup>, her cult at Praeneste as *Primigenia*<sup>9</sup>, at Rome as *Viscata*<sup>10</sup>, her tutelage of latrines<sup>11</sup>, her attributes the *cornu copiae*<sup>12</sup>, the *modius* or grain-measure<sup>13</sup>, and the ears of wheat<sup>14</sup>. The transition of meaning from fertility to luck, and from luck to destiny, is not hard to follow.

*Nemesis* is popularly conceived as an embodiment of divine indignation or vengeance, her name being explained as the verbal substantive from *nēmo*, 'I impute'.<sup>15</sup> H. Usener regarded her as

<sup>1</sup> W. Waide Fowler *The Roman Festivals* p. 167, cp. *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* pp. 297, 310 n. 15.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Carter 'The Cognomina of the Goddess "Fortuna"' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 285 n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 239 s. *rv* 'fors,' 'fortūna,' etc.

<sup>5</sup> Wissowa *op. cit.* p. 206 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 207.

<sup>7</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1519.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* 1519 f., W. Otto in *Philologus* 1905 lxi. 193 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1518 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.* 1520. J. B. Carter *op. cit.* p. 62 n. 1 suggests that this epithet 'was probably merely the popular name for a statue with many breasts, very likely a statue of the Ephesian Diana.' But??

<sup>11</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1519. J. B. Carter *op. cit.* p. 66: 'Whether the cognomen arose out of a popular epithet applied to a bearded statue of an effeminate god or hero (possibly Dionysus [os] or Sardanapalus), which, by a mistake in the gender, was called "Fortuna with a beard," we cannot decide.' Again??

<sup>12</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1541 ff., cp. 1516 f., J. B. Carter *op. cit.* p. 66 ff., *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 420 f., 1904 xviii. 362, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 280 f., 296 f.

<sup>13</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1515, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 421, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 285.

<sup>14</sup> Clem. Al. *pr. tr.* 4. 51. 1 p. 39, 15 ff. Stahlm. D. Vagheri has recently found in the barracks of the *72<sup>a</sup> de* at Ostia a well-preserved latrine with two dedications to Fortuna *Savita* (T. Ashby in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1911 p. 11) see *Not. Scav.* 1911 p. 209 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1503 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Ib.* 1506.

<sup>17</sup> *Ib.* 1506.

<sup>18</sup> H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 1 ff., O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 117 ff., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Rom.* p. 315 f.

the personification of distributive rather than retributive fate, connecting the name with *némo*, 'I assign'. In so doing he revived an etymology already current in Graeco-Roman times<sup>2</sup>. There are, however, grave objections to any such abstract interpretation. The cult of abstractions was comparatively late. The cult of Nemesis was comparatively early. Thus at Rhamnous it was flourishing in the fifth century B.C.<sup>3</sup>, and at Smyrna in the sixth<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, the attributes of the goddess at Rhamnous and her twin statues at Smyrna do not suggest a transparent personification of the sort required by these hypotheses. There is more to be said for O. Gruppe's view that Nemesis was an earth-goddess, essentially 'wroth' (*nemesiszomai*) with those who annually oppressed her, but willing at the same time to give them oracles<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless this explanation too has its weak spot. We must not derive *Nemesis* from *nemesiszomai*, but *nemesiszomai* from *némesis*. Thus *Nemesis* will not mean 'wroth,' but 'wrath.' In short, we are once more involved in the difficulty of supposing that Nemesis was a personification.

In seeking an escape from this *impasse* we should, I think, start from the analogy of Lachesis. As *Lachesis* was a goddess of the lot (*lacheîn*, 'to get by lot,' *láchos*, 'lot'), so *Nemesis* was a goddess of the greenwood (*némo*, 'I pasture,' *némos*, 'glade')—a patroness of animal and vegetable life. As such she would correspond with *Nemetona*, a Diana-like deity of the Celts (Celtic *nemeton*, 'sacred wood')<sup>6</sup>. Indeed, she would be the Greek counterpart of the Italian Diana *Nemorensis* (*Nemus*, 'the Glade'). This is no merely speculative philological equation, but a fact borne out by a comparison of cult with cult. Diana *Nemorensis* as a woodland goddess had

<sup>1</sup> H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 b 12 f. *Némessw δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκάστῳ διανεμήσεως*, Coinut. *theol.* 13 p. 13, 17 f. Lang *Némessw δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως προσηγόρευται—διαρεῖ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστῳ*.

<sup>3</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 124 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* iii. 121 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 45 n. 8, 1086 n. 2, cp. 45 n. 9.

<sup>6</sup> On *Nemetona* see M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 166 f., A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* Leipzig 1904 ii. 713. She is compared with Diana by A. Baumeister *Keltische Briefe* ed. O. Keller Strassburg 1874 p. 47.

The word *nemeton* appears in place-names such as *Augustonemetum*, *Δρονέμετον*, *Medionemetum*, etc. See Holder *op. cit.* ii. 712, who cites also from the *Cartulaire de Quimperlé* a. 1031 *silva quae vocatur Nemet*. Hence the Old Irish *nemed*, 'sacred grove, sanctuary,' the Old Frankish *nimud*, 'sacred place in the wood,' and other related words (Holder *loc. cit.*, L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 275 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 309, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 409 f., M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 171 s. 27. 'Nemetes,' 'Nemetales').

both beasts and trees in her charge. On the one hand, many bronze statuettes from her precinct at Nemi represent her as a huntress<sup>1</sup>, and two bronze figures of hinds were found at the entrance of her temple<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, Grattius in his poem on hunting describes as follows the huntsman's festival: 'In the glades beneath the sky we fashion cross-road altars; we set up split torches at Diana's woodland rite; the puppies are wreathed with their wonted adornment; and in the midmost part of the glade men lay their very weapons upon flowers, weapons that are idle during these rites and the festal time of peace. Then comes the cask; the cakes that smoke on their green tray are brought forward, the kid with horns just budding from his gentle brow, and the apples still hanging on their boughs, after the manner of the lustral rite, whereby our whole company purifies itself for the goddess and praises her for the year's capture<sup>3</sup>.' It is a legitimate inference

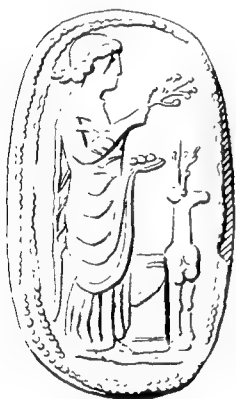


Fig. 199.

from this passage that apple-branches played an important part in the ritual of Diana *Nemorensis*<sup>4</sup>. A. Furtwangler has acutely recognised the goddess on a whole series of Italian gems and pastes<sup>5</sup>. The specimen here figured exhibits her as a draped female standing by a wreathed altar with a stag at her side; she holds an apple-branch in her right hand, a bowl of apples in her left (fig. 199)<sup>6</sup>. Furtwangler was at first disposed to identify the goddess on this and other examples of the type with Nemesis—an identification justified in one case at least, where she is lifting her hand

towards her chin in the regular Nemesis-attitude (fig. 200)<sup>7</sup>. This raises the question whether we have here Nemesis contaminated with Diana *Nemorensis*, or whether Nemesis in her own right could have apple-branch and stag. Pausanias'

<sup>1</sup> G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* Nottingham 1893 p. 34 f. nos. 614, 616—632.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 35 nos. 633, 634.

<sup>3</sup> Gratt. *cyneget.* 483 ff.

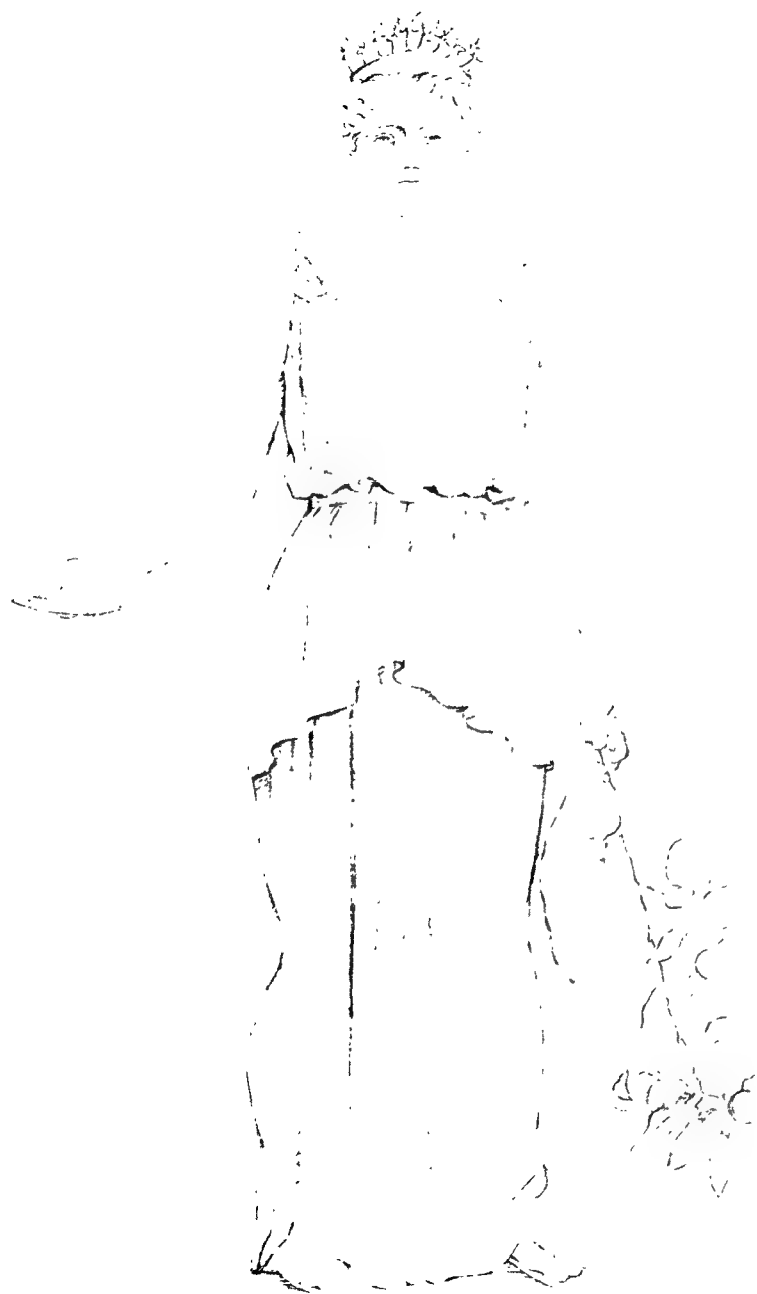
<sup>4</sup> I have discussed the matter further in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 445 f. Note that a votive offering in the form of an apple made of terra cotta was found by Lord Savile in Diana's precinct at Nemi (G. H. Wallis *op. cit.* p. 15 no. 69).

<sup>5</sup> Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pls. 20, 66; 22, 18, 26, 30, 32, ii. 101, 108 f. iii. 231, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 37 no. 379 pl. 7, p. 59 f. nos. 856—861 pl. 11.

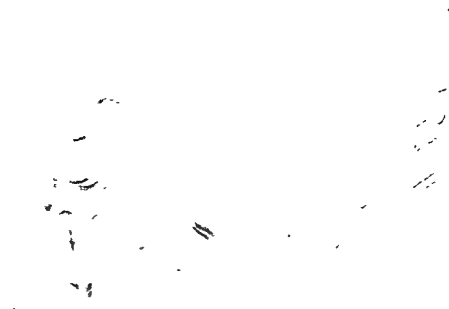
<sup>6</sup> Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 22, 18, ii. 108, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 37 no. 379 pl. 7. The gem is a cornelian scarab of the later elongated shape.

<sup>7</sup> Furtwangler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 59 f. no. 858 pl. 11. This is a green paste banded with blue and white.

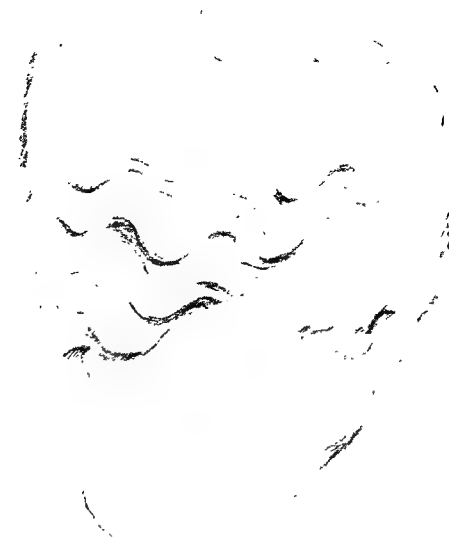




1



1'



1'



2'



2

Nemesis at Rhamnous

1. Restoration of the cult-statue.  
 1', 1'. Extant fragment of the head.  
 2, 2. *Stat.* of Kypros, obv. *cus* enthroned; rev. Nemesis standing.





account of Nemesis at Rhamnous enables us to decide in favour of the latter alternative: 'On the head of the goddess is a crown decorated with stags and small figures of Victory; in her left hand she carries an apple-branch, and in her right a bowl, on which are wrought Aithiopes (pl. xxiii, 1).'<sup>1</sup> Thus Nemesis at Rhamnous had the same insignia as Diana at Nemi, to wit, an apple-branch<sup>2</sup> and stags; and presumably for the same reason, because the Greek, like the Italian, goddess was a woodland<sup>3</sup> power controlling both vegetable and animal life. After this we are not surprised to find that Nemesis was in Roman times identified with Artemis or Diana<sup>4</sup>. Of their identification we have both literary and monumental evidence. A metrical inscription found in 1607 on the Appian Road and commemorating the munificence of Herodes Attikos invokes Nemesis in the following hexameter line:



Fig. 200.

Thou too that watchest the works of men, Rhamnusan *Oûpis*.<sup>5</sup>

*Oûpis*, as Dr Farnell remarks<sup>6</sup>, 'was an ancient and half-forgotten name of Artemis...resuscitated by later poetry' and interpreted by the Greeks as the 'Watcher' (*opízesthai*). The cult-image at Rhamnous is described by Pomponius Mela as 'Pheidias' *Nemesis*'<sup>7</sup> and by Julius Solinus as 'Pheidias' statue of *Diana*'<sup>8</sup>! Adjoining the amphitheatre at Aquincum (*Alt-Ofen*) in Lower Pannonia was a chapel to Nemesis. Here a dedication 'To the

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 1. 33. 3. Pl. xxiii, 1 is a restoration of the statue based on the extant fragment of the head (1<sup>a</sup> and 1<sup>b</sup>, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* 1. 264 f. no. 460) and on the coin described *infra* p. 281. See further O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 147—155 with fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Nemesis lifting her drapery in one hand and holding an apple-branch in the other occurs on Graeco-Roman gems (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 138 nos. 1140—1142, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 161 f., 166 pl. 1 figs. 23, 24, 27, 40). Quasi-autonomous bronze coins of Smyrna show a somewhat similar figure lifting her drapery in one hand and holding a filleted branch in the other: she is recognized as Nemesis by H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 133 pl. 1 fig. 21, but is called Demeter (?) by B. V. Head *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 249 pl. 26, 6.

Mr F. M. Cornford points out to me (May 10, 1911) that, according to Hes. *o. d.* 223 cp. 215 f., Nemesis was of the same family as the apple-guarding Hesperides.

<sup>3</sup> Diana was often paired with Silvanus (e.g. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 3266—3268: see further A. v. Premerstein in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 409). So on occasion was Nemesis (Dessau *op. cit.* no. 3747 <sup>a, b</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> See A. v. Premerstein *loc. cit.* p. 407 ff., who has collected most of the relevant facts.

<sup>5</sup> *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 ii 2 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 263. 2 ἡ τ' ἐνὶ ἔργα βροτῶν ὄρατας, 'Ραμνουσιάς Οὐπίς.

<sup>6</sup> Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 488.

<sup>7</sup> Mel. 2. 3. 46 Rhamnus parva, inlustri tamen, quod in ea fanum est Amphiarai et Phidiaca Nemesis.

<sup>8</sup> Solin. 7. 26 Ramne quoque, in qua Amphiarai fanum et Phidiacae signum Dianae.

goddess Diana Nemesis Augusta' came to light, dated in the year 259 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Similarly at Carnuntum (*Petronell*) in Upper Pannonia the amphitheatre had attached to it a sanctuary of Nemesis, the excavation of which in modern times has led to some remarkable finds<sup>2</sup>. In the apse of the building, on an inscribed base, stood the statue of Nemesis herself (fig. 203)<sup>3</sup>. The goddess conforms to the late Roman type of Artemis or Diana. She is dressed in a short *chiton*, which leaves the right breast bare, and an outer garment worn like a girdle round the upper part of her figure and falling over her left arm. On her head is a crescent moon with a small disk above it. On her feet are high hunting-boots. She has a winged griffin on one side, a wheel on the other. Her right hand holds both a rudder and a whip; her left hand, a sheathed sword<sup>4</sup>. Close to her and sheltered by the same apse stood a second statue, that of Commodus, on a base which was inscribed in the year 184 A.D. but was subsequently, owing to the official condemnation of the emperor's memory, turned with its face to the wall. The statue seems to have represented Commodus as Iupiter with an eagle at his feet<sup>5</sup>. If he was king, Nemesis was queen; for a neighbouring altar erected in 199 A.D., was inscribed as 'Sacred to Nemesis the

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* in Suppl. no. 10440 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3742.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1897 xx. 205 ff. (C. Tragau), 228 ff. (J. Zingerle), 236 ff. (E. Bormann).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 210 fig. 19.

<sup>4</sup> The nearest parallel to this statue with its complex symbolism is a relief dedicated to Nemesis *Regina* found at Andautonia in Upper Pannonia and now in the Agram Museum (*ib.* p. 229 f. fig. 35a). Cp. also a sarcophagus from Teurnia in Noricum (*Philologus* 1894 lxx. 468).

<sup>5</sup> *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1897 xx. 211, 237 ff., 243 f. Coins of Commodus show not only IUPITER CONSERVATOR protecting the emperor (fig. 201), but also the emperor himself



Fig. 201.



Fig. 202.

as Jupiter standing with thunderbolt in right hand, spear in left, and eagle at his feet (fig. 202) inscribed IOVI IVVENTI etc. (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 885 f., cp. Gnechhi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 56 no. 43 pl. 81, 3), or advancing with thunderbolt in right hand and spear in left, surrounded by seven stars (Rasche *ib.* iv. 878 f. IOVI DEFENSORI etc.), or seated with branch in right hand, spear in left, or again with *palera* in right hand and eagle at his feet (*id. ib.* iv. 882 f. IOVI EXSVP or EXSVPER etc. See Dion Cass. 18.215, Lamprid. *v. Commod.* 11. 8).

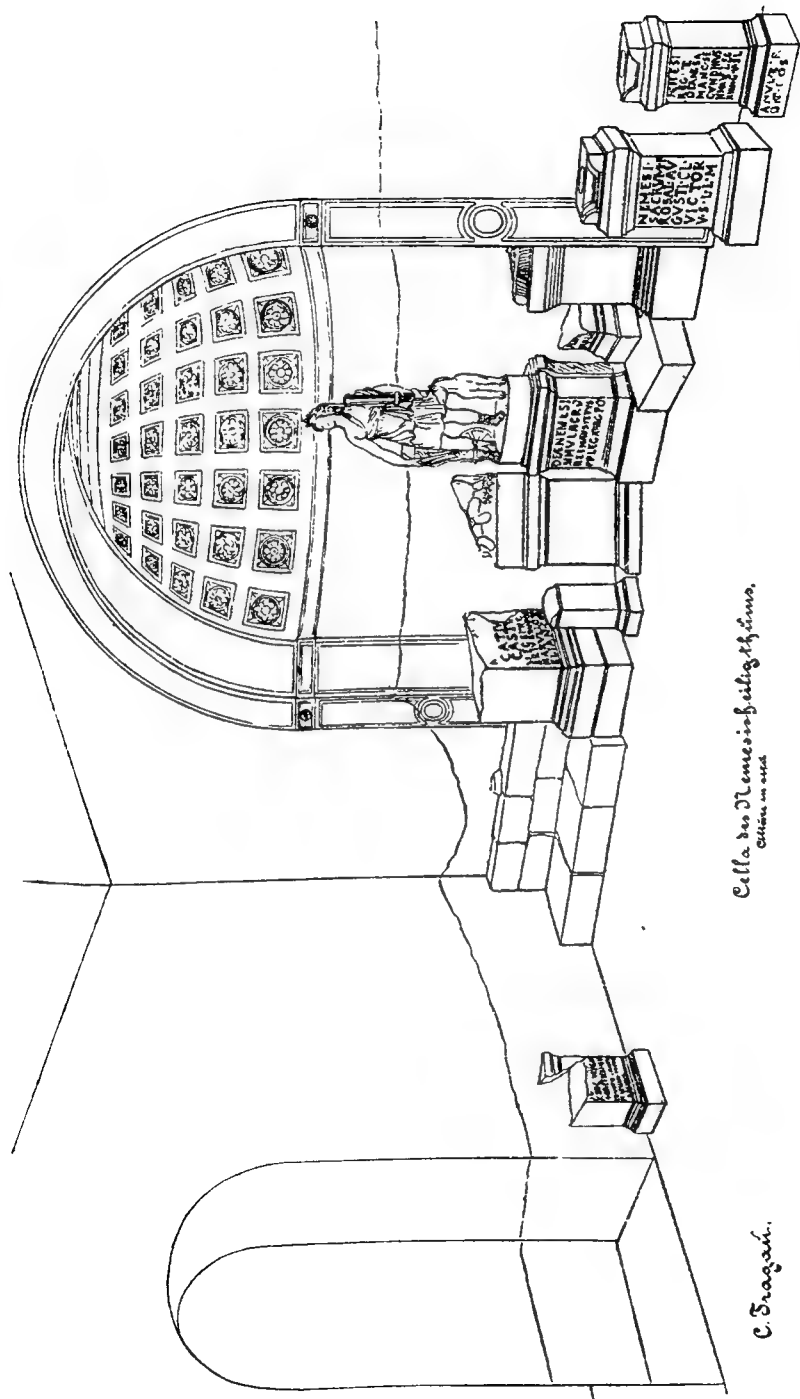


Fig. 203.

Queen and Diana!<sup>1</sup> It thus appears that at Carnuntum the consort of this Diana-like Nemesis was a human Jupiter—a fact to be borne in mind when we are comparing the cult of Nemesis with that of Diana *Nemorensis*. It may be objected that the cult of Nemesis at Carnuntum was late, that emperor-worship was ubiquitous, and that therefore the combination of the former with the latter was accidental and of no special significance. But the



Fig. 204.

same combination occurs elsewhere and has antecedents that deserve investigation. A copper coin of Akmoneia in Phrygia (fig. 204)<sup>2</sup> shows the emperor Septimius Severus galloping towards a mountain. He holds a whip in his right hand, and before him flies an eagle apparently grasping a thunderbolt. On the mountain are two female figures in the attitude of Nemesis; at its base is a recumbent youth, naked to the waist, who is

probably meant for the local river-god. The interpretation of this scene is difficult and in some points doubtful; but at least it is clear that the emperor, regarded as Zeus, was at Akmoneia brought into connexion with the Nemeseis. Confirmation is afforded by a somewhat analogous coin-type of Smyrna. Pausanias *à propos* of the Smyrnaeans writes: 'The present city was founded by Alexander, son of Philip, in consequence of a vision which he had in a dream. They say he had been hunting on Mount Pagus, and when the chase was over he came to a sanctuary of the Nemeseis, and there he lighted on a spring and a plane-tree before the sanctuary, the tree overhanging the water. As he slept under the plane-tree the Nemeseis, they say, appeared to him, and bade him found a city there and transfer to it the Smyrnaeans from the old town. So the Smyrnaeans sent envoys to Clarus to inquire about the matter, and the god answered them:—

Thrice blest, yea four times, shall they be  
Who shall inhabit Pagus beyond the sacred Meles.

So they willingly removed, and they now believe in two Nemeseis instead of one.' Copper coins of Smyrna struck by Marcus Aurelius<sup>4</sup> and Philippus Senior (fig. 205)<sup>5</sup> represent this vision of

<sup>1</sup> *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1897 xx. 241 f. *Nemora Rinz(mae) et Dea(n)ae satorum* etc.

<sup>2</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 391 f. no. 50 pl. 6, 24 (Vienna). Cp. similar coins, but without the eagle, struck under Volusianus (Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 392 no. 51 pl. 6, 25; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 21 pl. 4, 6).

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 7. 5. 1 ff. trans. J. G. Frazer.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 279.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 296 pl. 29, 16; G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 171 f. pl. 6, 14.

Alexander. The king, a recumbent youth naked to the waist, is sleeping beneath a plane-tree, at the foot of which is a *bucranium*. Beside him lie his shield, spear, and greave. Beyond him stand the two Nemeseis holding a bridle and a cubit-rule respectively, and making their customary gesture. The significance of this gesture has been much discussed<sup>1</sup>. I take it to have been originally that of a bride, comparable with Hera's handling of her veil<sup>2</sup>. The goddess, in short, needed a partner; and Alexander, whom Apelles painted at Ephesos with a thunderbolt in his hand<sup>3</sup>, may have passed muster as her divine consort. This is of course mere surmise. But, if we follow the figure of Nemesis back into the past as far as we are able, we still find her paired with Zeus, not to say with a human Zeus. For the *Kypria*, an early epic of uncertain authorship, told how 'Zeus king of the gods' became by her the father of the Dioskouroi and of Helene<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, since the Dioskouroi and



Fig. 205.

<sup>1</sup> C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 120, 301, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* ch. iii.

<sup>3</sup> *Plin. nat. hist.* 35. 92, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1903 xviii. 404 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Cypria frag.* 5 Kinkel *ap. Clem. Al. prot.* 2. 30. 5 p. 22, 22 ff. Stahlin and *frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap. Athen.* 334 B--D. According to *frag.* 6, Nemesis, when pursued by Zeus, fled across sea and land transforming herself into a fish and other animals to escape his embraces. Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1321. 38 f. λέγων διὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ Κύπρια ὅτι Διοσκούρους καὶ Ἑλένην ἡ Νέμεσις ἔτεκεν, ἣ διωκουμένη, φησὶν, ὑπὸ Διὸς μετεμορφωτοῦ. O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 119 thinks that the end of the story as told in the *Cypria* is preserved for us by Apollod. 3. 10. 7 λέγονσι δὲ ἔνιοι Νεμέσεως Ἑλένην εἶναι καὶ Διός. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν Διὸς φευγούσαν συνουσίαν εἰς χίηνα τὴν μορφήν μεταβαλεῖν, ὁμοιωθέντα δὲ καὶ Δία λύκῳ συνελθεῖν· τὴν δὲ ὦν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἀποτελεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀλσεσιν (ἀλσεσιν *enclit.* *δασειν* *ελεσιν* c). Pieller cp. *Ptol. Heph. ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 149b 5, Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 88, *δασειν* c). Bekker) *εἰρόντα* τινὰ ποιμένα Λήδα κοιμισαντα δοῦναι, τὴν δὲ καταθεμένην εἰς λαγνακα φιλάσσειν, καὶ χρόνῳ καθήκοντι γεννηθεῖσαν Ἑλένην ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα τρέφειν. If so, the myth was not yet localised: ἀλσεσιν (= νέμεσιν) may have been suggested by Νέμεσις, as *ελεσιν* by Ἑλένη. Others (U. v. Wilamowitz-Mollendorf in *Hermes* 1883 xviii. 262 n. 1, R. Kekulé *Festschrift zu Fier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens des archäol. Instituts zu Rom* Bonn 1879 p. 9, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 17) suppose that the final scene of the *Cypria* was laid at Rhamnous.

The love of Zeus for Nemesis is variously told. Almost all accounts agree that Zeus took the form of a swan (Iem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne), however, has Νεμέσει τῇ τοῦ Θεστίου, τῇ καὶ Λήδᾳ νομισθεῖσῃ, κικνός ἢ χῆν γενόμενος κ.τ.λ. = *infra* ch. i § 8 (d) and schol. Clem. Al. *prot.* 2. 37. 2 p. 308, 13 Stahlin says δράκων· ἐπὶ Νεμεσιν = *supra* p. 270 n. 5). Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 8 adds that Zeus as a swan was fleeing from Aphrodite as an eagle. Nemesis was secured in the form of a goose (Apollod. 3. 10. 7, Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 88) or of a woman (Isokrat. 10 *Helene* 59, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 8).

A red-figured *kylix* from Gnathia, now at Bonn (fig. 206), shows the egg deposited on an altar in the precinct of a pillar-Zeus (*supra* p. 40 n. 1), where Leda—originally a

Helene are elsewhere termed the children of Tyndareos<sup>1</sup>, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the original consort of Nemesis was a king who bore the part of Zeus. Be that as it may, Nemesis was already associated with Zeus in epic times<sup>2</sup>. The myth was localised at Rhamnous by the comedian Kratinos in his *Nemesis*<sup>3</sup>; and it is a curious coincidence, if no more, that the same poet in



Fig. 206

the same play spoke of Perikles as a human Zeus<sup>4</sup>. The fact that this myth first emerges in the *Kypria* recalls a famous *stutér* of

doublet of Nemesis—discovers it with a gesture of surprise. To the right stand the Dioskouroi, brothers of the unborn Helene; to the left, Tyndareos, reputed father of all three. See further R. Kekulé *Ueber ein griechisches Vasenmalde im akademischen Kunstmuseum zu Bonn* Bonn 1879 pp. 1—26 with figs. and pl.

<sup>1</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1158 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Were Zeus *Némeios* and *Neméa* (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii) originally an analogous pair of woodland deities?

<sup>3</sup> Kratinos *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 25 and schol. Caes. Germ. *Arata* p. 405, 9 ff. Eyssenhardt, *ep. schol. Kallim. h. Artim.* 232; see A. Memeke *Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 81, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 16 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Kratinos *Nemesis frag. 10 ap.* Plout. *7. Pl.* 3 μόλ', ὃ Ζεὺς γένει καὶ μακάριε (7.1. κάριε, Memeke *cf.* καπαίε, Sintenis *cf.* Καπαίε: Append. B).

Kypros (pl. xxiii, 2)<sup>1</sup>, which has Zeus enthroned as its obverse, Nemesis standing as its reverse type. In the former J. P. Six detected a modification of the masterpiece at Olympia; in the latter, a copy of the cult-statue at Rhamnous. The god has a *phidæ* (?) in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. The goddess is wearing a head-dress, which may no doubt be a mere wreath but is possibly<sup>2</sup> the Rhamnusan crown of stags and small Victories. The *fibula* on her right shoulder is decorated with the head of a griffin, her favourite animal. In her lowered left hand she holds the apple-branch<sup>3</sup>; in her extended right, a *phidæ* with a *thymiatérion* beneath it.

The final proof that Nemesis was near akin to Diana *Nemorensis* may be found in a consideration of the term *Nemesiaci*. Commodianus, a Christian poet of the fifth<sup>4</sup> century, describes the devotees of Diana as *Nemesiaci*<sup>5</sup> or 'followers of Nemesis'—a

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus pp. lxxiv f. 43 pl. 8, 7, J. P. Six 'Aphrodité-Némésis' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1882 ii. 89—102 pl. 5 (enlarged photograph), *id.* in the *Rev. Num.* in Série 1883 i. 287 ff. no. 24 pl. 6, 13, *id.* in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 144 n. 1, *id.* in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1888 viii. 130, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* p. 170 pl. 10, 27, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 741. Besides the specimen in the British Museum, there is said to be one in the collection of the late W. H. Waddington at Paris (J. P. Six in *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1883 i. 288). The legend on the reverse was read by J. P. Six (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1886 xiv. 144 and *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1888 viii. 130) *ἡστυαῖος Τιμοχάρμης*. G. F. Hill (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. lxxiv l.) prefers *Τι·μο·χα·ρη·φό·σε* (cp. *ἡστυαῖος* etc.) and dates the coin c. 385 B.C. (*ib.* p. 43 Paphos no. 45).

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Hill *ib.* p. lxxx.

<sup>3</sup> G. F. Hill *ib.* p. 43 'a branch (of apple)'. J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1882 ii. 90 n. 3 says: 'Sur le statère les feuilles et les fleurs font penser à ceux du genévrier.' For *μηλον* = 'pomegranate' see *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (A).

<sup>4</sup> See the *Class. Quart.* 1911 v. 268.

<sup>5</sup> Commod. *Instructions* l. 19 an acrostic NEMESIACIS VANTIS—

Non ignominium est uirum seduci prudentem  
Et colere tale(a)m aut Dianam dicere lignum?  
Mane ebrio, crudo, perituro creditis uno,  
Ex aite qui finete loquitur quod illi uidetur:  
Secare (diuum) dum agit, sibi uiscera pascit.  
Encipiat cives unus detestabilis omnes  
Adplicuitque sibi similis collegio facto,  
Cum quibus historiam fingit, ut deum adornet.  
Ipse sibi nescit diuinare, ceteris audet  
Succollat, quando libet, eum, et quando, deponit:  
Veritur a se(se) totans eum ligno bifurci,  
Ac si putes illum adflatum numine ligni.  
Non deos uos colitis, quos isti false prophetant:  
Ipsos sacerdotes colitis in uano timentes.  
Sed si corde uiges, fuge iam sacraia mortis.

I print the poem as it stands in the latest edition, that of B. Dombart (*Corpus scriptorum*



metathesis of names intelligible on the assumption that the Diana in question was Diana *Nemorensis*. That assumption is borne out by the wording of the poem:

Is it not infamous that a prudent man  
Should be seduced to worship a cut branch<sup>1</sup>  
Or call a log<sup>2</sup> Diana? Ye believe  
One drunk at dawn, full-fed, and doomed to die<sup>3</sup>,  
Who speaks just what he thinks with feigned art  
And, whilst he plays the god<sup>4</sup> full solemnly,  
Feeds his own entrails<sup>5</sup>. Thus abominable,  
He fouls his fellow-citizens wholesale,  
Gathers a brotherhood akin to himself  
And with them feigns a tale to adorn the god.  
He knows not how his own fate to foretell<sup>6</sup>,  
Yet dares to do the like for other folk,—  
Shoulders the god at times, at times just drops him.  
He turns himself about revolving still  
With a two-pronged stick, till you might think he were  
Inspired by the godhead of the same<sup>7</sup>.

*eclesiastiorum Latinerum* xv) Vindobonae 1887 p. 24 f. The chief variants are mentioned in the following notes.

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript reading in the first line is *uirum* C. A. edd. antt., *uirum* B. A. marg., and in the second line *talem* C. B. A. edd. antt. Two brilliant emendations have been proposed. E. Ludwig in the Teubner text (1878) adopts his own *ej.* Non ignominium est Virbium seduci prudentem<sup>1</sup> et colere talem aut Dianam dicere lignum? and comments (p. xxxiv): hoc l. nomen proprium desiderari ex uerbis hinc 'colere talem aut Dianam dicere lignum' adparet; neque uero deae nemoris ac uenationis Dianae similis uel eiusdem deae sacerdos, quem esse *Virbium*, antiquissimum Regem Nemorensem ac sacerdotem Dianae in nemore Ariciensi cultae, codicum scriptura probatur. B. Dombart keeps *uirum*, which has the support of C. (cod. Cheltenhamensis, s. xi) our best MS., and very ingeniously *ej. taliam*, 'a cut bough' or 'branch.' In favour of retaining *talem* is C. mmol. *instr.* t. 14. 6 non te pulet, stulte, tales adorare tabellas? t. 17. 12 sed stipem ut tollant ingenia talia quaerunt, t. 18. 18 gestabant enim, et aruit tale sigillum. 2. 17. 1 ff. CHRISTIANVM TALEM ESSE. The word is, in fact, something of a mannerism in this poet.

<sup>2</sup> B. Dombart *ep. Arnob. ad r. nat.* 6. 11 coluisse lignum [Carios] (so MSS.), but the text has been corrected to *Arrio* by the aid of Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 46. 3 p. 35, 17 f. Stahlm and Stahl, 639) pro Diana inelolatum.

<sup>3</sup> Dombart *ad loc.*: '*perituros* ideo dicitur sacerdos Dianae Ariciae, quia cogebatur cum eo certamen singulare imre, qui locum eius petebat.'

<sup>4</sup> F. Oehler (ed. 1847), content to follow the MSS. (*dū* C. *dum* B. A. edd. antt.), prints: Severe dum agit. E. Ludwig *ej.* Severe deum agit. B. Dombart, after Haassens's *ej. dūmum*, reads: Severe (divinum) dum agit. We are not elsewhere definitely told that the priest of Diana acted the part of a god; but *ep.* 14 ipsos sacerdotes colitis.

<sup>5</sup> The MSS. have *proit* (so C. A.: *pōit* B.) which gives a possible sense—'begs entrails for himself.' But all the editors adopt the reading *pasit*: this probably means 'feeds his own entrails, gorges himself' (*ep.* 3 *crudo*).

<sup>6</sup> Since every moment he is liable to be attacked by his would-be successor (*ep.* 3 *perituro*).

<sup>7</sup> The poet appears to mean that the priest of Diana held a forked stick, like a dowser's divining-rod, and spun himself round as though inspired by the movement of

These are no gods ye worship : false the claim  
 Their priests put forward. 'Tis the priests themselves  
 Ye worship with vain fears. Nay, if thou art wise,  
 Flee even now the sanctuaries of death<sup>1</sup>.

A decree of Honorius and Theodosius, dated 412 A.D., after providing for the recall of runaway slaves, deals with several societies and sects among which runaway slaves might be sought. One such sect is that of the *Nemestaci* or fanatic followers of Nemesis<sup>2</sup>. They are mentioned again, and for the last time, about the middle of the fifth century by Maximus, bishop of Turin, who in one of his sermons gives an interesting account of their rustic cult and crazy priest (*Dianaticus*)<sup>3</sup>.

Dr Farnell has argued that Nemesis was from the first no

his stick. 'Nearly all dowisers assert that when the rod moves in their hands, they experience a peculiar sensation, which some describe as felt in the limbs like the tingling of an electric shock, others as a shivering or trembling, and others as an unpleasant sensation in the epigastric region. With all there is more or less of a convulsive spasm, sometimes of a violent character' (Sir W. F. Barrett in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* xv. 299 cited by F. W. H. Myers *Human Personality* London 1904 i. 481). This seems to be the first explicit mention of the dowser's rod. But I have elsewhere suggested that it was the origin of the Pythagorean γ (*Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 375 f.).

For similar *θεοφορομενοι* see J. E. B. Mayor on *Juv.* 4. 123.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *sacraia mortis* would be especially appropriate to such a cult as that of Diana Nemorensis, whose priest was ever the murderer of his predecessor.

<sup>2</sup> *Cod. Theod.* 14. 7. 2 collegiatos et vitutarios et Nemestacos signiferos cantabarios et singulorum urbium corporatos simili forma praecipimus revocari. quibus etiam supplicandi inhibendam facultatem esse censuimus, ne originem (quod fieri non potest) commutare ulla iussio videatur; ac si forte per sacram auctoritatem cognoscitur aliqui liberatus, cessante beneficio ad originem revertatur. dat. vi kalend. Decembr. Rav. Honor. ix et Theod. v A.A. Coss.

It will be remembered that the *rex Nemorensis* was regularly a runaway slave (Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 16).

<sup>3</sup> Maximus Taurinensis *serm.* 101 (lvi. 734 Migne) nihil ibi liberum est a scelere, ubi totum versatur in scelere. cum cellam ingressus fueris, reperies in ea pallentes cespites montuosque carbones, dignum sacrificium daemonis, cum mortuo numini rebus mortuis supplicatur. et si ad agrum processeris, cernis aras ligneas et simulacra lapidea, congruens ministerium, ubi diis insensibilibus aris putrescentibus ministratur. cum maturus vigilaveris et videns saucium vino rusticum, scire debes quoniam, sicut dicunt, aut Dianaticus aut aruspex est; insanum enim numen amentem solet habere pontificem. talis enim sacerdos parat se vino ad plagas deae saae, ut dum est ebrius poenam suam ipse non sentiat. hoc autem non solum de temperantia, sed et de arte faciunt, ut nimis vulnera sua doleant, dum vini ebrietate iactantur. vanus plane vates est, qui putat crudelitatem astringere pietatem. quam miscereis in alienos deos ille qui in suos est pontifices tam cruentus! nam ut paulisper describamus habitum vatis huiusce, est et adulterrimis eremiculis hirsutum caput, nuda habens pectora, pallio citra semimetata, et more gladiatorum paratus ad pugnam ferrum gestat in manibus, nisi quod gladiatore perior est, quia ille adversus alterum dimicare cogitur, iste contra se pugnare compellitur. ille aliena petit viscera, iste propria membra dilamat, et, si dici potest, ad crudelitatem illum lamata, istum numen hortatur.

vague personification of a moralising sort, but a definite figure of ancient religion. Her name—he thinks—was a title given at Rhamnous to a goddess of birth and death resembling Artemis, and at Smyrna to two goddesses (originally to one goddess) of vegetation resembling Aphrodite. He holds that the appellative, if Homeric or post-Homeric in date, marked 'the goddess who feels righteous indignation at evil acts and evil words,' if pre-Homeric, 'denoted distribution of any lot, the lot of life to which



Fig. 207

each is born!'. I agree with this able scholar in thinking that Nemesis was a substantial deity of early date akin to Artemis, if not also to Aphrodite; but for that very reason I cannot be content to saddle her with a cult-title denoting either 'indignation' or 'distribution'. The cult of -ations and -utions is late, not early. I incline to believe that *Nemesis*, a concrete 'goddess of the

<sup>1</sup> Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* i. 487—498.

Greenwood' (*nēmos*), became a goddess of vengeance simply through an illogical but almost inevitable confusion with the abstract substantive *nēmesis* meaning 'righteous wrath.' *Nēmesis* and *nēmosis*, so far as etymology is concerned, were doubtless sprung from the same parent stem, but in point of usage they belonged to widely divergent branches of it. In the apple-bough held by Nemesis at Rhamnous, perhaps too in the plane-tree before the sanctuary of the Nemeseis at Smyrna, we may detect a last trace of the original character of the woodland goddess.

Returning now to the main topic of the present section—the ritual wheels of Isis, Nemesis, Tyche, and Fortuna—we have yet to notice one extant specimen of a different but analogous sort. It is a wheel of cast lead from the Millingen collection in the British Museum (fig. 207), which was in all probability used for purposes of divination. It revolves upon a central pin, and has four spokes radiating from the angles of an inner square. Between every pair of adjacent spokes is a standing male figure, who holds a wreath in his right hand, a spear or sceptre in his left<sup>1</sup>. Round the rim are Roman numerals (VI VII etc.) and groups of letters. Some of these are to me illegible: but over the figure uppermost in my illustration can be clearly seen PREPE, presumably the Greek *prēpei*, 'it is fitting,'—a word appropriate to the diviner's art<sup>2</sup>.

It is probable, though not quite certain<sup>3</sup>, that all such wheels of Fortune were once intended to figure forth the sun. For—apart from the fact that the sun was sometimes, as we have seen, conceived as a wheel by the Greeks—there is the noteworthy circumstance that the dedication-day of the temple of Fors Fortuna was June 24<sup>4</sup>, the summer solstice<sup>5</sup>. Moreover, on the third Sunday in June, which would correspond approximately with Midsummer Day, at Douai a large wheel called the *roue de fortune* used to be carried in procession before a wicker-work giant known

<sup>1</sup> Mr F. H. Marshall in a note dated May 4, 1911 compares the magical disk published by R. Wunsch *Antikes Zaubergezert aus Pergamon* (Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. Ergänzungs-Heft vi) Berlin 1905 p. 45 ff. pl. 2, figs. 8f.—a convex plate of bronze fitted with a swing handle and engraved with concentric circles and two series of *radii*, between which are numerous Greek and Egyptian characters and cabalistic signs. 'The figure with parted arms on the Pergamon disk recalls,' says Mr Marshall, 'those on the lead disk.'

<sup>2</sup> M. Breal in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1908 xxi. 113 ff. argues that the use of *πρέπει*, 'il convient,' explains the second element in *θεοπρόπιον*, 'oracle' (yet see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* p. 182, Boisacq *Dict. Etym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 339).

<sup>3</sup> W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 pp. 161, 169 f. adopts an attitude of cautious reserve.

<sup>4</sup> R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1501.

<sup>5</sup> H. Gaidoz justly emphasised this fact: see W. Warde Fowler *op. cit.* p. 169 f.

as *le grand Gayant* and other figures termed *les enfants de Gayant*<sup>1</sup>. This enables us to bring the wheel of Fortune into connexion with a whole series of customs observed by the peasants of central Europe. Dr Frazer has shown that at Midsummer a blazing wheel is trundled down hill<sup>2</sup>; burning disks or wheels are flung into the air<sup>3</sup>; a tar-barrel is kindled and swung round a pole<sup>4</sup>; and fresh fire is made by rotating a wheel on a wooden axle<sup>5</sup>. A clue to the meaning of these rites is furnished by G. Durandus in his account of the feast of Saint John the Baptist (Midsummer Day)<sup>6</sup>:

\*At this festival three special rites are performed. For in some districts on the eve of the feast men and boys, in accordance with ancient custom, collect bones and certain other unclean things, and burn them together, so that a smoke rises from them into the air. Moreover, they bring brands or torches, and with them go the round of the fields. There is a third rite too; for they roll a wheel. Those who burn the unclean things and make the smoke rise aloft derive this practice from the heathen. For in ancient days dragons, stirred to lust at this time of year on account of the heat, used to fly through the air and often let fall their seed into wells and springs. Thus the waters were infected; and the year was then deadly by reason of the corruption of the air and the waters, for whosoever drank of them died or suffered some grave disorder. Philosophers, remarking this, bade fire be made frequently and everywhere round wells and springs, and any unclean things likely to cause an unclean smoke be burnt there: for they were aware that dragons could be put to flight by a smoke of that sort. And, since such things took place especially at this time of year, the custom is still kept up by some. For dragons are actual animals, as it says in the psalm "Praise the Lord from the earth, Ye dragons," not *thracones*, that is passages of the earth, as some have asserted. These animals fly in the air, swim in the waters, and walk through the earth. They cannot abide anything unclean and flee before a stinking smoke, like elephants before the grunting of swine. There is another reason why the bones of animals are burnt, to wit in memory of the fact that the bones of John the Baptist were burnt by the heathen in the city of Sebaste. Or this may refer to the New Testament; for the boys cast away and burn what is old to signify that, when the new law comes, the Old Testament must cease: for it is said "Ye shall not eat the oldest of the old, and when the new comes in ye shall cast out the old." Brands too or blazing torches are brought and fires are made, which signify Saint John, who "was a burning and a shining light," the forerunner who came before "the true light, even the light which lighteth every man that cometh into

<sup>1</sup> H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 n. 32 ff. These wicket giants may be descended from the Druid divinities, whose colossal images of wicket-work are described by Caesar *de bell. Gall.* 6. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup> iii. 268 f., 271, 273.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* iii. 270 f., 273, 278.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* iii. 272.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* iii. 276 f.

<sup>6</sup> G. Durandus *Rationale divinarum officiorum* Lugduni 1612 lib. 7 cap. 14 no. 10 ff. This important book was first printed at Mentz in 1459.

the world." As it is said in John vi, He is a burning light, shining before the Lord, who hath prepared a way for the Lord in the wilderness. In some places a wheel is rolled, to signify that just as the sun comes to the highest parts of its circle and can get no higher but then descends in the circle, so too the glory of John, who was thought to be the Christ, descends, according to the witness that he himself bore when he said "He must increase, but I must decrease." And some say that this was said because the days then begin to decrease and at the nativity of Christ to increase. But as to their decreasing before the feast of Saint John and increasing before the birthday of Our Lord, this we must understand of their nativity in the mother, that is to say, of the time when each was conceived: because John was conceived when the days were decreasing, as in September, Christ when they were increasing, as in April. Or take it of the death of each: for the body of Christ was uplifted on the cross, whereas the body of John was cut short by being beheaded.<sup>7</sup>

From this singular medley of superstition and piety, which agrees with the accounts given by other mediaeval Latinists and can be traced back to the twelfth century<sup>1</sup>, one fact stands out clearly. The Midsummer wheel represented the sun. Dr Frazer, after recording in detail a large number of examples, concludes as follows: 'The best general explanation of these European fire-festivals seems to be the one given by Mannhardt, namely, that they are sun-charms or magical ceremonies intended to ensure a proper supply of sunshine for men, animals, and plants.... This view of the festivals is supported by various arguments drawn partly from the rites themselves, partly from the influence which they are believed to exert upon the weather and on vegetation. For example, the custom of rolling a burning wheel down a hill-side, which is often observed at these times, seems a very natural imitation of the sun's course in the sky, and the imitation is especially appropriate on Midsummer Day when the sun's annual declension begins. Not less graphic is the mimicry of his apparent revolution by swinging a burning tar-barrel round a pole. The custom of throwing blazing discs, shaped like suns, into the air is probably also a piece of imitative magic. In these, as in so many cases, the magic force is supposed to take effect through mimicry or sympathy; by imitating the desired result you actually

<sup>1</sup> John Beleth, a Parisian divine, who wrote his *Summa de divinis officiis* about 1162 A.D., appears to have been the immediate source of G. Durandus; for the extract, which J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 620 f. gives from Beleth *Summa* Dillingen 1572 cap. 137 fol. 256, agrees substantially, in part even verbally, with the corresponding sections of Durandus *Rationale*, which was written in 1286 A.D. Very similar again is cod. Harleian. 2345 art. 100 cited by J. Brand *Popular Antiquities* rev. Sir H. Ellis London 1849 i. 298 n. 1 and more fully by J. M. Kemble *The Saxons in England*<sup>2</sup> London 1876 i. 361 f. See further E. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* Gutersloh 1886 p. 47 ff., W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1904 i. 509, Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup> iii. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup> iii. 300 f.

produce it; by counterfeiting the sun's progress through the heavens you really help the luminary to pursue his celestial

journey with punctuality and despatch. The name "fire of heaven," by which the midsummer fire is sometimes popularly known<sup>1</sup>, clearly indicates a consciousness of the connection between the earthly and the heavenly flame.

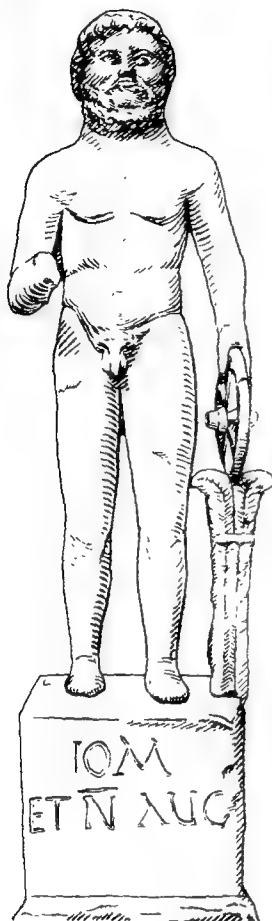


Fig. 208.

## ii. Zeus and the Solar Wheel.

But—it may be objected—although it is certain, or almost certain, that the wheel in such ceremonies stands for the sun, what reason is there to suppose that the solar wheel was in any special way connected with Zeus? That is a question to which a full and complete answer can be returned only when we shall have discussed further the relation of Ixion to Zeus. Meantime it may be shown that Iupiter on Celtic soil and Zeus among the Greeks were somehow associated with the wheel.

A Celtic god, whose solar character was determined by Monsieur H. Gaidoz, is represented as holding a wheel on his shoulder<sup>2</sup>. He is sometimes equated with the Roman Iupiter, and then holds the wheel either on a support beside him (fig. 208)<sup>3</sup> or on the ground at his feet

<sup>1</sup> A. Birlinger *Volkstümliches aus Schwaben* Freiburg im Breisgau 1861 n. 57, 97, W. Mannhardt *op. cit.* i. 510, cp. F. Panzer *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie* München 1855 ii. 240—cited by Dr Frazer.

<sup>2</sup> H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 n. 7 ff. figs. 1—5.

<sup>3</sup> A bronze statuette (height .227 m.) originally silvered over. It was found in 1872 at Landouzy-la-Ville (Aisne) and is now in the Musée de Saint-Germain. The god, whose head and neck resemble Hercules rather than Iupiter, held in his right hand some attribute now lost: this may have been a thunderbolt (so A. Héron de Villefosse, comparing fig. 209) or some object with a long staff-like handle (so S. Reinach, noting a possible trace of it on the upper surface of the base). The left hand holds a six-spoked wheel resting on the capital of a pilaster. The base is inscribed IOM | ET N AVG (I(ovis) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et n(umini) Aug(usti)). See further A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Rev. Arch.* 1881 i. 1 ff. fig. 1 pl. 1, Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 31 ff. no. 4.

(fig. 209)<sup>1</sup>. Altars dedicated to Iupiter and marked with one or more wheels, a wheel and a thunderbolt, a wheel between two thunderbolts, etc., are not uncommon in the Celtic area<sup>2</sup> and attest the widespread worship of the same solar deity.

In Greece the evidence is literary, not monumental. Lykophron the pedant, who c. 274 B.C. composed his outrageously obscure tragedy the *Alexandra*, included in it the following comparatively lucid lines:

Howbeit one there is, who past all hope  
Helpeth us friendly, he the Oak-tree-god  
*Promanteüs Athiops Gyrapsios* called<sup>3</sup>.

A colossal stone statue found in 1876 at Séguret (Vaucluse) and now in the Museum at Avignon shows Iupiter in Roman military costume. His lowered right hand grasps a ten-spoked wheel resting on a support. Beside his left foot is his eagle, behind which a snake issues from a tree-trunk (*Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 11 f. pl. 1).

<sup>1</sup> A bronze statuette (height 14 m.) found in 1774 at Le Chatelet near Saint-Dizier (Haute-Marne) and now in the Musée de Saint-Germain. The god holds a thunderbolt in his raised right hand, a six-spoked wheel in his lowered left. On a brass hoop, which passes over his right shoulder and through a handle affixed to his back, are slung nine S-shaped pendants of bronze. See further A. Héron de Villefosse *loc. cit.* i. 3 ff. fig. 2. Reinach *op. cit.* p. 33 ff. no. 5. J. Déchelette *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 466 fig. 196.

An altar from Vaison shows Iuno with *patera* and peacock. Iupiter in military costume with a thunderbolt in his right hand, a wheel in his left, and an eagle at his feet (*Rev. Arch.* 1881 i. 5 f., 1884 ii. 12).

On an altar from Theley in the Museum at Trèves a youthful deity with cloak and crown held an object now lost in his right hand, and raises a six-spoked wheel like a shield in his left hand: a smallish bird is perched at his feet (*Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 10 f. fig. 7 after F. Hettner 'Juppiter mit dem Rad' in the *Westdeutsche Monatschrift* 1884 iii. 27-30).

With the foregoing monuments Reinach *op. cit.* p. 35 compares two others not definitely identified with Iupiter. (1) A bronze statuette found at Hartsbourg, formerly Saurbough, shows the Germanic god Chudo (? cp. M. Schonfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 142 s.v. 'Chrodebeitus') standing on a fish: he holds a six-spoked wheel in his uplifted left hand, a basket of fruit and flowers in his lowered right (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 261 pl. 56, 3 after H. C. Henningus, cp. M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1481). (2) On the marvellous silver bowl found at Gundestrup in Jutland a bearded and partly bald or tonsured god raises both hands and thereby eclipses half of a many-spoked wheel, which is apparently turned by a beardless male figure in a horned helmet (S. Müller 'Det store solukar fra Gundestrup i Jylland' in the *Nordiske Fortidsminder* 1892 pl. 5, A. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 368 f. fig. 58).

<sup>2</sup> To the lists in the *Rev. Arch.* 1881 i. 5 ff., *ib.* 1884 ii. 13 f., Reinach *op. cit.* p. 35, J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 467 f. add now J. Curle *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* Glasgow 1911 p. 334 f. fig. 49 an earthenware mould showing Iupiter with helmet, shield, club, and eight-spoked wheel.

<sup>3</sup> Lyk. *Al.* 535 ff. ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ τις, ἔστι καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα | ἡμῖν ἀρωγὸς πνευμένης ὁ Δρύμνιος | δαίμων Προμανθεὺς Αἰθίοψ Τυράσιος.



Fig. 209.



Isaac Tzetzes in his twelfth-century commentary on Lykophron's work informs us that the deity here in question was Zeus, and adds that he was named 'the Oak-tree-god' in Pamphylia, *Promantheús* at Thourioi, *Aithíops* and *Gyrápsios* in Chios<sup>1</sup>. Not much is known about the Zeus-cults of Chios<sup>2</sup>; but there are traces of solar deities in the myths of the island<sup>3</sup>, and the name *Aithíops* or *Aithops*, 'He of the Burning Face,' is applied elsewhere to one of the sun-god's horses<sup>4</sup>. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that *Aithíops* *Gyrápsios* denoted Zeus in his solar aspect. But *Gyrápsios* means

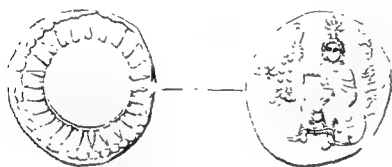


Fig. 210.

'He of the Round Wheel', so that the Chian Zeus is here described as 'He of the Burning Face, He of the Round Wheel'—a combination of epithets that may fairly be referred to the conception of the sun as a glowing wheel.

Nevertheless it would be unwise to infer from this passage an early cult of a solar Zeus in Chios. Lykophron, writing in the third century B.C., not improbably found the local worship influenced by that of some Asiatic sun-god. After all, it is but a few miles from Chios to the coast of Asia Minor, where Zeus-cults in general tended to take on a solar character<sup>5</sup>. And the title *Gyrápsios* has the air of being a late and erudite compound rather than an early and popular formation.

<sup>1</sup> Tzet. *ad loc.* Δρύμνιος ὁ Ζεὺς ἦτορ δαίμων οὕτω παρὰ Παμφυλίοις, Προμανθεὺς δὲ παρὰ Θουρίοις, Αἰθίοψ δὲ καὶ Γυράψιος παρὰ Χίοις.

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ἐφειπνος (Hesych. s. v. Ἐφειπνος) has been regarded as a god who presided over ovens (ἑφνός); see O. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2853, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 932 n. 3, Bonsacq *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 379 f. There were also cults of Zeus Μειλίχιος (*Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii 223) and Zeus Πατρώος (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 571, 35); and Zeus Πελinnaίος was worshipped on Mt. Pelinnaion (Append. B Chios).

<sup>3</sup> According to Ion of Chios *ap.* Paus. 7. 4. 8, Omopion came from Ciete to Chios with his sons, including Τάλος (cp. Τάλος *infra* ch. i § 6 (h)). Orion, when blinded by Omopion, recovered his eyesight by walking eastwards through the sea in such a way as to face the rays of the rising sun (Pherekyd. *ap.* Apollod. 1. 4. 3; Hes. *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catacl.* 32, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 34, schol. Nik. *ther.* 15, schol. Caes. *Germ. Italia* 331; Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 10. 763).

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 195 n. 5, *infra* p. 337 n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> J. Potter on Tzet. *in Lak.* II. 536 'qui formae est orbicularis, et circula rem motum circa terram nostram quolibet die et anno peragit'. The epithet is compounded of γυρός, 'round,' and ἄψις, 'the fellow of a wheel,' which (as I pointed out in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvi. 419) is used of the wheel of the Sun's chariot (Eur. *Phaethon fr.* 779, 2 f. Nauck<sup>2</sup> ἄψιδα σπῆν | κάτω δέσσει. Ion 87 f. τὴν ἡμερίαν | ἄψιδα) or of the curved course described by the Sun (Archestratos *μαγ.* 33 Brandt *ap.* Athen. 326 εἰς ὅταν Φαεθὼν περματῇ ἄψιδα διφρεῖη).

<sup>6</sup> *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 273 f.

## iii. Zeus and the Solar Disk.

Closely akin to the wheel is its genetic precursor<sup>1</sup> the disk. 'The Paiones,' says Maximus Tyrius, 'worship Helios, and the Paeonian image of Helios is a small disk on the top of a long pole<sup>2</sup>.' With this ritual object I have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> compared the sceptre surmounted by a circle held by Aphrodite *Ouranía* on coins of Ouranopolis in Makedonia<sup>4</sup> (fig. 210) and the *kopó* or olive-wood staff topped by a bronze ball representing the sun in the Boeotian Daphnephoria<sup>5</sup>. But indeed the same conception could be traced much further afield: it accounts satisfactorily, as I shall hope to show on another occasion, for the various forms taken by May-poles and 'Celtic' crosses throughout Europe.

Confining our attention to Greece, we note that a revolving disk of bronze, originally mounted on a long columnar handle, was

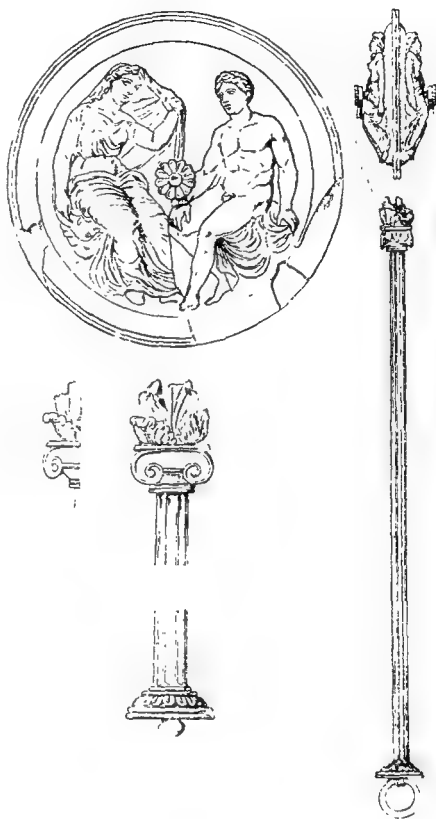


Fig. 211.

<sup>1</sup> On the evolution of the wheel from the disk see A. C. Haddon *The Study of Man* London 1898 p. 168 ff., cp. Schrader *Reallex.* p. 929 ff.; H. Hirt *Die Indo-germanen* Strassburg 1905 i. 354 f.; M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Vienna and Leipzig 1909 ii. 475 ff. N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 3. 37 f. rightly assumes the sequence  $\bigcirc \bigcirc \oplus$  i.e. the pictograph of the sun, the solar disk, the solar wheel.

<sup>2</sup> Max. Tyr. *div.* 8. 8 *Διὸς Παῖονες σέβουσι μὲν ἥλιον, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἥλιου Παῖονιδόν δισκος βραχίς ἐπὲρ μακροῦ ξύλου.*

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 410 n. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Anson *Nom. Gr.* vi pl. 1, 102, pl. 2, 122 f., 126, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 133 f.; *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 206. I figure a fine specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

<sup>5</sup> *Prokl. chrestomath.* 25 p. 352 f. Gaisford *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 321 a 34 ff.; schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* p. 298, 29 ff. Stahlm. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 409 ff.

found at Corinth and is now in the Berlin Museum. It is decorated on both sides with a love-scene in relief (fig. 211)<sup>1</sup>. A very similar disk, likewise found at Corinth, is in the Louvre<sup>2</sup>. Almost the only difference between the two is that on the Paris specimen the young man and the maiden have each a *thyrsos* in hand. The fact that both disks hail from Corinth, where Helios and Aphrodite held the citadel in succession<sup>3</sup> and were worshipped in the same temple<sup>4</sup>, is suggestive of solar magic. Nor need the intrusion of a Dionysiac *motif* make difficulties. A well-known Orphic verse identified Dionysos with Helios<sup>5</sup>. However, the exact purpose to which these implements were put, and indeed the precise name by which they were called, escapes us.

Sometimes the solar disk was affixed to buildings by way of prophylaxis<sup>6</sup>. O. Benndorf has shown that the earliest Greek *akrotéria* were developments from the ornamented end of the ridge-pole and consequently were circular or nearly circular in form<sup>7</sup>. He further observes that they were patterned in a variety of ways. The oldest example known to us, that of the Heraion at Olympia (c. 700—650 B.C.), is a great disk of terra cotta measuring some seven and a half feet in diameter. Its interior is strengthened with spoke-shaped ribs. Its exterior is painted with concentric zones and has a radiate rim<sup>8</sup>. Another *akrotérion* from the same precinct was the golden *phiale* with a relief of Medousa, which the Lacedaemonians and their allies set up over the temple of Zeus after the battle of Tanagra (457 B.C.)<sup>9</sup>. In other cases too the disk of terra cotta or marble bore an apotropaic face<sup>10</sup>. Thus an Apulian *kratér* in the Louvre shows both gables of a richly decorated

<sup>1</sup> A. Furtwangler in the *fahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix Arch. Anz. p. 119 f. no. 17, *id. Ant. Gemmen* ii. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *fahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1900 xv Arch. Anz. p. 157 no. 111, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 864 fig. 5942.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 2. 4. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* 2. 5. 1. See also Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 132 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 187 n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Northern parallels are not wanting: see S. Baring-Gould *Strange Superstitions* London 1905 pp. 36—61 'On Gables' with frontisp. and figs. 2—13.

<sup>7</sup> O. Benndorf 'Über den Ursprung der Giebelakroteten' in the *fahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii. 1—51, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 ii. 602 f.

<sup>8</sup> A. Boetticher *Olympia: das Fest und sein Städt.* Berlin 1886 p. 201 ff. fig. 44 and pl. 4, R. Bormann in *Olympia* ii. 190 ff. col. pl. 115, cp. *ib.* pls. 84 f. and 129, A. Mauquand *Greek Architecture* New York 1909 p. 238 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Olympia* v. 370 ff. no. 253, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 125 f. no. 93. Paus. 5. 10. 4 cites the inscription *ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει κ.τ.λ.* but describes it as being *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι*. Benndorf *loc. cit.* p. 8 cp. Paus. 6. 19. 13 ἀσπίς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ of the Megarian treasury at Olympia.

<sup>10</sup> Benndorf *loc. cit.* p. 10 f., cp. *Ant. Denkml.* ii. 5. 7 f. pls. 53, 53 A (antefixes from Thermos).

building surmounted by a round *Gorgôneion* (fig. 212)<sup>1</sup>. Finally, two Doric temples of a late date near the monastery of *Kourno* on the Taygeton promontory have *akrotéria* shaped like a ring with an inner wheel or rosette<sup>2</sup>. Now all these forms are intelligible as variations of the solar disk; and that they really symbolised the sun may be inferred from the fact that in Roman times they were often replaced by the four-horse chariot of the sun-god himself<sup>3</sup>.

Again, when we remember the Egyptian custom of putting the solar disk with its *uraeus*-snakes over every sacred doorway<sup>4</sup>, we

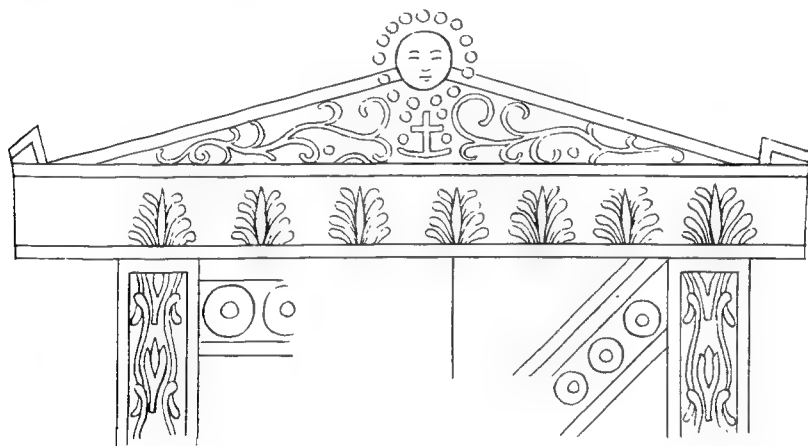


Fig. 212.

shall be emboldened to assign a solar origin to the *phiale* or circular shield so frequently found in representations of classical pediments. This *phiale* or shield is at first flanked by a couple of snakes (fig. 213)<sup>5</sup>. But the snakes gradually degenerate into

<sup>1</sup> O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 212 f. pl. I, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildes.* i. 741 f. pl. 30, 8, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. ér.* iii. 189 f. pl. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 139 f. pls. ii—2, ii—5, 3, ii—7, ii—11, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Prop. 2. 31. 11, Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 16. 35. 157, Plout. v. *Poplic.* 13, Fest. p. 274 b 9 ff. Muller. Cp. T. L. Donaldson *Architectura Numismatica* London 1859 p. 6 ff. no. 3, p. 12 ff. no. 4, p. 35 ff. no. 8, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 170 f., Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 45 fig. 82, Durm *Baukunst d. Rom.* 2 p. 102 ff. figs. 112—115, *supra* p. 45 fig. 15.

Occasionally the *quadriga* of the sun-god occupies the pediment: so on a bronze-relief of Zeus *Sabazios* in his shrine (*infra* p. 392 n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 205 f.

<sup>5</sup> Roulez *Faves de Lende* p. 79 ff. pl. 19. Cp. an Apulian *amphora* at Naples, on which the pediment of Hades' palace has a *Gorgôneion* between two fish-tailed monsters (Heydemann *Fasensamml. Neapel* p. 510 ff. no. 3222, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 9, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1927 fig. 2042 A).

Early Greek architects commonly filled the angles of their pediments with the tails of snaky or fishy figures, and their example was followed far and wide (see e.g. A. Foucher

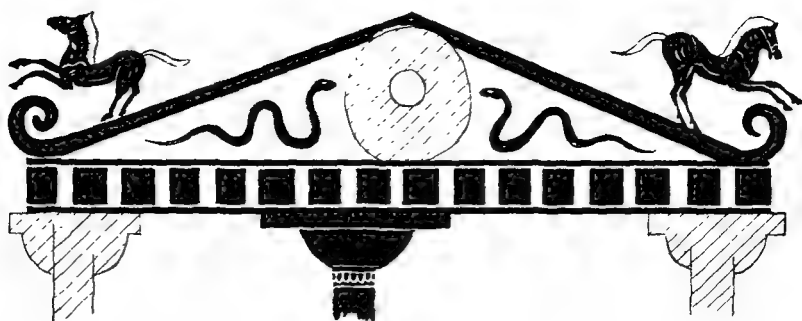


Fig. 213.

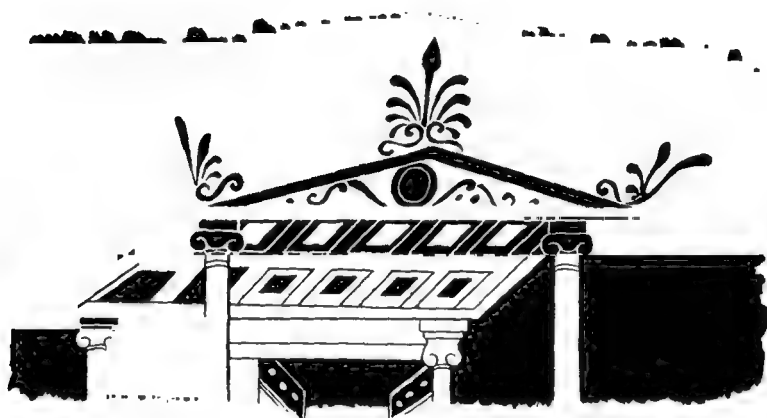


Fig. 214.



Fig. 215.

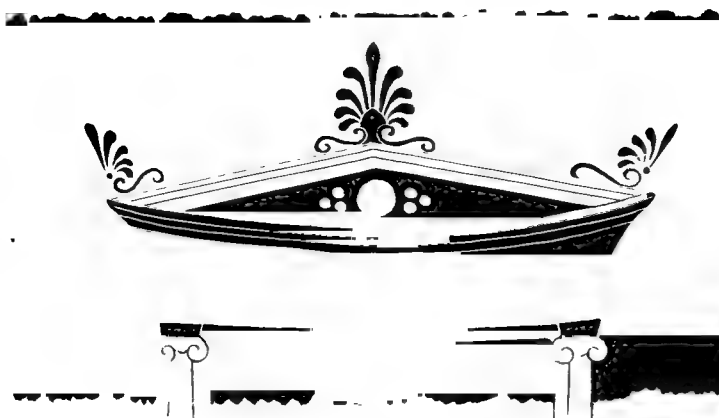


Fig. 216.

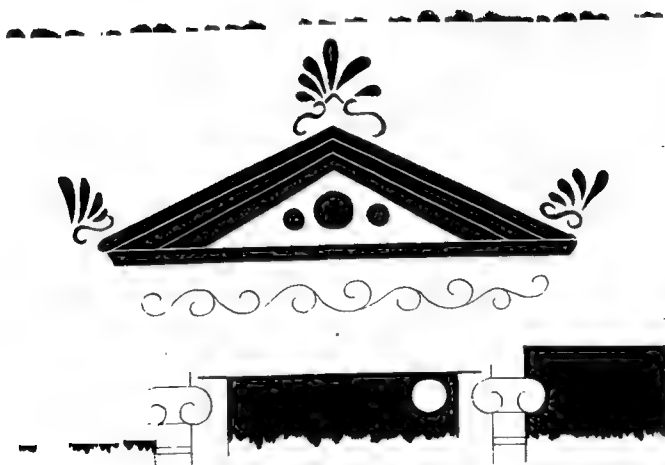


Fig. 217.

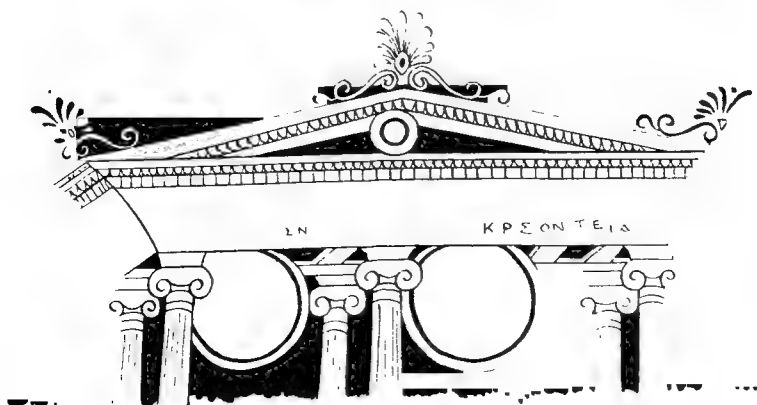


Fig. 218.

a mere pattern (figs. 214—217)<sup>1</sup>, and end by vanishing altogether (fig. 218)<sup>2</sup>.

Whether the disks or shields suspended in temples<sup>3</sup> and palaces<sup>4</sup> were ever regarded as *apotrópaia*, we do not know. But at least they afford a close parallel to the wheels hung in like positions, which we took to be *lynges*<sup>5</sup>.



Fig. 219.

On an early silver coin of the Thracio-Macedonian region a disk is borne through the sky by a winged and long-haired figure in the attitude of *Knielauf*<sup>6</sup> or speedy flight (fig. 219)<sup>7</sup>. This figure is best interpreted as that of the local sun-god<sup>8</sup>. Its nearest

*L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra* Paris 1905 p. 241 ff. figs. 119—123, 125). I surmise that this practice originated in the representation of a solar disk with a snake on either side of it. Artistic convenience may have dictated that the snakes should turn towards the disk, not away from it. But the device was from the first intended to serve a practical purpose, that of safe-guarding the edifice.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 214 is from an Apulian *pelike* at Naples, which depicts the rape of the *Pallidion* from the temple of Athena (Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 529 ff. no. 3231, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858 xxx. 246 ff. pl. M).

Fig. 215 is from an Apulian *kratēr* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 142 f. no. F 284, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 41 ff. pls. 19, 20).

Fig. 216 is from an Apulian *kálpis* at Cambridge (I. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 83 no. 247 pl. 39).

Fig. 217 is from another Apulian *kratēr* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 143 f. no. F 286 unpublished, cp. an Apulian *hydria* ib. iv. 174 no. F 351 unpublished).

<sup>2</sup> Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 161 ff. pl. 90 the Medea-vase at Munich, on which see *supra* p. 251 f. Many other examples could be cited, e.g. Furtwangler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i pl. 10, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 27, *Bullettino Italiano* 1862 i pl. 7, Lenormant—de Witte *Ét. mon. cer.* iv pl. 27.

In numismatic art too a similar sequence of types could be made out: a good collection of materials is in Anson *Num. Gr.* v pls. 4—13, cp. Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Num. Rom. Coins* pp. 128, 458, 485, 526 f., etc.

The pediment of the Ionic *prōpylon* at Magnesia was ornamented with a round shield (*Magnesia am Maecander* p. 133 with p. 127 fig. 133).

<sup>3</sup> *Fr. Compt. rendu St. Pé.* 1863 p. 251 ff. Atlas pl. 6, 2 (temple of Apollon at Delphi), *supra* p. 40 fig. 11 (pediment of Zeus at Mykenai).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Furtwangler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii pl. 90 (palace of Kreon at Corinth), *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 9 (palace of Hades).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 259 ff.

<sup>6</sup> E. Schmidt 'Der Knielauf und die Darstellung des Laufens und Fliegens in der älteren griechischen Kunst' in the *Münchener archäologische Studien* München 1909 pp. 249—397.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia* etc. p. 136 fig. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1257 f. pl. 59, 6. B. V. Head's suggestion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia* etc. pp. xix f., xxv ff.; but see *Hist. num.* 2 p. 203) that the object carried by the running figure may be ☉, the mitral of the town Therma, is most improbable (Timhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 106 ff.). E. Babelon *loc. cit.* describes it as 'une couronne': but this is ruled out by the central dot.

A silver coin at Paris nearly related to the foregoing shows a similar figure clad in a long *chiton* (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 1255 ff. pl. 59, 5).

<sup>8</sup> So P. Gauthier in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 58.

analogue occurs on silver coins of Mallos in Kilikia c. 425—385 B.C. (fig. 220)<sup>1</sup>. Here we see a beardless god, draped from the waist downwards, winging his way in hot haste and holding in both hands a disk, on which is an eight-rayed star. Two details deserve attention. The spiral on the top of the god's head recalls the similar adornment of other winged figures<sup>2</sup> and is suggestive of a feather head-dress<sup>3</sup>: as such it would point us towards Crete and north Africa. The god's skirt too might be compared with those of the young men on the Haghia Triada sarcophagus<sup>4</sup>. Now Talos the sun-god appears on coins of Phaistos as a beardless youth, winged and hastening along with a round stone in either hand<sup>5</sup>. And the Minotaur, another solar personage, is a very similar figure on coins of Knossos<sup>6</sup>. I should conjecture, therefore, that the disk-bearing god on the coins of Mallos is a solar deity akin to the Cretan Talos or Minotaur. Fortunately it seems possible to trace his type back to earlier forms. A *statér* at Berlin shows him with Janiform



Fig. 220.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycæonia etc.* pp. cxx, 97 f. pl. 16, 8—13, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinm.* *Münzen* n. 467 pl. 18, 2, Babelon *op. cit.* n. 2, 873 ff. pls. 137, 21—23, 138, 1 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 723.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the *coiffure* of the winged goddess on certain silver pieces originally attributed by Imhoof-Blumer to Mallos (*Monn. gr.* p. 356 f.), but now to Aphrodisias in Kilikia (*Kleinm.* *Münzen* n. 435 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 717), though Babelon adheres to the former attribution (*op. cit.* n. 1, 557 f. pl. 25, 7, 9); that of the Sphinx on 'Minoan' ivories etc. (Perrot—Chapiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 833 f. figs. 416—418, E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1895 xx. 119 f.), a gold plate from Kypros (*Rev. Arch.* 1897 n. 333), electrum coins of Chios (Babelon *op. cit.* n. 1, 189 ff. pl. 8, 61, and certain early vase-fabrics: (1) Rhodian *pinak.*—De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 30 no. 73 pl. 2, *id. ib.* i. 30 f. no. 74, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 75 fig. 2, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxv. 38 fig., *Reinach Rép. Vases* i. 413, 1: (2) 'Cyrenaic' *kýlix*—Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* n. 528 no. E 664, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 2<sup>me</sup> Série Paris 1901 p. 62, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix pl. 12, 4 and pl. 13, 6, *Reinach Rép. Vases* i. 435, 4 and 12: (3) the 'François'-vase—Furtwangler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 59 pl. 13: that of the Seiren (H. Thiersch "Tyrrhænische" *Amphoren* Leipzig 1899 p. 97, G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 107 ff. figs. 38 f., p. 124 fig. 49, p. 145 ff. figs. 69 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 623 f. figs. 16 f.) and Griffin (A. Furtwangler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1751, 1752 fig. 1753, 1761 fig., 1767, Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 7 pl. 3, 1) in archaic art. On 'Cyrenaic' *kýlixes* not only Nike (?) but also the cavalier, whom she attends, is similarly plumed (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* n. 528 f. no. E 665, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 2<sup>me</sup> Série p. 62 f., *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix pl. 13, 3, *Reinach Rép. Vases* i. 435, 9; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 49 no. B 1, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 217 pl. 13, 2).

<sup>3</sup> See G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 76 and the *reiff.* cited *ib.* n. 1, to which add O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 385, H. R. Hall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 119—123.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) 1 (β).

<sup>5</sup> *Infra* ch. i § 6 (h).

<sup>6</sup> *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xv.



head, holding a disk which is not stellate<sup>1</sup>. A *statér* in the Hunter collection gives him four wings and a plain disk (fig. 221)<sup>2</sup>. Another in the same cabinet makes him both Janiform and four-winged, placing beneath him the front part of a man-headed bull (fig. 222)<sup>3</sup>. Yet another from the same collection adds a bull's head facing us upon the disk (fig. 223)<sup>4</sup>. It may fairly be claimed that these coins



Fig. 221.



Fig. 222.



Fig. 223.

go some way towards connecting the Cilician god with the Minotaur. F. Imhoof-Blumer would see in him Kronos<sup>5</sup>, whose head he identified on a later silver coin of Mallos<sup>6</sup>. And certainly this explanation suits the bull's head borne by the Janiform figure; for Kronos appears elsewhere with that attribute<sup>7</sup>. But we need not therefore disallow the comparison with Talos and the Minotaur. Kronos is essentially connected with both<sup>8</sup>. Perhaps we may venture to regard the older disk-bearer as a solar Kronos, the younger as a solar Zeus. Further, it has been argued by J. N. Svoronos<sup>9</sup> that Mallos in Kilikia was a colony of Malla in Crete, where the principal cult was that of Zeus *Mounitios*<sup>10</sup>. If Svoronos is right, we are justified in pressing the analogy of the Cretan solar deities.

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 467 no. 2 pl. 18, 3, Babelon *Méun. 27. rom.* i. 2, 871 f. no. 1391 fig.

<sup>2</sup> *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 536 pl. 59, 13, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2, 873 f. pl. 137, 20 cp. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 536 pl. 59, 11, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2, 872.

<sup>4</sup> *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 536 pl. 59, 12, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2, 869 ff. pl. 137, 16 f. See also E. Gerhard *Über die Kunst der Phöniciar* Berlin 1848 p. 31 pl. 3, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 467.

<sup>6</sup> F. Imhoof-Blumer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1572 cp. 1553 figs. 4 f., *id. Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 468 f. pl. 18, 6.

<sup>7</sup> On an octagonal altar found at Havange in 1825 and now in the museum at Metz (P. C. Robert *Épigraphie gallo-romaine de la Moselle* Paris 1873--1888 p. 37 ff. pls. 2, 2; 3, 4 --10, Darcinberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 172 fig. 2403).

<sup>8</sup> M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1505 l., *infra* ch. 1 §6 (h) ii.

<sup>9</sup> J. N. Svoronos 'Die Münztypen der Stadt Mallos in Kilikien' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1888 xvi. 219 ff., *id. Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 241.

<sup>10</sup> Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2, 350 ff. no. 5100, 18 f. οἱ μὲν Ἀντράοι ἐν Μάλλῃ λαί ἐπι Μουνιτίω, *ib.* iii. 2, 413 no. 5184, 14 ἀναθήσομεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ζηνὸς τῷ Μουνιτίω. Coins of Malla in the third or second century B.C. have obv. head of Zeus bearded and laureate, rev. eagle, thunderbolt (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 240 f., *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 472).

Hellenistic literature once or twice connects Zeus with the solar disk. Lykophron describes how the body of Aias, cast up on the beach, will be parched by 'the ray of Seirios' and hidden in the sea-weed by Thetis—

Helper of *Diskos*, mightiest power, *Kynaitheús*<sup>1</sup>.

The scholiast states that the word *Seirios*, which properly denotes the Dog-star, is here used improperly of the sun; that *Diskos* means Zeus, who was so called in memory of the *dískos* or stone swallowed in his stead by Kronos; and that *Kynaitheús* was a cult-title of Zeus in Arkadia<sup>2</sup>. The scholiast's comment is repeated by Tzetzes<sup>3</sup> and apparently postulates a solar Zeus known as *Diskos*. This squares with Nonnos' hymn to the sun, in which the poet invokes that luminary not only as the Assyrian and Egyptian 'Zeus', but also as—

Driving around all heaven with fiery disk<sup>4</sup>.

Finally, it may be suspected that, when Mithraic (?) sun-worshippers spoke of the *Diskos* as 'Father' and 'god', they were not independent of the same religious conception.

#### iv. The Lycian Symbol.

Lycian coins of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. are characterised by a symbol, which might be called indifferently a wheel or a disk. It consists of a central ring or circle, from which radiates a

<sup>1</sup> Lyk. *Al.* 397 *ἀκτὶς Σερία*, 400 *Δίσκου μεγίστου τάρροθος Κυναιθέως*.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Lyk. *Al.* 397 ff. *Seirios* is used of the sun by Archil. *frag.* 58 Hiller *ap.* Plout. *symph.* 3. 10. 2 and *ap.* Hesych. s.v. *Σειρίον κυρὸς δίκην*, cp. Hesych. s.v. *σειρίος* 'ὁ ἥλιος. καὶ ὁ τοῦ κυρὸς ἀστήρ'. Orph. *Arg.* 120 f. *σειρίος* 'ἡ ἥλιος, Soud. s.v. *σεῖρ*, *σειρὸς* 'ὁ ἥλιος and *Σείριον* 'τὸν Κῆρα' ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον. See further L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 49 f., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* p. 407. *Kynaitheús* is understood by Welcker *Gr. Gotter* ii. 197 as an epithet of Zeus in the Dog-days, cp. C. von Holzinger on Lyk. *Al.* 400. Paus. 5. 22. 1, 8. 19. 1 describes a statue of Zeus dedicated at Olympia by the *Kynaitaeis* of Arkadia as holding a thunderbolt in either hand—which hardly supports the connexion with the Dog-star (see, however, Paus. 8. 19. 2 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Tzetz. in Lyk. *Al.* 397, 400.

<sup>4</sup> *Myth.* p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 371 *ἰππεύων ἑλικηδὸν ὅλον πόλον αἰθοπι δίσκῳ*.

<sup>6</sup> A. Dieterich *Die Mithraismuskeln*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 6. 9 ff. *ὅφει γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς ὥρας θεῖαν θέσιν, τοὺς πολεῖοντας ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεοῦς, ἄλλους δὲ καταβαίνοντας, ἡ δὲ πορεία τῶν ὁρωμένων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατὴρ μου, θεοῦ, φανήσεται* ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργοῦντος ἀνέμου' ὅφει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου αὐτὸν κρεμάμενον, κ.τ.λ., *ib.* p. 8. 9 ff. *σίρισον δις καὶ πόππυσον δις καὶ εὐθέως ὅφει ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ἀστέρας προσερχομένους πενταδακτυλίου πλείστους καὶ πηλῶντας ὅλον τὸν αἶρα* σὺ δὲ πάλιν λεγέ' *σιγῇ* καὶ τοῦ δίσκου ἀνοιγέτος ὅφει ἀπειρον κύκλωμα καὶ θύρας πύρας ἀποκεκλεισμένας.

variable number of lines curving either to the left or to the right, but never straight. Of these lines there are usually three<sup>1</sup> (fig. 224), sometimes four<sup>2</sup> (fig. 225), occasionally two<sup>3</sup> (fig. 226), and in a single exceptional case but one<sup>4</sup> (fig. 227). The symbol in question



Fig. 224.



Fig. 225.



Fig. 226.



Fig. 227.

is now and again subjected to further complications. An example in the Paris collection<sup>5</sup> (fig. 228) has the ring with three radiating lines mounted on a round shield or disk from behind which appear four similar lines curving alternately to left and right. Or, again,

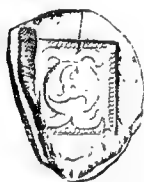


Fig. 228.



Fig. 229.



Fig. 230.

animal forms are introduced. One branch may end in the head of a monster<sup>6</sup> (fig. 229), or snake<sup>7</sup> (fig. 230); or all the branches may be furnished with the heads of cocks<sup>8</sup> (fig. 231), or of swans or

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* pp. xxviii f. 6 ff. pls. 2 ff., *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 493 ff., 509 ff., pls. 21, 20 ff., 22, 1 ff., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 688 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 18 ff. pl. 5, 4 ff., p. 25 pl. 6, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 23 pl. 6, 7, p. 24 pl. 6, 8, 9, 11, p. 26 pl. 6, 16, p. 28 pl. 7, 10, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 225 f. pl. 95, 12 ff., 303 f. pl. 101, 18. Sometimes this type appears as S with an appendage like a handle affixed to its centre (*id. ib.* ii. 2. 201 f. pl. 93, 13 f.).

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 25 pl. 6, 13. The supposed hook (ἀγκυρά) on a silver coin of Arpi in Apulia (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 112 pl. 93, 8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 130, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 44, *Anson Num. gr.* vi pl. 13, 759) closely resembles this form of the Lycian symbol.

<sup>5</sup> *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 501 ff. pl. 22, 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 12 pl. 3, 14, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 233 f. pl. 96, 1, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 690.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 18 pl. 5, 3, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 690 ('serpent').

<sup>8</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 9 pl. 3, 1-4, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 497 ff., pl. 22, 8-10, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 689 f.

ducks<sup>1</sup> (fig. 232). On occasion an owl occupies the central ring<sup>2</sup> (fig. 233). But on the Lycian series the radiating lines are never modified into human legs. The significance of this symbol has been frequently debated. Monsieur Babelon, after passing in



Fig. 231.

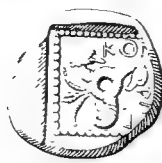


Fig. 232.



Fig. 233.

review the various hypotheses that have been put forward, concludes in favour of the solar explanation advanced by L. Müller and Mr E. Thomas<sup>3</sup>. L. Müller, comparing analogous symbols throughout the west of Europe<sup>4</sup>, and Mr Thomas, doing the same for India and the east<sup>5</sup>, arrived independently at substantially similar results. Both regard the Lycian sign and its parallels as representations of the sun. Mr Thomas sums up in the following sentence: 'As far as I have been able to trace or connect the various manifestations of this emblem, they one and all resolve themselves into the primitive conception of solar motion, which was intuitively associated with the rolling or wheel-like projection of the sun through the upper or visible arc of the heavens, as understood and accepted in the crude astronomy of the ancients<sup>6</sup>'. This verdict, for Lykia at least, is confirmed by the fact that on Lycian coinage after the time of Alexander the Great the radiate head of Helios is a constant type<sup>7</sup>. But, when we seek to define the deity to whom the Lycian wheel originally belonged, we are deserted by the evidence. The conjecture of C. von Paucker<sup>8</sup> and E. Curtius<sup>9</sup>, that it marked the worship of a three-fold Zeus, is disposed of by the examples with one, two, and four branches.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* pl. 44, 5, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 nos. 476, 532, pls. 12, 11, 15, 5, *id. Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 227 f. pl. 95, 16, 235 ff. pl. 96, 5, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 690 ('cynets')

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 23 pl. 6, 6, pl. 44, 9, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 510, ii. 2. 275 ff. pl. 99, 24 ff., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 691.

<sup>3</sup> E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. xc f.

<sup>4</sup> L. Müller *La croix gammée* Copenhagen 1877.

<sup>5</sup> E. Thomas 'The Indian Swastika and its western Counterparts' in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xv. 18—48. See also P. Gardner 'Ares as a Sun-god' *ib.* 1880 xx. 49—61

<sup>6</sup> E. Thomas *ib.* 1880 xv. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 482.

<sup>8</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1851 ix. 380.

<sup>9</sup> *ib.* 1855 xiii. 11, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 510 f.

## 302 The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops

There is more to be said for Monsieur Babelon's view that it was the symbol of a national god of light, who perhaps originated in Crete, perhaps came from the east<sup>1</sup>, but in any case at a later date entered the Greek pantheon and was assimilated to Apollon, being famed throughout the classical world as Apollon *Lykios*<sup>2</sup>.

### v. The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops.

This, however, is to leave unsolved the problem—who or what was the national light-god before the advent of the Greek Apollon? I am disposed to think that he was, or became, the monstrous form known to the Greeks as the Kyklops<sup>3</sup>. Objections will at once occur to readers familiar with the *Odyssey* and its myth of Polyphemos. How is the plural Kyklopes to be reduced to a singular Kyklops? What had the Kyklopes who kept sheep on the mountains of Sicily, or for that matter the Kyklopes who worked at the underground smithy of Hephaistos, to do with a sun-god? How are we to bridge the distance from Magna Graecia in the west to Lykia in the east? And by what process did a solar wheel develop into a ferocious giant? These are questions that must be answered, if my hypothesis is to be regarded as tenable at all.

To begin with, then, Hellanikos asserts that 'the Kyklopes derived their name from one Kyklops, son of Ouranos<sup>4</sup>.' It follows that his readers in the fifth century B.C. knew of certain Kyklopes, different from the Kyklopes of the Homeric tradition, inasmuch as they were named after a single Kyklops, who passed as being the son of 'the Sky.' This sky-connexion is elsewhere insisted on. The scholiast on Aristeides the rhetorician writes: 'They say that there are three kinds of Kyklopes, those in the *Odyssey* who are Sicilian; the Cheirogastores; and the so-called Sky-dwellers<sup>5</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 3. 52 ff. supposes that this symbol, as emblem of the solar god Sandas, Sandes, Sandon, travelled across Asia from the west to the farthest east. But he adduces no valid evidence of its connexion with Sandas.

<sup>2</sup> Babelon *op. cit.* n. 1. 482, 509.

<sup>3</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 326 f.

<sup>4</sup> Hellanik. *frag.* 176 (*frag. hist. Gr.* i. 69 Muller) *ap. schol. Hes. theog.* 139 'Ελλανικός δὲ τοῖς Κύκλωπας ὀνομάζεσθαι ἀπὸ Κύκλωπος υἱοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, οὗ περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ Κυκλώπων λέγει.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Aristot. p. 408, 26 ff. Dindorf τρία γὰρ γένη φασὶν εἶναι Κυκλώπων, τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεύα, Σικελοῖς οὖτας, καὶ τοῖς Χειρογαστορας, καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις Οὐρανίους. M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 110 f. thinks that the scholiast drew his information from Hellanikos, because the schol. Hes. *theog.* 139 after the passage quoted in n. 3 immediately continues Κυκλώπων γὰρ γένη τρία· Κύκλωπες οἱ τὴν Μικτήν, τεχίσαντες, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πελόνημον, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοί. But it is far from clear that this last sentence was taken from Hellanikos: C. Muller *frag. hist. Gr.* i. 69 does not include it in the excerpt.

## The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops 303

Nor can we dismiss this as the figment of a late grammarian; for Hesiod<sup>1</sup>, perhaps a thousand years earlier, had spoken of the Kyklopes as *Ouranídoi*, 'sons of the Sky,' and Zenon the Stoic c. 300 B.C. gave a physical explanation of the name<sup>2</sup>.

Again, there is reason to connect the Kyklopes with Lykia. The seven Kyklopes, who built the great walls of Tiryns for king Proitos, were brought over for the purpose from Lykia<sup>3</sup>. Thus, whereas Theophrastos declared that towers were invented by the Tirynthians, Aristotle referred their invention to the Kyklopes<sup>4</sup>. Towers to the modern ear are not suggestive of a sky-god; but we must bear in mind Pindar's mysterious statement that the souls of the righteous—

travel the road of Zeus to Kronos' tower<sup>5</sup>,

and also the names applied by the Pythagoreans to the central fire of the universe, *viz.* 'the tower of Zan,' 'the watch-tower of Zan,' 'the house of Zeus<sup>6</sup>.' A revolving tower, as we have seen<sup>7</sup>, was a Celtic conception of the Otherworld. Some such belief may underlie the reputation, which the Kyklopes enjoyed in ancient times<sup>8</sup>, of being master-builders. We still speak of 'Cyclopean' masonry.

Next we have to consider the possibility of deriving the one-eyed giant of Sicily from the solar wheel of Lycia in point of actual shape. The Lycian symbol appears to have developed in two very different directions. On the one hand, by the beginning of the fourth century B.C. it had become reduced to a simpler combination of lines<sup>9</sup>. The central circle had dwindled to a dot, from which

<sup>1</sup> Hes. *theog.* 502 Οὐρανίδας.

<sup>2</sup> Zen. *frag.* 116 Pearson *ap. schol.* Hes. *theog.* 139 παῖδας δὲ φησιν αὐτοὺς τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ταῦτα τὰ πάθη περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰσι. The reference is to the names Βρόντης, Στερόπη, Ἀργής, which Zenon may have found in Hes. *theog.* 140.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. 2. 2. 1, Strab. 372 (cited also by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 286, 306, *in Od.* p. 1672, 53 f.). Cp. schol. Eur. *Or.* 965.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 195.

<sup>5</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 2. 70 ἐτεῖλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρῳ. The context is Pythagorean (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 2. 104, 106, 123).

<sup>6</sup> Aristot. *de iaculo* 2. 13. 293<sup>b</sup> 3 f. ὁ Διὸς φυλακὴν ὀνομάζονσι. τὸ ταύτην ἔχον τὴν χώραν πῦρ, Simplic. *ad loc.* = Aristot. *frag.* 199 Rose οἱ μὲν Ζανὸς (Ζηνὸς Diel-) πύργον αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἱστορήσεν, οἱ δὲ Διὸς φυλακὴν, ὡς ἐν τούτοις, οἱ δὲ Διὸς θρόνον, ὡς ἄλλοι φασίν. Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* ii. 106, 21 ff. Diehl (cp. i. 199, 2 ff.) καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι δὲ Ζανὸς πύργον ἢ Ζανὸς φυλακὴν ἀπεκάλουν τὸ μέσον, Philolaos *ap. Stob. eccl.* 1. 22. 1<sup>a</sup> p. 196, 18 ff. Wachsmuth Φιλόλαος πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ περὶ τὸ κέντρον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ παντὸς καλεῖ καὶ Διὸς οἶκον καὶ μητέρα θεῶν, βωμὸν τε καὶ σιννοχὴν καὶ μέτρον φύσεως.

<sup>7</sup> *Myth.* p. 243.

<sup>8</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1687 ff. Note Sen. *Thy.* 407 f. Cyclopus sacras | turres.

<sup>9</sup> The change is already noticeable on a coin of the Lycian dynast *Thibol.* (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 211 f. pl. 94, 12).

## 304 The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops

radiated three curved lines or crescents. This form occurs at Olba

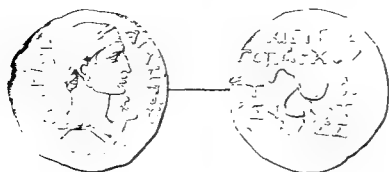


Fig. 234.

in Kilikia<sup>1</sup> (fig. 234); at Thebe in Mysia<sup>2</sup>; at Abydos<sup>3</sup>, Biryto<sup>4</sup>, and Rhoiteion<sup>5</sup> in the Troad; in Makedonia<sup>6</sup>; at Argos<sup>7</sup>; and at Megara<sup>8</sup>. On the other hand, the tendency towards theriomorphism and anthropomorphism was also at work.

The addition, already observed, of animal heads to the component members of the symbol<sup>9</sup> was but the commencement of changes, which were carried further in neighbouring lands. Thus the silver coins of Aspendos in Pamphylia from about 500 B.C. onwards are characterised by three human legs, turned either to the right or to the left, but radiating from a common centre and so constituting a genuine *triskelós*<sup>10</sup>. Sometimes this *triskelós* is centred about a small four-spoked wheel<sup>11</sup> (fig. 235). Occasionally it is superposed on a lion<sup>12</sup> (fig. 236) or an eagle<sup>13</sup> (fig. 237). But usually it consists of three human legs

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycæonia etc. pp. lvi, 119 pl. 21, 8 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 727, on bronze coins of Atas, son of Teukros, high-priest of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος, c. 10–14 A.D.; and *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* *ib.* p. 124 pl. 22, 7, *Head ib. cat.*, on bronze coins of M. Antonius Polemo, high-priest, c. 17–36 A.D. G. F. Hill in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* *ib.* p. lvi notes 'that the triskeles occurs as a rock-cut symbol at various places in this district.' See further *infra* ch. II § 9 (h) II (f).

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 179, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 538 ('three crescents united') on a bronze coin of the fourth century B.C.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 2 pl. 1, 8 on a silver coin c. 411–387 B.C.: the three curves radiating from a common centre are inscribed in a circle.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. pp. xlv, 41 pl. 8, 5, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 542, on a bronze coin c. 300 B.C.: the three curves are enclosed by a circle.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. xxxi f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 548, on a unique silver coin c. 350–300 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 9 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 234 ('crescent-rayed star'), on silver coins c. 185–168 B.C.: in the centre of a round Macedonian shield is a wheel-like ornament of six or four crescents radiating from a central dot and enclosed by a circle. See P. Gardner 'Ares as a Sun-god' in the *Numb. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 49 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 140 on a silver coin of the fourth century B.C.

<sup>8</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica p. 118 pl. 21, 2 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 393, on silver coins of the fourth century B.C.: five or three crescents radiating from a central dot and enclosed by a circle.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 300 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. pp. lxxii f., 93 ff. pl. 19 ff., *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* n. 1, 524 ff. pl. 23, 11–21, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 699 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* n. 1, 525 ff. pl. 23, 12; 527 f. pl. 23, 16.

<sup>12</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 94 pl. 19, 6, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* n. 1, 529 ff. pl. 23, 20 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 699.

<sup>13</sup> *Head Cat. Coins* n. 507 pl. 58, 1, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* n. 1, 529 f. no. 868. On the three-legged crow of Chinese legend and the eight-handed (= many-handed) crow of

# The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops 305

and nothing more. The same design recurs at Selge<sup>1</sup>, Etenna<sup>2</sup>, and Adada<sup>3</sup> in Pisidia; at Hierapytna<sup>4</sup> in Crete; in Melos<sup>5</sup>, at Athens<sup>6</sup>,



Fig. 235.



Fig. 236.



Fig. 237.

in Aigina<sup>7</sup>, at Phlious<sup>8</sup>; at Syracuse<sup>9</sup>; at Kaulonia<sup>10</sup> and Terina<sup>11</sup> in Bruttium; at Suessa Aurunca<sup>12</sup> in Latium; and probably elsewhere too<sup>13</sup> (fig. 238). Some of these examples exhibit a well-marked central disk; for instance, a recently discovered silver coin of Melos<sup>14</sup> c. 500—450 B.C. (fig. 239), a *unicum* of Aigina c. 480 B.C.<sup>15</sup>, or certain

Kojiki and Nihongi tradition see N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 51 fig. 40, 63.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* pp. cxv f. 258 f. pl. 39, 10—13, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 711.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. cxix, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 708.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. cxvii pl. 30, 2 f., Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 705.

<sup>4</sup> J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 188 pl. 17, 6, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 468.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra* n. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 717 f. pl. 33, 10 ff. notes other examples of the *triskel's* occurring at Athens, on lead tokens and small bronze counters. On the pre-Solonian silver coinage it is inscribed in a circle.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra* n. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 718, 811 ff. pl. 33, 12, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 408.

<sup>9</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 191 ff., *ib.* Corinth etc. p. 98 f. pl. 25, 5—9, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 180 f. G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 152 f. suggests that the *triskel's*, which appears first on the coins of Agathokles, from 317 B.C. onwards, was originally his private signet, adopted at a later date, perhaps by the Romans, as the emblem of all Sicily. Cp. Hill *ib.* p. 152 ff. fig. 44 pl. 11, 8, 9 and 14, Babelon *Monn. réf. rom.* i. 191, 351 f., 401 ff., 414, 427, ii. 7 (no. 175), 66, 277 f., 499, 539. A. Allienus, proconsul in Sicily in 48 B.C., struck a *denarius*, which shows Trinacrus, son of Neptunus, holding the *triskel's* in his hand: see Hill *op. cit.* p. 224 f. pl. 15, 5, Babelon *Monn. réf. rom.* i. 137 f., ii. 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 336, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 157 pl. 111, 30.

<sup>11</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 393, Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 99 pl. 179, 35 f. (symbol).

<sup>12</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 123, Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 17 pl. 64, 7 (symbol).

<sup>13</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 57 *aes grave* of uncertain provenience, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 23 pl. 45, 4.

<sup>14</sup> From the specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge: obv. pomegranate, rev. *triskel's* with central disk in dotted circle  $\Lambda\Lambda\Lambda$  [..]. See R. Jameson in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1909 xii. 192 ff. pl. 5, 11 and pl. 6, 25, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 892.

<sup>15</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc.* p. 136 pl. 24, 8, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 657 ff., 813 ff. pl. 30, 20, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 397, 408. Babelon and Head following J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1888 viii. 97 regard the coin as proof of an alliance between Aigina and Phlious.



## 306 The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops

scarce specimens of pre-Solonian coinage at Athens<sup>1</sup>. The Thraco-Macedonian tribe of Derrones added palmettes between the legs<sup>2</sup> (fig. 240). The Pisidians of Selge (fig. 241) and the Lucanians of



Fig. 238.



Fig. 239.



Fig. 240.

Velia<sup>4</sup> fitted the ankles with wings. Elsewhere the humanising tendency transformed the central disk into a face<sup>5</sup>. That was the case in Sicily<sup>6</sup>. Silver and copper coins of Agathokles, issued



Fig. 241.



Fig. 242.



Fig. 243.



Fig. 244.

between 317 and 310 B.C., have for their reverse type a *triskelios* with wings attached to the feet and a Gorgon's head in the middle<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 305 n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 150, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* II. 1 1039 ff. pl. 44, 6-9, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 202. I figure the specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* pp. lxxiii, 263 pl. 40, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 314 f., Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 74 pl. 139, 42 (symbol).

<sup>5</sup> At Istros in Lower Moesia occurs the strange type of two young male heads in juxtaposition, one of the two being upside down (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace etc.* p. 25 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 274). *Head ib.*<sup>1</sup> p. 235 held that this design 'probably refers to the cult of the Dioskuri, which was very prevalent on the coasts of the Euxine,' but *ib.* p. 274 suggests that it 'may be meant for the rising and the setting sun-god' and compares 'the rayless Helios on the early coins of Rhodes.' Since other coins of Istros show a four-spoked wheel (Append. D), I would rather conjecture that the two heads in question are a naive attempt to represent the face of the sun-god in actual rotation.

<sup>6</sup> Babelon *Monn. r.p. rom.* I. 192 a bronze coin of M. Antonius showing as symbol a *triskelios*, the central dot of which is marked like a face: the coin is of Sicilian mintage.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. L. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* p. 155 pl. 11, 10 (my fig. 242), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coin Sicily* p. 193.

## The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops 307

(fig. 242). On an *aureus* struck by the Roman moneyer L. Aquillius Florus in 20 B.C. to commemorate the Sicilian exploits of M'. Aquilius eighty years earlier there is a similar device, but the winged *Gorgoneion* is larger<sup>1</sup> (fig. 243). Bronze coins of Panormos from 254 B.C. onwards adopted the same combination of *triskel's* and *aigis*: moreover, they complicated it still further by the introduction of three ears of barley between the revolving legs<sup>2</sup> (fig. 244). The design recurs on late copper coins of Iaita<sup>3</sup>; and on the *denarii* struck in Sicily by L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, the consuls of 49 B.C., who fled from Rome at the approach of Caesar<sup>4</sup> (fig. 245). From a numismatic point of view, therefore, Mr G. F. Hill is justified in describing this 'contamination' of the *triskel's* with the *Gorgoneion* as 'of Agathoclean origin'.<sup>5</sup> But it would be interesting to know whether the combined device was invented by Agathokles himself, or borrowed from elsewhere. It may be surmised that Agathokles, who was a soldier rather than an artist, saw it first on the shields of some of his numerous foreign mercenaries. For, not only was the simple *triskel's* a frequent emblem on shields<sup>6</sup>, but Dioskourides, an Alexandrine epigrammatist of the third century B.C., represents a Cretan warrior as dedicating a shield that was adorned with precisely this combination of *triskel's* and *Gorgoneion*:



Fig. 245.

Not vain, methinks, the blazon that Polylos' son doth please,  
Hyllos, who bears his buckler as a mighty man from Crete.  
The Gorgon that turns men to stone and eke the triple knees  
He bade them paint: you'll find them there, saying to all they meet—  
'Look not thou down on me, my foe; that look of thine will freeze  
Or 'Flee the man who runs apace with these his threefold feet'.

However that may be, it is practically certain that the central face was originally not that of the winged and snaky-tressed Gorgon, but that of the sun-god pure and simple—witness a Punic *stèle*, dating from about the time of Iuba, which was found in 1823 near

<sup>1</sup> Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 214, 218, n. 71.

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 207 ff., pl. 14, 17. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* pp. 122, 125. *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 163. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 128. *Supra* p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 85. *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 191 pl. 14, 5. *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 224 pl. 15, 4. Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 350, 425.

<sup>5</sup> G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 208.

<sup>6</sup> P. Hartwig in the *Journ. Hitt. Stud.* 1891 xii. 341 n. 1 writes: 'The triskeles is very often used as the device on shields on black-figured vases (cf. [K. W. Goettling *Commentatio de crure albo in dipetis vasorum Graecorum* Jenae 1855]); more rarely on red-figured (cf. *Él. Céram.* i. 9, where it is painted black, as here).' See further H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 n. 198 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6. 126.

## 308 The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops

Vacca (*Bedja*) or Sicca Venerea (*Kef*) in Tunis and is now in the museum at Lyon. This stone was erected as a votive offering to *Baal-hammán*, the principal Punic deity of north Africa, who, though the word *hammán* probably does not mean 'Fiery'<sup>1</sup>, appears to have been a sky-god or sun-god of some sort<sup>2</sup>. W. Gesenius<sup>3</sup> translated the accompanying inscription as follows:

To Lord Baal the Sun-god, king eternal,  
who hath heard the words of Hicmath-  
o and of thy servant Hicembal the governor...

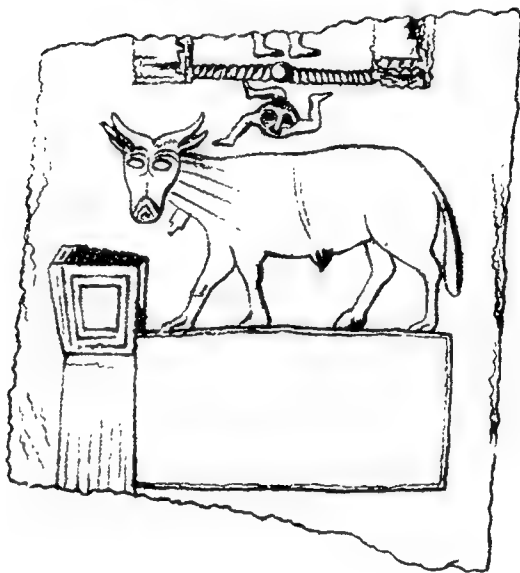


Fig. 246.

Baal had blessed the cattle of this Hiempsal (so his name should be written), governor of a Numidian province. Hiempsal, therefore, by way of a thank-offering caused a representation of himself to be carved (fig. 246) with a cow standing beneath it. The intervening symbol, which for us has the main interest, Gesenius does not attempt to elucidate. But it may fairly be regarded as a sign and token of Baal himself, the sky-god or sun-god, and cited in support of the contention that the *triskelēs* had a solar significance. The same explanation probably applies to a very similar *triskelēs*

<sup>1</sup> *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (f) 1 (7).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 155, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1. 291 'einer Form des Sonnenbaals,' *id. ib.* 1. 2869 ff.

<sup>3</sup> W. Gesenius *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta* Lipsiae 1837 p. 204 ff., pl. 23.

## The Kyklops of the East and West 309

found on copper coins of Eborā Cerialis, one of the chief towns of the Turduli in Hispania Baetica<sup>1</sup> (figs. 247—248); for the district,



Fig. 247.



Fig. 248.

according to M. Agrippa and M. Varro<sup>2</sup>, was over-run by Carthaginians, who would presumably bring the cult of their Punic Baal with them.

### vi. The Kyklops of the East and the Kyklops of the West.

Taking into account these zoomorphic transformations of the solar wheel, I shall venture to propound a fresh classification of the Kyklopes in Greek mythology. Let us distinguish the Kyklopes of the eastern Mediterranean (including the Aegaeon) from those of the western Mediterranean (especially Sicily). What is common to the two groups, what in fact enables them to be considered species of a single genus, is the central disk representing the actual orb of the sun; hence the appropriate name for both was *Kýklops*, 'the Round One,' or more exactly, 'He of the Round Aspect.'

The eastern Kyklopes were called also *Cheirogástores*<sup>3</sup> or *Gasterócheires*<sup>4</sup>, that is, 'Arm-bellies' or 'Belly-arms,' in connexion with Lykia and Tiryns; *Encheirogástores* or *Eugastrócheires*<sup>5</sup>, that

<sup>1</sup> A. Heiss *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* Paris 1870 p. 322 ff. pl. 47 Turduli 3, 4, 5, 10. I reproduce no. 3 with a Celtiberian legend to be transliterated IBOVKI-R (genitive of *Eborā*) and no. 10 with a Latin legend read by Heiss (FIB)ORENTII(N)ORUM. See also G. D. de Louche, *Recherches numismatiques concernant principalement les médailles celtibériennes* Paris 1852 pl. 76, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 3, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Eustath. *in Il.* p. 286, 30 f., apparently quoting Strabon either from memory or in a text different from ours. A comparison of schol. Aristid. with schol. Hes. (*supra* p. 302 n. 4) shows that the Kyklopes who built Mykenai were sometimes at least known as *Cheirogástores*.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. 372 and *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1622, 53 f.

<sup>5</sup> Detlefsen *frag.* 5 (*frag. hist. Gr.* n. 17 f. Muller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 989 mentions certain Thessalian *ἐγχειρογάστρος* (vulg.) or *ἐγγαστροπέρας* (cod. Paris.). The scholiast identifies them with the *Ἠγερέες* of Ap. Rhod. *loc. cit.*, monstrous forms with six arms,

## 310 The Kyklops of the East and West

is, 'Bellies-in-arms' or 'Arms-in-bellies,' in connexion with Thessaly, Kyzikos, Thrace, Euboia, and Mykenai. Such names would be not unsuitably given to giants, who represented in anthropomorphic guise the solar symbol with its central ring and radiating members.

A distant echo of this mythopoeic stage may be heard in Platon's *Symposium*<sup>1</sup>, where Aristophanes, as usual half in jest and half in earnest, makes a speech in praise of Love and in the course of it describes humanity as it was in the remote past:

'Our nature long ago was not what it is now, but otherwise. In the first place, mankind was divided into three sexes. It comprised not only the present two, male and female, but a third as well, which was a compound of them both. The name of this third sex still survives, though it has itself become extinct. In those early times the androgynous was at once a name and a species, being a blend of male and female in one common nature; whereas now-a-days it is merely a name given by way of reproach. Then again, every man's shape was rounded throughout, his back and sides being in the form of a circle<sup>2</sup>. He had four arms, and as many legs as arms, and two faces on a round neck, resembling each other in every respect. On his two faces, which looked opposite ways, he had a single head with four ears. Moreover, he had two sets of generative organs, and everything else to match. He walked upright, as he does still, in whichever of the two directions he pleased. When he started to run fast, he looked like tumblers who bring their legs round so as to point upwards and tumble along in a circle just in the same way did the men of those days move rapidly along in a circle, resting their weight on their limbs, which were eight in number. The reason why the sexes numbered three may be put thus. The male was originally the off-spring of the sun; the female, of the earth; the common sex, of the moon, for the moon too shares the nature of both. They and their mode of progression were alike circular because they resembled their parents. So it came to pass that in point of power and strength

two attached to their shoulders and four to their ribs (*ib.* 944 ff.), who dwelt about the "Ἀρκτων ὄρος, a mountainous island in the Propontis, and, coming from their mountain, essayed to block the Χερσὶς Λιμήν at Kyzikos with rocks and so secure the Argonauts. The scholiast adds that Polygnostos (vulg.) or Polygnotos (cod. Paris.) in his work *On Kykllos* rationalised them into pirates, but that tradition made them the off-spring of the Nemean lion. According to the latter part of schol. Eur. *Or.* 965 the walls of Mykenai were built by Kyklopes called *εὐχρηστογόστορες*, who were said to have made the thunderbolt for Zeus. Other *εὐχρηστο* on the same verse derive the Kyklopes, who came to aid Proteos, from Kouretis (= Eubonia) and ultimately from Thrace, where there was a tribe of Kyklopes with an eponymous king Kyklops. See further G. Knaack 'Encheiropagostores' in *Helios* 1902 xxxvii. 292 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 441 f.

<sup>1</sup> Plat. *symph.* 189 D--190 C.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* 189 E ὅλον ἦν ἕκαστον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ εἶδος στρογγύλον, μῶτον καὶ πλεονὰς μέλην ἔχον. That is, every man had the shape of two men joined back to back, so that his body was cylindrical, being circular in horizontal section. The words can hardly be taken to mean that his body was a sphere or disk. Cp. *Tim.* 44 D--E, 73 C--D, where he contrasts the globular (περιφερής) brain in its spherical (σφαίροειδής) cranium with the cylindrical (στρογγύλος καὶ προμήκης) spinal marrow in its vertebral column, and my comment in *The Alchemy and Basis of Plato's Ethics* (Cambridge 1895 p. 138 f.

## The Kyklops of the East and West 311

they were terrible; and in their pride they attacked the gods. Indeed, what Homer says of Ephialtes and Otos refers in reality to these: I mean, that they attempted to scale the sky, intending to make an assault upon the gods.<sup>7</sup>

Aristophanes goes on to tell how Zeus frustrated their efforts and punished their pride by cutting them in halves like so many eggs. Ever since that fell catastrophe man has gone about the world in search of his other half. And, if Zeus hears much more of his insolence, he will cut him in halves again, so that in future he will go hopping on a single leg! This interesting recital, despite the humorous turn given to its *dénouement*, is evidently based on the serious beliefs of the past. When Platon speaks of a third sex compounded of the other two, he has in mind the 'whole-natured types' of Empedokles<sup>1</sup>, that is to say, types neither male nor female, but both. And, when Platon relates his human Catherine-wheels to the sun, the earth, and the moon, he recalls the same philosopher-poet's expression 'the swift limbs of the Sun.'<sup>2</sup> But he is also throughout thinking of Pherekydes' twin Moliones<sup>3</sup> and of the Orphic Phanes, first-born of the gods, a strange bi-sexual being<sup>4</sup>, perhaps two-bodied<sup>5</sup>, certainly four-eyed<sup>6</sup>, and commonly identified with the sun<sup>7</sup>. According to one account, Phanes had the heads of rams, bulls, a snake, and a lion<sup>8</sup>, together with golden wings<sup>9</sup>: according to another, golden wings on his shoulders, heads of bulls attached to his sides, and on his head a monstrous snake resembling all manner of wild beasts<sup>10</sup>. This composite conception suggests comparison with the various theriomorphic and anthropomorphic modifications of the Lycian solar wheel<sup>11</sup>.

In the western Mediterranean anthropomorphism went a step further. We hear of no *Chyrogástores* with multiple limbs. The

<sup>1</sup> Emped. *frag.* 62, 4 Diels οὐλοφρεῖς . τύπου

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* *frag.* 27, 1 Diels Ἡελίοιο ὠκέα γυῖα.

<sup>3</sup> Append. F (i).

<sup>4</sup> Orph. *frag.* 62 Abel *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* 1. 429, 28 ff. Diehl (cp. *ib.* 1. 450, 22 ff.) and Lact. *div. inst.* 4. 8, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 30. With Plat. *symp.* 191 B cp. the Orphic texts cited by Lobbeck *Aglaophamus* i. 491 f.

<sup>5</sup> In Orph. *frag.* 36 Abel *ap.* Damask. *quæst. de primis principis* p. 387 θεὸς ἀσώματος was corrected to θεὸς δισώματος by Lobbeck *Aglaophamus* i. 486 n.: see further O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lev. Myth.* iii. 2251 f.

<sup>6</sup> Orph. *frag.* 64 Abel *ap.* Herm. in Plat. *Phædr.* p. 135 τετράσιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρώμενος ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα. Lobbeck *op. cit.* 1. 491 remarks that the same verse was used to describe Argos by the author of the *Agamemnon* (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1116). Is it accidental that Φάνης and Ἄργος are names of similar meaning? See further *infra* ch. 1 § 6 (g) ix.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 7 n. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Orph. *frag.* 63 Abel.

<sup>9</sup> Orph. *frag.* 65 Abel.

<sup>10</sup> Orph. *frag.* 36 Abel.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* pp. 299 ff., 304 ff.

## 312 The Kyklops of the East and West

Kyklopes of Sicily and Italy had originally one large circular eye in the middle of the forehead<sup>1</sup> (fig. 249)<sup>2</sup>. This is throughout the prevailing type of the Kyklops in Greek and Latin literature. But with vase-paintings, wall-paintings, engraved gems, bas-reliefs and sculpture in the round the case was different. Here a growing sense of artistic fitness prescribed, first that the Kyklops should have his normal eyes, whether shut or open, as well as his abnormal eye<sup>3</sup>, and last that his abnormal eye should dwindle away into nothing, leaving him two-eyed like other folk<sup>4</sup>. Thus it comes about that Servius in the fourth century A.D. can write: 'Many say that Polyphemos had one eye, others that he had two, others



Fig. 249.

again that he had three; but the whole tale is a make-belief<sup>5</sup>. Virgil, in the passage on which Servius was commenting, adheres to the original conception of the western Kyklops and speaks of his eye as—

<sup>1</sup> In the case of Polyphemos this is implied by *Od.* 9. 333, 383, 387, 394, 397, 483, 503, 516, 525, and stated in Kratin. *Olympos fraz.* 14 Meincke, Eur. *Cycl.* 77, Lyk. *Al.* 659 f. with Tzet. *ad loc.*, Theokl. 6. 22, 36, 11. 33, 53, Philostr. *ma. imagg.* 2. 18, 2. *Anth. Pal.* 14. 132, 2. 7, Ov. *met.* 13. 772 f. The Homeric Kyklopes in general had one eye, according to Strab. 21. The Kyklopes of Aitne are one-eyed in Eur. *Cycl.* 21 f.; those of Lipara in Kallim. *h. Artem.* 52 f.; Brontes, Steropes, and Arges in Hes. *theog.* 144 f. Eustath. in *Od.* pp. 1392, 36 ff., 1622, 39 ff. inclines to regard Polyphemos as *ἐτεροφθαλμον*, not *μονόφθαλμον*; cp. Guido de Columna (1287 A.D.), who in his account of the Trojan war gives Polyphemos two eyes and makes Odysseus pluck out one of them (W. Gumm in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1857 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 27).

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 15, 7. W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 41 f., 74 a wall-painting in an Etruscan tomb at Corneto.

<sup>3</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1588, ii. 1685, iii. 2703 ff., 2711 f.

<sup>4</sup> Roscher *ib.* ii. 1685, Daremberg *Saggio Dot. Ant.* i. 1695.

<sup>5</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 636, *Myth. Vat.* 2. 174.

# The Kyklops of the East and West 313

Huge, lurking there alone 'neath his fell brow,  
Like to some Argive shield or torch Phoebean<sup>1</sup>.

This last line draws from Servius the just remark that the one simile refers to the size (and shape), the other to the glow, of Polyphemos' eye: the 'Argive shield' was circular, and the 'torch Phoebean' must be either the moon or the sun<sup>2</sup>. Parmenides in one of his fragments mentions 'the round-eyed (literally *kýklops*) moon'.<sup>3</sup> But it is more probable that Virgil is comparing the eye of the Kyklops with the sun. Ovid does so expressly in the *Metamorphoses*, where Polyphemos defends his claim to good looks in the following lines:

One only eye my midmost forehead bears,  
But like a mighty shield. Yea, all these things  
Yon sun beholds, and with one only orb<sup>4</sup>.

Of course no simile or collection of similes can prove that the Kyklops' eye stands for the sun in heaven. But we have seen that according to one version, which can be traced back to Hesiod, the Kyklopes were known as 'children of the Sky'<sup>5</sup>; that, in the words of Hellanikos, they 'derived their name from one Kyklops, whose father was the Sky'<sup>6</sup>; and that the Greeks regarded the sun as the eye of the animate sky<sup>7</sup>. A presumption is thus raised that we are on the right track in investigating the story of the Kyklops as though it were a nature-myth and in identifying the round eye, from which he took his name, with the shining orb of the sun<sup>8</sup>.

The distinction that I have drawn between the many-armed Kyklopes of the east and the one-eyed Kyklopes of the west

<sup>1</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 3. 636 f.

<sup>2</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 637.

<sup>3</sup> Parm. *frag.* 10, 4 Diels *ἐργα τε κύκλωπος πείσῃ περίφοιτα σελήνης*.

<sup>4</sup> Ovid. *met.* 13. 851 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 303.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 302.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 196 f.

<sup>8</sup> L. Frobenius *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes* Berlin 1904 i. 367—412, after a wide survey of analogous myths all the world over, comes to the conclusion that the man-eating ogre (or ogress), who lives in a cave and is a famous builder, must be regarded as a star if he has one eye, as a constellation if he has many heads and arms: he is attacked by the solar hero or sun-god, who wrests from him the means of making fire. On this showing Odysseus would be the sun-god and Polyphemos a star! W. Schwartz *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 p. 169 ff. argues that one-eyed beings such as the Kyklopes are storm-powers, their fiery eye denoting the lightning (see *infra* ch. II § 3 (b)). W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* II. 1689, 59 ff. suggests that the one eye of the Kyklops refers to the crater of Mt. Aetna, and V. Bérard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* Paris 1903 II. 130 has given a similar volcanic explanation: cp. R. Browning *Paraclausos* sc. 5 'groups; Of young volcanos come up, cyclops-like. Staring together with their eyes on flame.' I follow W. Grimm 'Die Sage von Polyphem' in the *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1857 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 27 and A. Kuhn *Die Herakunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*<sup>2</sup> Gutersloh 1886 p. 63.



### 314 The Kyklopes of the East and West

corresponds fairly well with a difference indicated in Hesiod's *Theogony*. The poet, enumerating the children of Earth (*Gaia*) and Sky (*Ouranos*), writes :

She brought forth too Kyklopes proud of heart,  
Brontes and Steropes and strong-souled Arges,  
Who gave the thunder and wrought the bolt of Zeus  
They verily in all else were like the gods,  
But had one eye amid their forehead set.  
[Kyklopes were they named by reason of  
A round eye, one, upon their forehead set.]

Power, violence, and guile were in their deeds.

Others again from Earth and Sky were sprung,  
Three sons of size and strength, not to be named,  
Kottos, Briareos, Gyas, prideful brood.

A hundred arms were waving from their shoulders,  
All unapproachable, and fifty heads

Grew from the shoulders on each stalwart neck.

Monstrous their power, strong to match their size<sup>1</sup>.

The one-eyed Kyklopes are here mentioned side by side with certain many-armed giants of the self-same parentage. If we may regard these *Hekatoncheires*<sup>2</sup> as analogous to the *Cheiragastores*, Hesiod's division is just that between the Kyklopes of west and east.

Nor need we be surprised to find the sun conceived in two forms so widely different by people residing within the same area of civilisation. A useful parallel is afforded by the religion of ancient Egypt. The oldest group of Egyptian deities was headed by a divine pair named Nu and Nut, god and goddess respectively of the watery mass of the sky. The pyramid text of Pepi i addresses 'Nut, in whose head appear two eyes'—presumably the sun and moon. Similarly a late papyrus in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> makes Nu speak of his Eye in terms which can only refer to the sun<sup>4</sup>. Again, when the attributes of Nu were transferred to the god Rā<sup>5</sup>, the Eye of Rā was identified with a variety of solar

<sup>1</sup> Hes. *theog.* 139 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ἑκατόγχερες* Apollod. 1. 1. 1, Palaeph. 19 (20), Eudok. *teol.* 221, *et. nat.* p. 213, 14 f., *ib.* p. 327, 41, Plout. *de ann. mult.* 1, cp. 7, *Marcell.* 17. Briareos is *ἑκατόγχερος* in *Il.* 1. 402, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 123, 22. Gyas is *centimanus* in Hor. *od.* 2. 17, 14, 3, 4, 69, Ov. *am.* 2. 1. 12, *trist.* 4. 7, 18, 25, 18 Typhoeus in Ov. *met.* 3. 303, cp. Boeth. *de inst. arithmet.* 1. 19 p. 40, 26 Friedlein, and Pompon. *digest.* 1. 2. 2, 36 (*Centimanus* as nick-name of Appius Claudius Cæcus).

<sup>3</sup> Pap. 10, 188, written for Nes-Amun, or Nes-Min, priest of Panopolis, c. 312 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* London 1911 i. 156.

<sup>5</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 298 f., 306.

<sup>6</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* i. 135. According to G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*<sup>1</sup> London 1901 p. 88 n. 1 the name Rā 'means the sun, and nothing more.'

## The Kyklops of the East and West 315

powers<sup>1</sup>. Rā himself was fused with the Theban deity Āmen, and a hymn written in the time of the twentieth or twenty-first dynasty for the great resultant god Āmen-Rā says:

‘Thou art the beautiful Prince, who risest like the sun with the White Crown, and thou art the lord of radiant light and the creator of brilliant rays.... Thy flame maketh thine enemies to fall, and thine Eye overthroweth the *Sebau* fiends.’

Rā was likewise fused with Tem the local sun-god of Ānnu, that is On or Heliopolis, thus forming the double god Rā-Tem<sup>2</sup>: accordingly we hear of the Eye of Tem as another designation of the sun<sup>3</sup>. Lastly, Rā was fused with Horos<sup>4</sup> (*Heru*), who was regarded as the Face (*Her* or *Hra*) of heaven, and said to have two eyes, the sun being the right eye, and the moon the left<sup>5</sup>. But these numerous descriptions of the sun as the eye of this, that, or the other deity by no means prevented the Egyptians from depicting it in curiously incongruous ways. For example, Āmen-ḥetep iv or Amenophis iv, the *Hōros* of Manethon, about the year 1430 B.C., despite the first element in his own name, cut himself off from the old capital Thebes and the Theban cult of Āmen. He adopted a new name, Khut-en-Āten, and founded a new capital, Khut-Āten, some two hundred miles south of Cairo on the east bank of the Nile: the site of his foundation is now marked by the Arab villages of Haggi Kāndil and Tell el-Amarna. Khut-en-Āten means the ‘Spirit’ or ‘Glory of Āten’; and Khut-Āten, the ‘Horizon of Āten.’ This Āten was a very old Egyptian deity, whose original home was near Ānnu or Heliopolis. ‘Āten,’ says Dr Wallis Budge, ‘was the physical body of the Sun.’ And monuments of Khut-en-Āten often show the king, with or without his family, illuminated by the sun’s rays<sup>6</sup>. In these representations the rays

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* i. 422 f. Meh-art, *ib.* i. 365 Hathor, *ib.* i. 446 Bast, *ib.* i. 517 Sekhet. *Ib.* *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* i. 144, 346, ii. 173, 203, 277, 328.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *ib.* i. 330, ii. 87.

<sup>4</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *ib.* i. 158, 305, 446 identified with Bast.

<sup>5</sup> G. Maspero *op. cit.* pp. 100, 137.

<sup>6</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* i. 467, *cp. ib.* i. 109, 165, 202, 248, 363, 457, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* ii. 386 Index s.v. ‘Eye of Horus,’ G. Maspero *op. cit.* pp. 88, 92.

<sup>7</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 iv. 119, *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 73.

<sup>8</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* iv. 120, 127, 133, *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 70, 73, 74, 77.

## 316 The Kyklops of the East and West

of Åten are made to terminate in human hands (fig. 250)<sup>1</sup>, which sometimes hold emblems of life and sovereignty in their grasp<sup>2</sup>.

Such solar symbols are, indeed, deep-seated in human nature, and, like many other natural phenomena, contrive to coexist in spite of obvious inconsistencies. A Greek of the classical period at least might speak of the sun as a revolving wheel and yet credit tales of the *Kýklopes* and the *Cheirogástores*, though logically the former should have forced him to identify the disk with the eye of a giant and the latter should have called up the image of a monster's circling hands. Of course, the further we are removed



Fig. 250

from the exclusiveness of primitive religion, the easier it is to hold simultaneously ideas that in their origin were incompatible. For, as belief wanes, convictions become views, and views pass into a

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* iv. 133 Khut-en-Åten on a portable throne, fanned by attendants, beneath the rays of Åten. *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 74.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* iv. 121, 123. *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 81, A. F. F. *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith p. 63, G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 pp. 322, 328.

An Assyrian obelisk shows two hands issuing from a solar disk, the right hand open, the left holding a bow (Count Goblet d'Alviella *La Migration of Symbols* London 1894 p. 26, after G. Rawlinson *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* London 1879 ii. 233).

mere succession of pictures or metaphors. A *fin-de-siècle* poet opens his *Sunset in the City* with the lines—

Above the town a monstrous wheel is turning,  
With glowing spokes of red,  
Low in the west its fiery axle burning<sup>1</sup>—

but at a distance of half a dozen pages changes the scene—

The sun has shut his golden eye  
And gone to sleep beneath the sky<sup>2</sup>—

while elsewhere in the same little volume he prefers to speak of the sunbeams as—

the curious fingers of the day<sup>3</sup>.

## vii. The Kyklops and Zeus.

But, to return to the Greeks, we have next to enquire in what relation the Kyklopes, whether eastern or western, stood towards Zeus. So far as the eastern Kyklopes are concerned, the evidence is of the scantiest. The scholiast on Euripides, probably confusing the many-armed with the one-eyed Kyklopes, states that the former, the *Encheirogástores*, fashioned the thunderbolt for Zeus<sup>4</sup>. And the Platonic Aristophanes in his whimsical narrative tells how certain wheel-shaped and quasi-human beings, who might have been, but are not, called *Cheirogástores*, made an attack upon Zeus and the other gods<sup>5</sup>. Clearly no conclusion can be based on such premises. At most it may be said in quite general terms that the *Cheirogástores* belong to the same category as the *Titânes*. They are, that is, elder and unsuccessful rivals of Zeus.

In dealing with their western compeers, the Kyklopes *par excellence*, we are on firmer ground. Hesiod speaks of the Kyklopes that made the thunder and the thunder-bolt for Zeus as 'like the gods'. And the names that he gives them—*Bróntes*, *Stérípes*, *Árges*—are all but identical with sundry titles of Zeus, namely

<sup>1</sup> R. Le Gallienne *English Poems*<sup>4</sup> London 1895 p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 18. Mr Owen Seaman in *The Battle of the Days* London 1896 p. 39 has an altogether delightful parody entitled 'An Ode to Spring in the Metropolis.' (After R. Le G.), in which occurs the following allusion to our metaphor: 'And O the sun! | See, see, he shakes | His big red hands at me in wanton fun! | A glorious image that! it might be Blake's, | Or even Crackanthorpe's!'

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Eur. *Or.* 965, *supra* p. 309 n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 310 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 314.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

*Brontôn*, 'the Thundering<sup>1</sup>,' *steropegerita*, 'the lightning-gatherer<sup>2</sup>,' *argês*, 'the brilliant.' Again, the Kyklopes not only made the thunder and lightning of Zeus, but could on occasion wield his weapons on their own behalf. The late epic of Nonnos describes in bombastic style how *Argilipos*, *Sterôpes*, and *Brôntes* fought on the side of the gods against the Indians:

The stout Kyklopes circled round the foe,  
 Helpers of Zeus Above that murky throng  
 Argilipos was flashing as he swung  
 A radiant brand and, armed with chthonian bolt  
 Fire-tipped, took torches for the fray. Thereat  
 Quaked the dark Indians, mazed at such a flame  
 That matched the fiery whirl-wind from the sky.  
 He, blazing, led the way against hostile heads  
 Sparks from his earth-born thunderbolt were shot  
 Ash spears he beat and many a blade, that Kyklops,  
 Swaying his hot shafts and his burning pike,  
 A brand his dart, and, man on man destroying,  
 Still scorched the Indians with his archer flame.  
 [Not one Salinoncus only he convicted  
 Of bastard bolts, not one god's-enemy  
 Alone he slew, nor only one Eudæne  
 Made moan for Kapaneus extinguished there.]  
 Steropes next had aimed him and was winking  
 A mimic blaze, a gleam that echoed back  
 The lightning of the sky, both flash and fade,  
 Sprung into being from the western flame,  
 Seed of Sicilian fire and glowing hearth.  
 A cloud-like robe he wore, within whose fold  
 He hid his sheen and then the same revealed  
 With double quivering, like the light of heaven;  
 For lightning's gleam now goes, now comes again.  
 Then Brôntes went a-warrior and beat out  
 A song sonorous, while he bellowed back  
 The clappings of the thunder and with spray  
 Unwonted, made of earth-born snow, shed water  
 False-fashioned, little-lasting, from the sky—  
 He and his drops, a bastard, cloudless Zeus.  
 But Zeus the Father marked the Kyklops aping  
 His own fell din and laughed amid his clouds<sup>3</sup>.

On terra-cotta brasiers of Hellenistic date there is often stamped a grotesque bearded head, sometimes wearing a pointed cap and

<sup>1</sup> *Infra* ch. II § 4 (d).

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* ch. II § 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Symon* p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Nonn., *Dion.* 28. 172–201, cp. *ib.* 14. 52–60 where *Brôntes*, *Sterôpes*, and *Argês* are named among other Kyklopes opposed to the Indians. For the Kyklops' imitation of Zeus' thunder see Eur. *Cycl.* 327 f.

accompanied by a thunderbolt or thunderbolts<sup>1</sup> (figs. 251—253). W. H. Roscher<sup>2</sup> follows A. Furtwangler in regarding this type as that of the Kyklops. If they are right—and Furtwangler's arguments are plausible<sup>3</sup>—, we have here monumental evidence of the Kyklops conceived as the owner of the thunderbolt.

Again, a connexion of some sort between the Kyklops and Zeus is implied by the myth of Geraistos. Minos, after the death of Androgeos went to war with Athens, the direct or indirect cause of his bereavement. When the war dragged on and he failed to capture the town, he prayed to Zeus that he might be avenged on the Athenians. Thereupon famine and pestilence befell them, and, at the advice of an ancient oracle, they first slew the daughters of the Lacedaemonian Hyakinthos on the tomb of Geraistos the



Fig. 251.



Fig. 252.

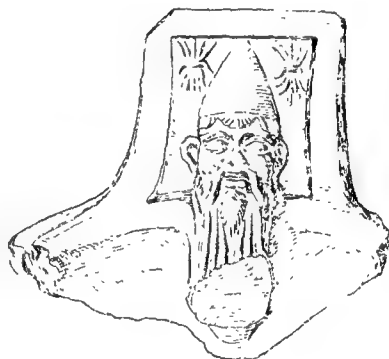


Fig. 253.

Kyklops (or the son of the Kyklops). This proved unavailing; and they had in the end to listen to Minos' demand of seven youths and seven maidens as food for the Minotaur<sup>4</sup>. But Geraistos, the eponym of the village and promontory in Euboeia<sup>5</sup>, who is presumably to be identified with the Geraistos of the Athenian myth, is said to have been the son of Zeus<sup>6</sup>. Thus either Geraistos the

<sup>1</sup> A. Conze 'Griechische Kohlenbecken' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v. 118 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Ferraotias* pp. xiv. 68 no. A 44<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1681, 1685.

<sup>3</sup> A. Furtwangler 'Die Köpfe der griechischen Kohlenbecken' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 110 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. 3. 15. 8 ἐπὶ τὸν Γεραῖστον τοῦ Κύκλωπος ταφὴν κατεσφαζαν, cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Λοισία, Harpokr. and Soud. s.v. Τακυνθίδες, Hyg. *fab.* 238.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 156 n. 6, Append. B Euboea.

<sup>6</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Γεραῖστός. Ταῖραπος.

Kyklops was the son of Zeus; or Geraistos was, according to some, the son of the Kyklops, according to others, the son of Zeus. Both inferences presuppose that the Kyklops was somehow related to Zeus.

Lastly, T. Panofka<sup>1</sup> and W. Grimm<sup>2</sup> long since pointed out that the three-eyed Kyklops of Sicily bears a striking resemblance to an extremely archaic statue of Zeus with three eyes seen by Pausanias on the Argive Larisa<sup>3</sup>. M. Mayer<sup>4</sup> arrived independently at a similar conclusion. He holds that the original Kyklops was one with the three-eyed Zeus of Argos, who in turn is strictly comparable with other three-eyed figures in Greek mythology in particular with the three-eyed Argos *Panóptes*<sup>5</sup>, with the three-eyed guide of the Herakleidai<sup>6</sup>, and with the various heroes named Triops or Triopas<sup>7</sup>. On this showing, then, the three-eyed Kyklops is but another form of the three-eyed Zeus. When, however, M. Mayer over the section of his work devoted to this question prints the words 'Zeus Kyklops', he is going too far. Polyphemos, it is true, boasts that the Kyklopes care nothing for Zeus, deeming themselves superior to the gods, and that he, the speaker, would not refrain from laying hands on Odysseus through any fear of incurring Zeus' enmity<sup>8</sup>. But nowhere in Greek literature do we get a definite identification of the Kyklops with Zeus. The nearest approach to it is Nonnos' description of the Kyklops Brontes as 'a bastard Zeus'<sup>9</sup>. Rather, we must suppose that the Kyklops was originally a sky-god like Zeus, his round eye being the sun and his weapon the thunderbolt. He was, in fact, analogous to, but not identical with, the Hellenic god.

It is not at present possible to determine the race to which this

<sup>1</sup> T. Panofka *Archaeologischer Commentar zu Pausanias Buch II. Küp.* 21 p. 30 f.

<sup>2</sup> W. Grimm 'Die Sage von Polyphem' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1857 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 75 f., 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 288 f., Append. B Argolis.

<sup>4</sup> M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* Berlin 1887 p. 110 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 75, 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 287.

<sup>6</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 87, 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 289 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 75 ff., 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 288 f.

<sup>8</sup> M. Mayer *op. cit.* pp. 113, 115.

<sup>9</sup> *Od.* 9. 275 ff. Dr W. W. Merry *ad loc.*, taking a hint from the scholiast, observes: 'This is inconsistent with what the Cyclopes acknowledged about the power of Zeus, *inf.* 410: and with Polyphemus' boast that Poseidon was his father.' D. Muehler 'Das Kyklopengedicht der Odyssee' in *Herm.* 1903 xxxviii. 431 ff. draws attention to the similar inconsistencies of *Od.* 9. 107, 111, 358. Lur. *Cycl.* 320 f. *Ζηνὸς δ' ἐγὼ κεραυνὸν οὐ φρίσσω, ξέειπε, οἷδ' οἷδ' ὅ τι Ζεὺς ἐστ' ἐμὸν κρείσσαν θεός* is following the Homeric passage.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 318.

## The Blinding of the Kyklops' Eye 321

one-eyed sun-god properly belonged<sup>1</sup>. Precisely similar figures are to be met with in Celtic<sup>2</sup> and Germanic<sup>3</sup> mythology—a fact which is suggestive of a remote origin in the past. Moreover, in the Celtic area at least the one-eyed giant is regularly black-skinned<sup>4</sup>. Does this point to his connexion with a melanochrous race?

### viii. The Blinding of the Kyklops' Eye.

Polyphemos' claim that the Kyklopes were 'much superior' to the gods has in one respect been substantiated. For Zeus, as we have seen, lives no longer in the mind of the modern peasant, whereas far and wide through southern and central Europe folk-tales still tell the old story of the Kyklops and his lawless deeds. In Appendix E I have collected a number of such tales, and shall here say something by way of comment upon them.

A constant feature of the Kyklops-*Marchen* is the boring out of the giant's eye by means of a red-hot stake. This incident is repeated in a variety of slightly differing forms: we hear of a sharp

<sup>1</sup> According to the schol. Eur. *Or.* 965 the Kyklopes, a Thracian tribe (cp. Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 121) named after its king Kyklops, were driven from their land by war and settled in various parts, most of them in Kouretis: from Kouretis they came to help Proitos and built the walls of Tiryns for him, those of Argos for Akrisios. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1132 note d identified this Kouretis with Euboia, where there are other traces of the Kyklopes (*supra* p. 319 f., Istros *ap.* schol. *Il.* 10. 439). Maass in *Hermes* 1889 xxiv. 644 f. thinks that colonists from Chalkis in Euboia brought the Kyklops-myth to Chalkidike, arguing that the mother of Polyphemos, viz. Thoosa daughter of Phorkys (*Od.* i. 71 f.), who according to one account seems to have lived on the coast of Euboia (Lyk. *Al.* 376 Φόρκυος οικητήριον), was a nymph of Mt. Athos (Θώσσα from \*Θώως = 'Aθώς). W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1689, 47 ff. further observes that the Sicilian Kyklopes are located in the Chalcidian colonies Naxos and Leontinoi (Strab. 20, Eustath. in *Od.* pp. 1618, 2, 1644, 42). But these combinations, however ingenious, are altogether too speculative.

Timaios *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 200 Muller) *ap. et. mag.* p. 220, 5 f. states that Galatia took its name from Galates, son of Kyklops and Galatia. Appian. *Illyr.* 2 says that Polyphemos the Kyklops had by Galateia three sons, Keltos, Illyrios, and Galas, who ruled over the Keltai, Illyrioi and Galatai respectively.

10. Malal. *chron.* 5 p. 114 Dindorf asserts that Sikanos, king of Sicily, had three sons, Kyklops, Antiphantes (*α*), and Polyphemos, who divided the land between them.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Balor (II. D'Arbois de Jubainville *Le cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* Paris 1884 p. 208 ff., J. Curtin *Hero-Tales of Ireland* Boston 1894 p. 283 ff., C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London, Glasgow and Dublin 1905 pp. 48 f., 112 f., 238 f., J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 pp. 59, 89). Searbhan Lochlannach (*Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 438 ff.), or the giants and ogres of France (P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 37, 272, 295, 434 f., 1905 ii. 125).

<sup>3</sup> E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 Index p. 312 s.v. Emaugigkeit, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1888 iv. 1440.

<sup>4</sup> Append. E. J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 516 n. 2 speaks of 'sooty Cyclops' on the strength of Kallim. h. *Artem.* 66 ff.



## 322 The Blinding of the Kyklops' Eye

red-hot pole (Athens), of a sharp piece of wood (Servia), of red-hot spits (France, Abruzzo, Zakynthos, Kappodokia, Kypros, Sindbad), of a red-hot iron (Harz Mountains, Finland), of a red-hot poker (Erice), of a red-hot knife (Oghuzians), of a stabbing in the eye (Carelia, Yorkshire), or of a molten mass poured in the eyes (Dolopathos, Roumania, Esthonia).

The oldest obtainable version of the story is of course the Kyklops-myth of the *Odyssey*, which in its present shape must be placed at least as early as the year 800 B.C.<sup>1</sup> and in its original form goes back doubtless some centuries further. D. Muelder, after a minute and painstaking criticism of the myth, sets aside all later accretions and interpolations and prints what he conceives to have been the primitive Kyklops-poem<sup>2</sup>. In this the episode of the red-hot stake is of fundamental importance. The passage, as reconstituted by Muelder, runs thus:

This to my thinking seemed the best advice.  
Beside the fold the Kyklops' great club lay  
Of olive-wood yet green, which he had felled  
To bear when dry. We, looking on the same,  
Likened its size to the mast of a black ship,  
Some merchantman broad-beamed and twenty-oared  
That gets to harbour far across the main,  
So huge its length, so huge its girth to view.  
Therefrom I, standing close, cut off a fathom,  
Gave to my men, and bade them fine it down.  
They smoothed it I stood by and pointed it,  
And took and turned it in the blazing fire.  
Then neath the heap of embers I thrust in  
The bar to heat it; and my comrades all  
I heartened, lest in terror they should fail me.  
But, when the olive-bar was like to catch,  
Green as it was, and glowed with dreadful light,  
I fetched it from the fire, while they stood round.  
And some god breathed great courage into us.  
They took the olive-bar, so sharp at the point,  
And full in his eyeball plunged it. I uplifted  
Twirled it above, as a man drills with a drill  
A timber for ship-building, while below  
His fellows spin their strap and hold amain  
Its either end, and still the drill runs on.  
Just so we took the fiery-pointed bar,  
And twirled it in his eye the blood flowed round  
Its hot end, and the blast singed all about  
His lids and eyebrows, as the ball was burnt

<sup>1</sup> A. and M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* <sup>2</sup> Paris 1896 i. 402, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* <sup>3</sup> München 1908 i. 62.

<sup>2</sup> D. Muelder 'Das Kyklopengedicht der Odyssee' in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 414-455.

Till even its roots were crackling in the fire.  
 And, as a man that is a coppersmith  
 Dips a great axe or adze all hissing hot  
 In water cold to temper it, for this  
 Is the strength of steel, so hissed the Kyklops' eye  
 About that bar of olive; and he groaned  
 A ghastly groan—yea, round us rang the rock—  
 And we in a panic fled, while he from his eye  
 Plucked out the bar bedabbled with much blood<sup>1</sup>.

Now, if we have been right in supposing, with W. Grimm and A. Kuhn<sup>2</sup>, that the single eye of the Kyklops was an early representation of the sun in the sky, it remains to enquire what was the original significance of this rather gruesome scene? Why should the hero thrust a sharp stake into the solar eye? And why is that stake regularly described as being red-hot?

#### ix. Prometheus' Theft of Fire.

An answer to these questions would hardly have been forthcoming—since even in the *Odyssey* the incident has been already worked over and incorporated into a wonder-voyage—had it not been for the fortunate preservation of a more or less parallel myth, that of Prometheus. He is said to have stolen fire from Zeus 'in a hollow fennel-stalk'<sup>3</sup>—an expression cleared up by J. T. Bent, who, writing of the Greek islands, says: 'One can understand the idea well: a peasant to-day who wishes to carry a light from one house to another will put it into one of these reeds to prevent its being blown out<sup>4</sup>.' As to the manner in which Prometheus obtained the

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 9. 318—328, 375—397.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* pp. 313 n. 8, 320, *infra* ch. i § 6 (h) i.

<sup>3</sup> Hes. *theog.* 565 ff., *v. d.* 50 ff. ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι, Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 178 ignem...adservare ferula Prometheus, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 15 devenit ad Iovis ignem; quo deminuto et in ferulam coniecto, etc., *fab.* 144 Prometheus in ferula detulit in terras, interp. Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 6. 42 ferula ignem de caelo subripuisse, Acron *in Hor. od.* 2. 13. 37 raptor per ferulam ignis divini.

<sup>4</sup> J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 365. *Id. ib.*: 'In Lesbos this reed is still called νάρθηκα (νάρθηξ).' *Id. in the Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* 1885—6 xv. 401 (in Karpathos) 'If a woman wishes to carry a light from one house to the other she puts it into a reed, which here alone have I heard termed νάρθηκα or νάρθηξ, the same word and the same use for the reed which mythology teaches us Prometheus employed when he brought down fire from heaven.' The same custom is found in Kypros, according to Sittl on Hes. *theog.* 567, cited by E. E. Sikes in his ed. of Aisch. *P. 7.* p. xvii n. 1, where a further reference is given to Miss M. H. Kingsley *Travels in West Africa* London 1897 p. 600: 'In most domesticated tribes, like the Effiks or the Igalwa, if they are going out to their plantation, they will enclose a live stick in a hollow piece of a certain sort of wood, which has a lining of its interior pith left in it, and they will carry this "fire box" with them.' The schol. Hes. *theog.* 565 and Proklos *in Hes. v. d.* 52 observe that the νάρθηξ, having a soft pith, will keep a fire smouldering within it; and Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 126 says that

stolen fire, different accounts were current in antiquity. Aischylos possibly, and Accius certainly, represented the fire as stolen from Mount Mosychlos, a wooded volcano in Lemnos now submerged by the sea<sup>1</sup>. Platon supposes that Prometheus stole it from 'the common abode of Athena and Hephaistos<sup>2</sup>,' in fact from the celestial Erechtheion, where presumably, as in its terrestrial counterpart, a perpetual fire was kept burning. Platon, however, is philosophising, and an obviously older explanation is given by Servius<sup>3</sup>:

'It is said that Prometheus, when he had made mankind, ascended by the help of Minerva into the sky, and, applying a small torch to the wheel of the sun, stole fire, which he showed to men.'

An anonymous mythographer of the ninth or tenth century, plausibly identified by Angelo Mai with a certain Leontius mentioned in J. Brassicanus' commentary on Petronius<sup>4</sup>, expands this meagre statement:

'Prometheus was helped by Minerva; and about him the following tale is composed. Prometheus made man out of clay, and moulded him without life or feelings. Minerva, admiring Prometheus' handywork, promised him whatever heavenly gift he would to help him with his work. He said that he did not know at all what good things there were in heaven, but asked whether it was possible for the goddess to raise him to the gods above, in order that he might see with his own eyes and choose what suited his work. So Minerva placed him on her shield and took him to the sky. When he saw there the heavenly bodies animated and invigorated by their flaming heat, he secretly applied a reed to the wheel of Phoebus and stole the fire, which he applied to the breast of man, thereby making his body alive.'

Egyptian *ferulae* are best for the purpose. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>5</sup>; The Magic Art ii. 260, who notes that Bent is mistaken in calling the *κάρηξ* or 'giant fennel' a reed.

<sup>1</sup> Aisch. *frag.* 193 Nauck<sup>2</sup> and Acc. 532 ff. Ribbeck<sup>3</sup> p. 237 *ap.* Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 23. Cp. Hellanikos *frag.* 112 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 60 Muller) *ap.* Tzetz. in Iyk. *Al.* 227. On the submerged volcano see R. C. Jebb's ed.<sup>2</sup> of Soph. *Phil.* p. 243 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Plat. *Prot.* 321 D—E. Hephaistos in Loukian. *Prom.* 5 says to Prometheus: τὸ πῦρ ἐφελόμενος ψυχρὰν μοι τὴν κάρηιν ἀπολέλοιπας. Cp. Ilyk. *frag.* 25 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, Soph. *frag.* 335 Nauck<sup>5</sup>, etc. *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 6. 51 prefaced by τὸν Ἡρομηθέα κλέψαι τὸ πῦρ Ἠφαίστῳ κ τ λ.

<sup>3</sup> Serv. in Verg. *aeol.* 6. 42 Prometheus. [Iapeti et Clymenes filius,] post factos a se homines dicitur auxilio Minervae caelum ascendisse: et adhibita ficula ad rotam Solis ignem furatus, quem hominibus indicavit. The same statement in almost the same words occurs in Myth. Vat. 2. 64, and is quoted from Servius in Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 10.

<sup>4</sup> See G. H. Bode *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini tres Romae nuper reperti* Cellis 1834 pp. x f, xx f.

<sup>5</sup> Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 9 clanculum ferulam rotae Phoebi applicans, but later *ib.* a sole faculam accendit. This version of the myth, which occurs with some slight variations also in Myth. Vat. 2. 63 Phoebiacis rotis applicans faculam, can be traced back to Fulgent. 2. 9 clam ferulam Phoebiacis adplicans rotis, *i.e.* to a date c. 480—550 A.D. For the reed cp. a Zakynthian tale *infra* ch. II. § 3 (c).

# x. The Fire-drill in relation to Prometheus, the Kyklops, and Zeus.

A. Kuhn in his remarkable study on *The Descent of Fire* has made it probable, not to say certain, that this myth of Prometheus thrusting a torch into the solar wheel rests upon the actual custom of obtaining fire by the use of a fire-drill<sup>1</sup>. If so, Diodoros was not far wrong when he wrote:

‘Prometheus son of Iapetos is said by some mythographers to have stolen fire from the gods and given it to men; but in truth he was the inventor of the fire-sticks, from which fire is kindled<sup>2</sup>.’

The fire-drill, an instrument employed by primitive or backward tribes all the world over<sup>3</sup>, consists essentially of two sticks, the one vertical, the other horizontal. The former is commonly made of harder wood and regarded as male, the latter of softer wood and regarded as female, the production of fire between them being spoken of as a sexual act. The Rev. J. G. Wood states that the fire-drill may be seen any day in South Africa :

‘The operator lays one stick on the ground, and holds it down with his feet, while he places the pointed end of the other stick upon it. This second stick is mostly of harder wood than the first. He then twirls the upright stick between his palms, pressing it slightly downwards, and in a short time he works a small conical hole. Presently, the sides of the hole begin to darken, and a quantity of fine dust falls into it. By the continuous friction so much heat is evolved that the sides of the hole become black, the dust becomes red hot, and, when blown upon, bursts into an evanescent flame. A little fine and very dry grass is then carefully laid upon it, and the blowing continued until the grass takes fire. It is then covered with small dry sticks, and those again with larger, until a good fire is made<sup>4</sup>.’

My illustration (fig. 254) shows a couple of fire-sticks of this sort obtained for me from a Mutoro of Central Africa by my brother-in-law the Rev. H. E. Maddox: three holes have already been drilled in the under stick and a fourth has been commenced. Sometimes the

<sup>1</sup> A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*<sup>2</sup> Gutersloh 1886 pp. 18 ff., 35.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. 5. 67.

<sup>3</sup> On the fire-drill see E. B. Tylor *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*<sup>3</sup> London 1878 p. 238 ff. More recent literature on the subject is cited by Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: The Magic Art ii. 207 ff. (ch. xv ‘The Fire-Drill’). Add the illustrated chapters of N. Joly *Man before Metals*<sup>3</sup> London 1883 p. 188 ff., J. G. Wood *Man and his Handiwork* London 1886 p. 415 ff., M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 1 ff. and the monographs of M. Planck *Die Feuerzeuge der Griechen und Römer* Stuttgart 1884, G. Saraauw *Le feu et son emploi dans le Nord de l’Europe aux temps préhistoriques et protohistoriques* Gent 1907 (extr. from the *Annales du xx. Congrès archéol. et histor. de Belgique* i. 196—226).

<sup>4</sup> Rev. J. G. Wood *op. cit.* p. 415.

upper stick is made to rotate by means of a cord or strap. Thus the Rev. J. Stevenson describes the Brahman's method of getting fire from wood:

‘It consists in drilling one piece of arañi-wood into another by pulling a string tied to it with a jerk with the one hand, while the other is slackened, and so on alternately till the wood takes fire. The fire is received on cotton or flax held in the hand of an assistant Brahman<sup>1,2</sup>’

This type of fire-drill has survived as a toy among the Swiss in the canton of Neuchatel<sup>3</sup>, and as an implement of every-day use among the Eskimo and the inhabitants of the Aleutian Isles (fig. 255)<sup>4</sup>. Further modifications are occasionally introduced, such as the employment of a bow instead of a strap, or the weighting of the

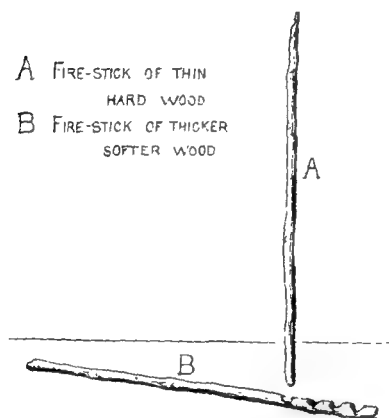


Fig. 254.

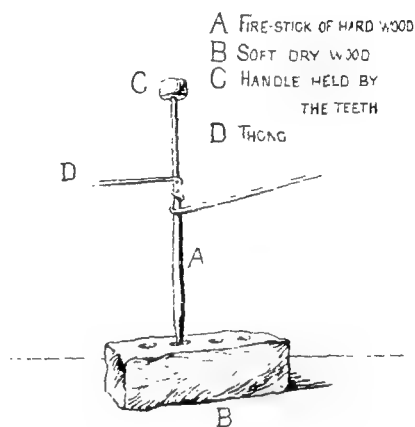


Fig. 255.

spindle with a heavy disk: the former may be seen in a Dacotah fire-drill (fig. 256)<sup>4</sup>, the latter in an ingenious self-winding apparatus used by the Iroquois Indians (fig. 257)<sup>5</sup>. This Iroquois drill bears some resemblance to an eye pierced with a stake. And primitive folk are quick to catch at quasi-human features. Thus Dr Frazer reports that the fire-boards of the Chuckchees in the north-east extremity of Asia

<sup>1</sup> J. Stevenson *Translation of the Samhiti of the Sama Veda* London 1842 p. vii f. Cp. W. Crooke *Things Indian* London 1906 p. 209 on the fire-drill as used by the Brahman fire-priests or *Agnihotri*. A full account of their procedure is given by Frazer *Golden Bough* ii. 'The Magic Art' n. 248 ff.

<sup>2</sup> J. Romilly Allen 'Need-Fire' in *The Illustrated Archaeologist* 1894---1895 ii. 77 f. figs. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> E. B. Tylor *op. cit.*<sup>3</sup> p. 242 fig. 25 from an example in the Edinburgh Industrial Museum, N. Joly *op. cit.*<sup>3</sup> p. 193 fig. 69.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. Wood *op. cit.* p. 419, cp. E. B. Tylor *op. cit.*<sup>3</sup> p. 243.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. Wood *op. cit.* pp. 420, 422, cp. E. B. Tylor *op. cit.*<sup>3</sup> p. 244 f.

'are roughly carved in human form and personified, almost deified, as the supernatural guardians of the reindeer. The holes made by drilling in the board are deemed the eyes of the figure and the squeaking noise produced by the friction of the fire-drill in the hole is thought to be its voice. At every sacrifice the mouth of the figure is greased with tallow or with the marrow of bones<sup>1</sup>.

Now, if uncivilised people can regard the fire-stick in its hole as turned about in the eye of a voracious and supernatural herdsman, who squeaks at the process, it becomes—I think—credible that the myth of Odysseus plunging his heated bar into the Kyklops' eye originated in a primitive story concerning the discovery of the same simple utensil. Is it a mere coincidence that the Homeric episode culminates in a simile drawn from a strap-drill<sup>2</sup>?

On this showing the hero of the Kyklops-adventure must have been originally a divine or semi-divine figure comparable with that

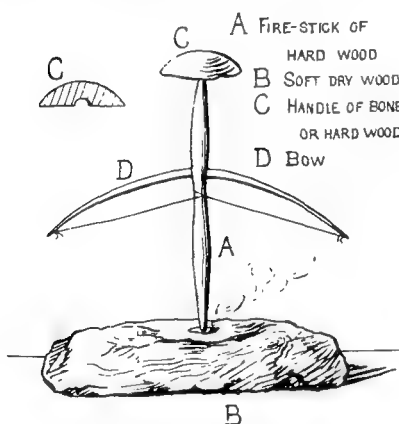


Fig. 256.

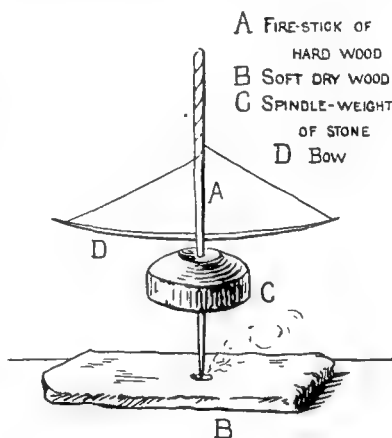


Fig. 257.

of Prometheus. Recently K. Bapp has sought to prove that *Promethéis* was an appellative or cult-title of the Titan whose true name was Ithas or Ithax<sup>3</sup>. He relies on two glosses of Hesychios. One of these informs us that Ithas or Ithax was Prometheus the herald of the Titans<sup>4</sup>. The other enables us to connect the name with a verb meaning 'to be heated' (*ithainesthai*)<sup>5</sup>. The root of this verb is *idh-*, the weak grade of *aidh-* from which *aitho*, 'I burn,'

<sup>1</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>4</sup>: The Magic Art ii. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 322. Nonnos unconsciously hit the mark, when he described the Kyklops' blaze as, 'Seed of Sicilian fire and glowing hearth' (*supra* p. 318).

<sup>3</sup> K. Bapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3034.

<sup>4</sup> Hesych. s.v. 'Ithás' ὁ τῶν Τιτάνων κήρυξ Προμηθεύς. τινὲς Ἰθάξ.

<sup>5</sup> Hesych. s.v. *ithainesthai* θερμαίνεσθαι, cp. s.v. *ithainein* εὐφρονεῖν and *itharós*, 'pure, clear.'

*aithér*, 'the burning sky,' etc. are formed<sup>1</sup>. It thus appears that Prometheus was essentially a 'Fire'-god—a conclusion that suits well his relations to Hephaistos and the Kabeiroi<sup>2</sup>. But his name Ithax can hardly be dissociated from Ithake<sup>3</sup>, the home of Odysseus, *Ithakésios* or *Ithakos*<sup>4</sup>. In short, I suspect that behind Odysseus the hero stands an older and more divine personage akin to Prometheus the fire-god. It is surely significant that Odysseus, when pressed by Penelope on his return to declare his lineage, gives himself out as the grandson of the Cretan Minos and says *totidem verbis*:

My famous name is Aithon<sup>5</sup>.

Further, I would suggest that this is the reason why the art-type of Odysseus, *e.g.* on coppers of Ithake (fig. 258)<sup>6</sup>, is indistinguishable



Fig. 258.



Fig. 259.



Fig. 260.

from the art-type of Hephaistos, *e.g.* on coppers of Methana (fig. 259)<sup>7</sup>, and virtually identical with that of the bearded Kabeiros<sup>8</sup>, *e.g.* on coppers of Birytos (fig. 260)<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On this point our philological authorities are unanimous: see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* II. 47 and Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* II. p. 194 s.v. *ιθαρός*. Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 23 s.v. *αἰθήρ, αἶθω*.

Hyg. *fab.* 31 gives the name of Prometheus' eagle as Aithon (cp. *Il.* 15. 690).

<sup>2</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* III. 3040 f.

<sup>3</sup> Akousileos *frag.* 30 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* I. 103 Muller) ap. schol. *Od.* 17. 207 states that Ithake was named after Ithakos—*Ἰτακῆος παῖδες Ἰθακός καὶ Νήπιος, ἀπὸ Διὸς ἔχοντες τὸ γένος, φύουν τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν, κ.τ.λ.* Cp. Eustath. in *Il.* p. 307. 8, in *Od.* p. 1815. 44 ff., Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἰθάκη, ἐλ. μαγ.* p. 470. 7 f.

<sup>4</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἰθάκη*. *Ἰθακός Ὀδυσσεὺς ὁμοφώνως τῷ οἰκιστῇ*, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 307. 9 f. So Eur. *Cycl.* 103 *Ἰθακός Ὀδυσσεὺς*, cp. Antioch. *τ. 38* *Ἰθακός Ἀποδρασσιππίδου*.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* 19. 183 *ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνομα λυγρὸν Αἰθών*, cp. Iyk. *Il.* 432 with Tzet. *ad loc.*, Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1861. 36 ff. F. F. Zielinski in *Philologus* 1891 I. 146 ff. argues that Odysseus assumed the name *Αἰθών* because his mother Antikleia, daughter of Autolykos and Mestra (*Ov. met.* 8. 738), was granddaughter of Mestra's father Aithon (Nik. *ap. Ant. Lib.* 17) son of Helios (Sound. s.v. *Αἰθών*): see Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* I. 1106. It has been conjectured that Achaos' satyric drama *Aithon* (*Frags. Gr. frag.* p. 747 ff. Nauck<sup>2</sup>) had reference to Odysseus, but?

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 105 f. pl. 21, 8, 9, 11, 13 (my fig. 258), *Head Hist. num.* II. p. 428.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 163 pl. 30, 10, 11 (my fig. 259), *Head Hist. num.* II. p. 442.

<sup>8</sup> A votive vase from the Theban Kabeirion is inscribed *Ὀλυσσείδας Καβίροι* (*Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 399).

<sup>9</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Froas etc.* p. 40 f. pl. 8. 4 f., *Head Hist. num.* II. p. 542. I figure a specimen in my collection. See also Roscher *Lex. Myth.* III. 680.

Other points of resemblance between the hero of the Kyklops-tale, Prometheus, and

The Sanskrit word for 'fire-drill' is *pramantha*, and persistent attempts have been made to bring the name *Prometheus* into connexion with it<sup>1</sup>. Strictly speaking, however, we cannot regard *Prometheus* as the phonetic equivalent of *pramantha*<sup>2</sup>; and it is only by invoking the uncertain aid of popular etymology that we are enabled to set the two side by side<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, it is highly probable<sup>4</sup> that *pramantha* the 'fire-drill' does explain

the Kabeiros are not lacking. Several versions of the Kyklops-tale make the giant give the hero a ring that binds him to the spot etc. (Append. E Abruzzo, Dolopathos, Oghuzians, Roumania). Zeus, when he fastened Prometheus to Mt. Kaukasos, swore never to release him from his chains; but, on being warned by Prometheus not to marry Tethys, lest he should beget a son to dethrone him as he had himself dethroned Kronos, he did out of gratitude release Prometheus, and, to keep his oath, gave him a ring to wear fashioned out of his chains, in which was set a stone from Mt. Kaukasos (interp. Serv. in Verg. *ed.* 6. 42, cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 15, Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 2, Isidor. *orig.* 19. 32. 1). Aisch. *frags.* 202, 235 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap.* Athen. 674 D appears to have given Prometheus a garland instead of a ring. An Etruscan mirror shows him wearing a willow(?)-wreath and presented by Herakles and Kastor with two rings (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 131 pl. 138, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3094 f. fig. 5 b). On the rings of the Kabeiroi see *supra* p. 108 f.

Again, Prometheus, like the Kabeiros (*supra* p. 108 ff.), was an axe-bearer (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (η)); and K. Bapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3041 acutely compares Axiothea the name of his wife (Tzet. in Lyk. *Al.* 1283) with the Cabiric names Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos (*supra* p. 109). Odyseus' wife too is famous for her ordeal of the 'axes' (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194, *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (χ)).

<sup>1</sup> A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*<sup>1</sup> Gutersloh 1858 p. 17, *ib.*<sup>2</sup> Gutersloh 1886 p. 18, A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1860 ix. 189 f., cp. *ib.* 1857 vi. 104, A. Kaegi *The Rigveda* trans. R. Arrow-smith Boston 1886 p. 132 n. 121, E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 pp. 107, 168.

Miss J. E. Harrison has kindly drawn my attention to W. Schultz 'Das Hakenkreuz als Grundzeichen des west-orientalischen Alphabets' in *Memnon* 1909 in. 175 ff. This ingenious, but over-venturesome, writer attempts to connect Prometheus as inventor of the fire-drill with Prometheus as inventor of the alphabet, the link being the *swastika*.

<sup>2</sup> J. Schmitt *Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus* Weimar 1871 i. 118, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. by assuming that Prometheus' name was originally Προμανθεύς or \*Προμενθεύς, 'He of the fire-drill,' and that it was distorted into Προμηθεύς to suit the supposed connexion with προμήθεια, 'fore-thought.'

<sup>4</sup> *Pramantha*, the 'fire-drill,' can hardly be separated from *Pramanthu*, the younger brother of *Manthu* and son of *Vri-avrata*, the son of *Madhu* and *Srimanas* (Sir M. Monier-Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* new ed. Oxford 1899 pp. 685, 1006), who is mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson writes to me: 'The names Manthu and Pramanthu occur in a long genealogy of one Priyavrata, a kingly sage, but none of their achievements are recorded. It is quite possible that they may occur elsewhere in the Purāṇas, but at present I have failed to find them mentioned anywhere else. They belong to a class not of deities, but of mighty men of old who as kings and priests became almost gods on earth.' It is certainly tempting to suppose that the brothers *Pramanthu* and *Manthu* correspond with the brothers *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*, but evidence is lacking.



## 330 The Solar Wheel combined with Animals

*Promanteús*, a title under which Zeus was worshipped at Thourioi<sup>1</sup>. Lykophron mentions him in juxtaposition with Zeus *Aithiops Gyrápsios* of Chios<sup>2</sup>—a combination that strengthens his claim to be considered a god 'of the Fire-drill.' Dr Frazer has cited examples from south-west Africa (the Herero) and north-east Asia (the Koryaks and Chuckchees) of the male fire-stick or fire-board being identified with an ancestor, addressed as 'Father,' and venerated as the supernatural guardian of the hearth and home<sup>3</sup>. He has further suggested a like origin for the association of Iupiter with Vesta in Italian religion<sup>4</sup>. It is not, therefore, difficult to believe that at Thourioi, a Greek colony in south Italy, analogous ideas expressed themselves in a cult of Zeus<sup>5</sup>.

### xi. The Solar Wheel combined with Animals.

From the vantage-ground gained in preceding sections we can explain a whole series of bronzes found by Messrs Saltzmann and Biliotti at Kameiros and now in the British Museum. The graves

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 289 f. A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1857 vi. 103 connected *Προμανθεύς* with *μανθάνω* and A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Gottertranks*<sup>1</sup> Gutersloh 1858 p. 17, 18.<sup>2</sup> Gutersloh 1886 p. 18, associated both words with *pramantha*.

K. Bapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3034 f., following Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 97, would read *Προμηθεύς* for *Προμανθεύς* in Lyk. *Al.* 537 and recognise a Zeus *Προμηθεύς* at Thourioi. But the 'early variant' on which he relies is merely a bad reading in Tzetzes' note *ad loc.* (*προμαθεύς*; ed. Muller i. 97 f., 674 'fors. rectius'), not even recorded by E. Scheer (ii. 191).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 289 f.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: The Magic Art ii. 222 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 227 ff. On the similar coupling of Zeus ~ Hestia see *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) ix (a). Note also the Pythagorean identification of the *εστία τοῦ παντός* with the *Διὸς οἶκος* (*supra* p. 303 n. 6).

<sup>5</sup> The name *Προμανθεύς* recalls *Ῥαδάμανθης* (Aeolic *Βραδάμανθης* for *Ῥαδάμανθης*), which might be explained as the 'Rod-twirler,' a compound of the digammated root of *ῥάδαμος*, *ῥάδις*, *rādus*, *rādi* (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 563, iv. 471 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 393 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 513 f.) and of the root that appears in Sanskrit as *muth* or *manth*, 'to stir or whirl about' (Sir M. Monier-Williams *op. cit.* p. 777). A. Kuhn in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1855 iv. 90, 123 f. long since anticipated this derivation, but took the Rod-twirler ('*Gertenschwinger*') to be Rhadamanthys as judge of the dead. Certainly in that capacity he had a *ῥάβδος* (Plat. *Gorg.* 526 c) or *σκήπτρον* (*Inscr. Gr. Sin. It.* no. 1389 i 47); and Miss J. E. Harrison reminds me of Pind. *Ol.* 9. 33 οὐδ' Ἀΐδας ἀκινήταν ἔχε *ῥάβδον* (see her *Proleg. Gr. Kel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 45). Yet the second element in Rhadamanthys' name suits my interpretation better. If he was thus connected with the fire-drill, we can understand his genealogy as set forth by Kinaithon *frag.* i Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 8. 53. 5 < ὦς > *Ῥαδάμανθης μὲν Ἥφαιστον, Ἥφαιστος δὲ εἶη Τάλω, Τάλω δὲ εἶναι Κρητὸς παῖδα*. But further evidence *desist*.

## The Solar Wheel combined with Animals 331

from which these little objects came contained geometric pottery of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The bronzes themselves are in the form of a wheel with four, six, seven, eight, or nine spokes, from the centre of which rises a shaft supporting either a duck (fig. 263)<sup>1</sup> or the heads of two animals *adossés*. The animals thus combined are mostly goats (figs. 261, 262)<sup>2</sup>, but cows<sup>3</sup>, rams<sup>4</sup>, and asses (?)<sup>5</sup> also occur. In one case (fig. 261)<sup>6</sup> the wheel has become a square base, but remains four-spoked. In another the central shaft terminates in a mere loop, no animals being added to it<sup>7</sup>. In yet another we have a rude human figure winged and mounted on



Fig. 261.

Fig. 262.

Fig. 263.

a similar wheel<sup>8</sup>. Since the principal cult of the early Rhodians was that of Helios<sup>9</sup>, it can hardly be doubted that the wheel represents the sun. And it is reasonable to conjecture that the

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 12 nos. 158—160, cp. p. 13 no. 174 and *Olympia* iv. 36 no. 210b pl. 13 (bird on wheel-base), *ib.* p. 61 no. 420 pl. 24 (cock on wheel-base).

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 12 f. nos. 161—166, cp. *Olympia* iv. 36 no. 206 pl. 13 (stag on wheel-base).

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 13 nos. 168 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 13 no. 170, cp. *Olympia* iv. 66 no. 477 pl. 25 (two rams back-to-back).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 13 no. 167.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* p. 12 no. 161.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* p. 13 no. 175.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* p. 11 no. 136.

<sup>9</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 265 ff.

### 332 The Solar Wheel combined with Animals

animals placed upon the solar wheel are in some sense devoted to Helios<sup>1</sup>. If so, the absence of horses is noteworthy<sup>2</sup>.

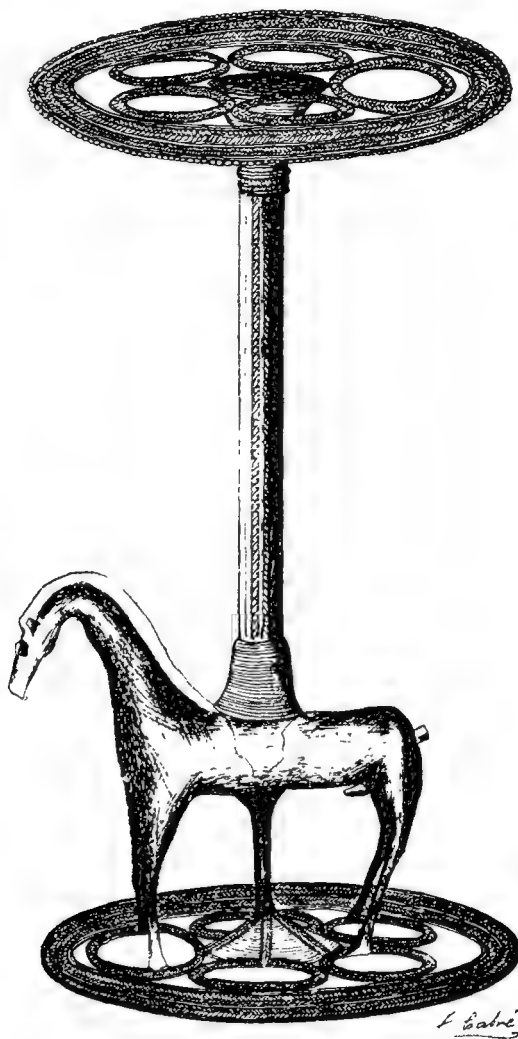


Fig. 264.

An early colony of the Rhodians was Rhode, the modern *Rosas*, in the north-east corner of Spain. It was founded, according to

<sup>1</sup> J. Déchelette 'Le culte du soleil aux temps préhistoriques' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 305 ff., ii. 94 ff and *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 413 ff. claims to have discovered dozens of swans or ducks associated with the solar wheel in the art of the bronze age throughout Europe.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 180 n. 5.

Strabon<sup>1</sup>, many years before the establishment of the Olympic festival (776 B.C.). In its neighbourhood therefore we might look to find a parallel for the Rhodian bronzes. In point of fact it was near Calaceite in the province of Teruel that a farm-labourer in 1903 discovered, along with a bronze cuirass and two iron swords, the remarkable bronze here shown (fig. 264)<sup>2</sup>. It is a horse which stands on a wheel and bears on its back a column topped by a similar wheel, the whole being some 20 cm. in height. Column and wheels alike are decorated with *guilloché*-patterns. The former has a bell-shaped capital and base; the latter have smaller wheels serving as spokes. The body of the horse is connected with the wheel-base by means of a stay or support with spreading foot. This Iberian bronze may be referred to the 'Dipylon' or 'Villanova' period of the Early Iron Age, *i.e.* approximately to the same date as the Rhodian bronzes. Like them it represents an animal on the solar wheel, or rather in between a pair of solar wheels. We are well on the road towards the conception of the solar chariot.

## xii. The Solar Chariot.

The transition from solar wheel to solar chariot was perhaps facilitated by a half-forgotten belief that the sun itself was a horse. That belief meets us in the mythologies of various Indo-European peoples<sup>3</sup> and very possibly underlies the Greek practice of offering horses to Helios<sup>4</sup>. When the growth of anthromorphism made men no longer content to regard the sun either as a wheel or as a horse, it needed no great effort of imagination to combine both ideas and henceforward to believe in the driver of a celestial chariot<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Strab. 654.

<sup>2</sup> J. Cabré 'Objetos ibéricos de Calaceite' in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 1908 p. 400 pl., *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 320 f. fig. 10, *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 294 f. fig. 7 (from a photograph of the bronze as pieced together in the Louvre. Its discoverer, believing it to be of gold, had broken it into fragments; but fortunately J. Cabré had seen it while yet entire).

<sup>3</sup> A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*<sup>2</sup> Gutersloh 1886 p. 51 ff., A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1998 f., A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 31, H. Oldenberg *La religion du Veda* Paris 1903 pp. 38, 64 ff., 300, E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 41, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1905 n. 203, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 59, 94, 293, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 180 n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> A. Kuhn *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> p. 51 ff., A. Rapp *loc. cit.*, J. Déchelette in the *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 307 ff. and *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 n. 1. 413 ff.

The conception of Helios as a rider on horse-back is not Greek (*pace* Rapp *loc. cit.* p. 1999), but hails from Asia Minor (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 381 n. 13 and p. 1532

Evidence of the combination has been found here and there in Greek art. A silver band from a prehistoric grave at *Chalandriani*<sup>1</sup>

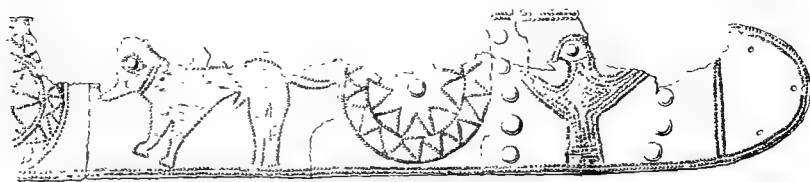


Fig. 265.

in Syros (*Syra*) shows a horse with a collar, a solar disk, and a bird-like human figure (?) side by side (fig. 265)<sup>1</sup>. Monsieur J. Déchelette claims that this is the pre-Mycenaean prototype of

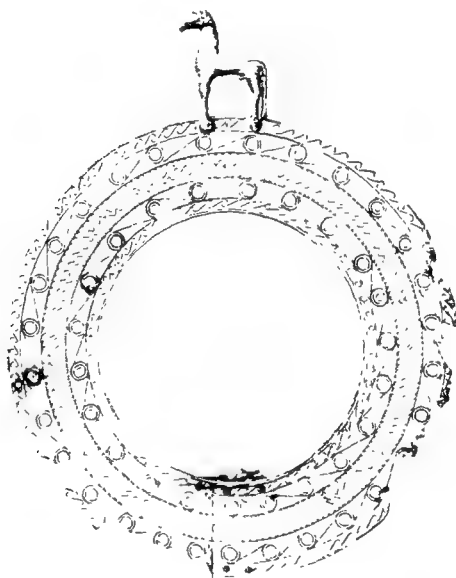


Fig. 266.

the solar equipage<sup>2</sup>. Again, bronze tripods of geometric style from Olympia have two large ring-shaped handles, on which is set a

n. 4 quotes Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 754, 3 'Ηλιος ἐφ' ἑπτα at Pergamon and the numerous representations of a solar rider whose type is discussed by R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 I. 369 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Tsountas in the *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1899 p. 123 f. pl. 10, 1.

<sup>2</sup> J. Déchelette *loc. cit.*, comparing the famous Trundholm chariot (S. Müller *Urgeschichte Europas*, Strassburg 1905 col. pl. 2, M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 n. 476 f. fig. 206) and its Irish counterparts (R. A. Smith in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 1903 6-13 figs. 5-7).

horse (fig. 266)<sup>1</sup>, more rarely a bird<sup>2</sup> or bull's head<sup>3</sup> or lion<sup>4</sup>. Since the Delphic tripod is sometimes treated as a winged vehicle bearing Apollon across the sea<sup>5</sup>, it is conceivable that tripod-handles were assimilated to the sun. But neither of the band from Syros nor of the handles from Olympia can we say that they *must* be solar; they may be merely decorative. More to the point is the earliest type of Helios as a charioteer on Attic black-figure vases<sup>6</sup> (figs. 267, 268)<sup>7</sup>. The god emerges from the sea with a team of two or four horses. But the only wheel visible is the disk above his head; and his horses turned inwards or outwards, as the

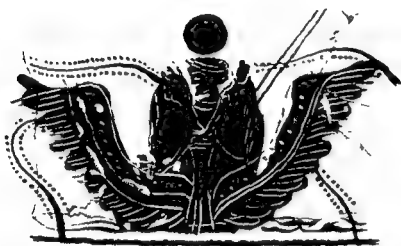


Fig. 267.



Fig. 268.

case may be, recall in effect the back-to-back arrangement of the Rhodian bronzes (figs. 261, 262)<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A. Furtwangler in *Olympia* iv. 72 ff. e.g. no. 574 pl. 30, no. 607 pl. 33, no. 624 pl. 30, no. 640 pl. 30, and the restorations pl. 34, c, d, e. I figure pl. 33, a.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 73 no. 539 pl. 27, p. 79 no. 573 pl. 28 (two birds), p. 93 no. 638 pl. 29, and the restoration pl. 34, b.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 79 no. 572 pl. 29, cp. no. 576 fig.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 93 no. 641 pl. 30.

<sup>5</sup> On a red-figured *hydria* in the Vatican (*Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 46, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1832 iv. 333 ff., Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. céer.* ii. 20 ff. pl. 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 63, 360 Atlas pl. 20, 12, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 315 fig. 370, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 102 fig. 108, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1235 n. 2). Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* n. 20 n. 10 cite a winged tripod from a coin of Agrigentum (G. L. Castelli Prince of Tonemazza *Smilix populeorum et urbium, regum quoque et tyrannorum veteres nummi* Palermo 1781 pl. 7, 17).

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 226 f.

<sup>7</sup> Fig. 104 = *supra* p. 226 n. 4: fig. 105 = *ib.* n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Doubtless the grouping of the horses is primarily due to the fact that the artist could not as yet correctly foreshorten his chariot: cp. the metopes from temple C at Selinous (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 483 ff. fig. 245, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der Gr. und*

Later this type of Helios and his chariot came to be enclosed in the solar disk. A fine example is furnished by a silver-gilt plaque found in a tomb at Elis and acquired in 1906 by the British Museum (pl. xxiv, 1)<sup>1</sup>. Its embossed design shows Helios with radiate head driving his horses up from the sea. His cloak is fastened with a big circular stud. A curved exergual line represents the horizon, and two plunging dolphins the sea. Nothing of the chariot is visible. But the whole disk with its shining concave surface and its divergent lines suggests the on-coming sun in a marvellously successful manner. A crescent of bronze (pl. xxiv, 2)<sup>2</sup> likewise embossed with acanthus-leaves, lotus-work, and two large lilies, equally well suggests the quiet moon. This latter plaque was found in another tomb at Elis along with a whole series of *phálara* or 'horse-trappings'; and such no doubt was the character of our solar disk also. Mr F. H. Marshall dates them all *c.* 300 B.C. These *phálara*, as L. Stephani pointed out, had an apotropaeic value<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, they have it still. My brother-in-law Mr C. H. C. Visick, who owns a good collection of modern horse-amulets ('horses' money'), informs me that most of them are demonstrably derivatives of the sun or moon.

On a red-figured *kratér* from Apulia now at Vienna (fig. 269)<sup>4</sup> the complete chariot appears surrounded by a rayed disk. The oval shape of this disk was determined by the turn of the horses to right and left, and can hardly have been meant to reproduce the optical illusion of the sun's orb flattened on the horizon. An interesting reminiscence of the solar wheel is the *swastika* on the

*rom. Sculpt.* pl. 287 a); many black-figured vases (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenh.* i pls. 1, 2, 62, 3, 106, 6, P. Gardner *Cat. Vases Oxford* p. 6, no. 190 pl. 1, E. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 28 no. 53 pl. 15, Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 23 f. no. 220 fig. 14, p. 25 no. 223, p. 29 f. no. 235, p. 30 f. no. 237 pl. 4, Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 167 f. no. 889 pl. 8, *alib*); bronze plates from Athens (A. G. Bather in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1892—3 xiv. 257 f. pl. 8), Eleutherai (*id. ib.* p. 255 pl. 9, 2), Dodona (C. Carapanos *Dodona et ses ruines* Paris 1878 p. 36 pl. 19, 1, 2, 4), Olympia (A. Furtwangler in *Olympia* iv. 104 f. no. 706 pl. 39). But the Rhodian bronzes too were presumably meant to represent a pair of animals apiece.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 239 no. 2108 pl. 40, F. H. Marshall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 160 fig. 13. Diameter 6.2 cm. Mr Marshall remarks that an exactly similar disk was published by L. Pollak *Klassisch-antike Goldschmiedarbeiten in Besitz Sr. Excellenz A. J. von Nollow* Leipzig 1903 no. 533 pl. 20.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Marshall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 159 fig. 12. Width 11.5 cm.

<sup>3</sup> L. Stephani in the *Comptes-rendus St. Pét.* 1865 p. 164 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 2—6, 8. Cp. O. Jahn in the *Ber. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1875 p. 42 n. 48.

<sup>4</sup> T. Panofka 'Helios Atabyrios' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1848 ii. 305 ff. pl. 20, 1, 2, F. G. Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 66 ('Helios steigt während eines Gewitters, das durch den Blitz angedeutet ist, empor'), Reinach *Kép. Vases* i. 368, 3, A. Bertrand *La religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 171 f. fig. 28.



1



2

*Phylacteria* from tombs at Elis.

1. Helios rising, on a silver-gilt disk.
2. Lily-work etc., on a bronze crescent.

See *Pl.* 336.





driver's breast<sup>1</sup>. The addition of a thunderbolt to the left of the disk requires explanation<sup>2</sup>. At first sight it is tempting to interpret the scene as that of Phaethon in his father's chariot struck by the bolt of Zeus. But, as T. Panofka long ago observed, this would ill suit the peaceful pose of the charioteer, who extends his hand in



Fig. 269.

greeting, not in terror. Rather we should recollect that two of the sun's steeds, according to the oldest tradition, were named *Brontē* and *Steropē*, 'Thunder' and 'Lightning'. The sun-god has much in common with the thunder-god.

<sup>1</sup> On the derivation of the *svastika* from the solar wheel see T. Wilson *The Svastika* Washington 1896 *passim* (bibliography pp. 984—996) and recently J. Dechelette in the *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 314 ff. and *Musée d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. i. 423 ff.

Miss J. E. Harrison kindly sends me the following criticism: 'I am open to conviction, but I cannot help thinking that the *svastika* precedes the solar wheel and simply represents the four points of the compass in motion. The four points seem to influence tribal arrangements among very primitive people at early stages—see Durkheim et Mauss *Année Sociologique* 1902 p. 1 and 34.'

<sup>2</sup> Panofka *loc. cit.* p. 305 f. cp. a vase from Apulia of like design and style then in the Betti collection at Naples.

<sup>3</sup> The sun's horses bear the following names.

Laumelos <i>ap. Hyg. fab.</i> 183	Eous	Aethops	Brontē	Steropē
Schol. Eur. <i>Phoen.</i> 3a	Χρόνος	Αἰθώ	Ἀστραπή	Βροντή
Schol. Eur. <i>Phoen.</i> 3b	Λαυπών	Φαέθων		
Schol. Soph. <i>El.</i> 825	Φαέθων			
Ov. <i>met.</i> 2. 153 f., cp. Hyg. <i>fab.</i> 183	Pyrois	Eous	Aethon	Phlegon
Mart. <i>ep.</i> 8. 21. 7, cp. 3. 67. 5	Xanthus	Aethon		
Fulgent <i>myth.</i> 1. 11	Erythraeus	Actaeon	Lampus	Philogaëus
Homerus (?) <i>ap. Hyg. fab.</i> 183	Abraxas	Soter	Bel	Iao

Zeus too was sometimes conceived as driving a chariot<sup>1</sup>. But his chariot, in the Greek area at least<sup>2</sup>, is regularly connected with storm<sup>3</sup>, not sunshine<sup>4</sup>. It cannot, therefore, be maintained that Zeus the charioteer was directly identified with the sun.

### xiii. The Solar Wreath.

The first of May is kept as a day of jest and jollity by the modern Greeks. Parties go to picnic in plains and meadows, returning with sprays of the fragrant *protomaïd*. The young folk make wreaths of flowers and corn. These must be left hanging over the door of the house till May-day comes round again. They are then replaced by next year's garlands, and the withered relics are burnt<sup>5</sup>. I figure (pl. xxv) a wreath of the sort, which I obtained in 1901 at Eleusis, where it was hanging over the door of an inn. The inn-keeper told me that such wreaths are thrown on to the bonfire of Saint John the Baptist (June 24), and that the master of the house is expected to jump over the flames<sup>6</sup>. We have already

<sup>1</sup> First in *Il.* 8. 438 ff. *Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Ἰδῆθεν εὐτροχον ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποις*. *Θιλυπον δ' ἐδίωκε* κ.τ.λ., cp. *Tib.* 4. 1. 130 f. This conception is utilised by *Plat. Phaedr.* 246 E. *ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα πρῶτος πορεύεται διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος* κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> The Persians, who called the whole circle of the sky 'Zeus' (*ἡφρα* p. 10 n. 1), had a chariot sacred to him. When Xerxes' army was on the march, this chariot went immediately in front of Xerxes himself (cp. *Longin. de sublim.* 3. 2 τὰ τοῦ Λεοντινῶν Γοργῶνα γελᾶται γράφοντος *Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεὺς*); it was drawn by eight white horses, and then driver followed them on foot, since no man might ascend the chariot throne (*Hdt.* 7. 40, cp. 7. 55, 8. 115). When Kyros the elder went in procession from his palace, first came four fine bulls for sacrifice to Zeus etc.; then horses for sacrifice to the Sun; next a white chariot with a golden yoke, adorned with garlands, sacred to Zeus; after that the white chariot of the Sun similarly adorned, then a third chariot, the horses of which were spread with scarlet cloths; behind it a fire on a great hearth or portable altar; and lastly Kyros himself in his chariot (*Xen. Cyr.* 8. 3. 11 ff.). In the time of Alexander the Great it was the custom of the Persian kings to set out in procession at sunrise: first went the sacred eternal fire borne on silver altars, then the Magi chanting; after them 365 youths in scarlet cloaks; next a chariot sacred to Zeus, drawn by white horses and followed by a magnificent horse called the horse of the Sun—the leading horses being decked with gold rods and white cloths (*Curt.* 3. 3. 9 ff.). The sumptuous chariot of Darius in is well shown in the great mosaic from Pompeii (P. Winter *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeii* Strassburg 1909 col. pl. 1, J. Overbeck *Ant. Mus. Pomp.* Leipzig 1884 p. 613 ff. with col. pl.). Note that the chariot of Zeus is throughout distinguished from the chariot of the Sun.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* ch. II § 4 (c).

<sup>4</sup> A copper coin of Alexandria struck by Trian has for reverse type *Zeus Ammon* in a chariot drawn by two rams (*Bull. Mus. Ch. Com. Alexandr.* pp. xl. 49 no. 405. *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 862). This may be solar (*Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (f) n.).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I. Abbott *Maedonia* 1933. Cambridge 1903 p. 46, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 35, Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 163 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See further Miss M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 157 ff.



May-garland of flowers and corn from Eleusis.

*See page 338.*



seen that Saint John's bonfire was in all probability a sun-charm<sup>1</sup>. If so, the wreath burnt upon it may well have represented the sun itself—another case of the solar *apotropaion* being fixed above the lintel<sup>2</sup>.

Analogous customs are, of course, common throughout Europe. Here in Cambridge the children are out early on the first of May begging all and sundry to 'Remember the May Lady.' They carry garlands, which vary much in shape. The most complete form that I have come across consisted in two hoops set at right angles to each other and decorated with a branch of may: from the point of intersection dangled a doll (fig. 270, *a*). Other forms in use are a single hoop of flowers or coloured tags with crossed strings and a doll in the centre (fig. 270, *b*), a hoop without the cross and doll (fig. 270, *c*), a cross and doll without the hoop (fig. 270, *d*), a mere cross without hoop or doll (fig. 270, *e*). All alike are dubbed 'the May Lady.' The several shapes attest a progressive degradation (globe, wheel, hoop) and ultimate confusion with a different type (cross). Is it rash to conjecture that the May-garland once stood for the sun<sup>3</sup>, the doll in the flowery hoop being an effigy of the earth-goddess<sup>4</sup> blossoming beneath his rays?

The wreath of *protomaîd* hung over the doorway in modern Greece had its ancient counterpart in the *εἰρεσιόνη*. This is commonly described as a branch of olive (or bay) twined with wool and decked with fruits etc., which was paraded from house to house, hung over the lintel for a twelvemonth, and ultimately burnt<sup>5</sup>. But it is noticeable that the same name was given to 'a wreath of flowers'<sup>6</sup>—a May-garland rather than a May-pole. The festivals with which the *εἰρεσιόνη* was connected are the Panathenaia, the Pyanepsia and the Thargelia, i.e. festivals of the greater city deities. But E. Pfuhl<sup>7</sup> and A. Dieterich<sup>8</sup> have shown that the private rite attracted to and absorbed by these public festivals was performed—as the scholast on Aristophanes affirms—for

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 286 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* pp. 205 ff., 292 ff.

The first of the shapes here shown (fig. 270, *a*) can hardly be separated from that of the intersecting hoops which topped the May-pole, and these appear to have represented the sun (*supra* p. 291).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xiv (the garland of *He iotes*).

<sup>4</sup> Boettcher *Baumkultus* pp. 393—397, S. Kemach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 497 f. fig. 2616, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2135 f.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1054 ελαιων κλαδων η στεφανον ἐξ ἀνθεων ἢ κλαδων πεπλησμενων (cod. O), στεφανον, κλαδων ἐλαιας (cod. Douv.). Alkibi. *cr.* 3. 37 εἰρεσιωνην ἐς ἀνθων Πέξαστα κ.τ.λ., *cr.* Coughny *Anta. Pal. Archæol.* 2. 316. 9 f. καὶ γὰρ μ' Ἐνυ[ολποισ] θρηπύλοισι, εἰρεσιωνην [τέ]ξαστες, [μεγαλὴν ὥπ]ισαν εὐκλειην.

<sup>7</sup> E. Pfuhl *Die Aionen und ihre Symbole* Berlin 1900 pp. 86—88.

<sup>8</sup> A. Dieterich *Ältere deutsche Laub- und Baumgötter* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 338 n. 2.

*a**b**c**d**e*

Fig. 270.

## The Sun as the Bird of Zeus 341

Helios and the Horai<sup>1</sup>. It is, therefore, open to us to maintain that of old, as to-day, the worthy Greek householder hung over his doorway a solar wreath destined to be burnt as a sun-charm on the mid-summer fire.

### (e) The Sun as the Bird of Zeus.

In Egypt the sky-god Horos was early confused with the sun-god Râ<sup>2</sup>. 'One by one all the functions of Râ,' says Prof. Maspero, 'had been usurped by Horus, and all the designations of Horus had been appropriated by Râ.'<sup>3</sup> Thus the sparrow-hawk,—or, as Monsieur G. Bénédicté has recently contended<sup>4</sup>, the falcon—which was originally conceived as the embodiment of Horos<sup>5</sup>, came to be regarded as the symbol of Râ<sup>6</sup>, or in other words was transferred from the sky to the sun<sup>7</sup>, and was further developed into the phoenix<sup>8</sup>, whose solar connexions are notorious<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, the Horos of Edfû (Iheru-behutet) was known far and wide as the winged solar disk<sup>10</sup>. Now Aischylos in his *Suppliants*, a play dealing with a Graeco-Libyan myth<sup>11</sup>, makes Danaos, the twin-brother of Aigyptos, say to his daughters—

Call now likewise on yonder bird of Zeus.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *op.* 729, *Plut.* 1054. Soud. s.v. εἰπεσιώνη, cp. Theophrast. *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 7.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 146, K. Sethe *Zur altägyptischen Sag. vom Sonnenauge* Leipzig 1912 p. 5 f.

<sup>3</sup> G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*<sup>1</sup> London 1901 p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> G. Bénédicté in the *Mon. Prot.* 1909 xvii. 5 ff.

<sup>5</sup> G. Maspero *op. cit.*<sup>4</sup> p. 86. E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 466.

<sup>6</sup> G. Maspero *op. cit.*<sup>4</sup> p. 100. E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 322. A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> So in the *Idā* the eagle is connected primarily with India the thunder-god (A. A. Macdonell *Indo. Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 152), but secondarily with Sūrya the sun, which is not only compared with a flying eagle, but directly called an eagle (*id. ib.* p. 31).

<sup>8</sup> G. Maspero *op. cit.*<sup>4</sup> p. 136 n. 5, cp. Hdt. 2. 73 (of the phoenix) τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τὰ δὲ ἐπιθρα ἐς τὰ υἁλίστα· αἰετῶ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότατος καὶ τὸ μέγας, Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 3 aquilae naturae magnitudine, aut fulgore circa colla, cetero purpureus, caeruleam roseis caudam pinnis distinguuntibus, cristis fauces caputque plumbeo apice honestant, Solin. 33. 11 (copies Pliny). Others (H. Brugsch *Nouvelles recherches sur la division de l'année* p. 49 f., A. Wiedemann 'Die Phonixsage im alten Ägypten' in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1878 xvi. 89—106, *id. Herakles zwölft. Buch* p. 314 ff., A. Erman *op. cit.* p. 23) derive the phoenix from the heron (*hemu*) of Hehopolis. As represented in Egyptian (Lanzoni *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 198 ff. pl. 70, 1—3), classical and post-classical art (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3465 ff.), the phoenix is more like a heron than a sparrow-hawk, but does not closely resemble either. Turk in Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 3450 is content to describe it as 'ein Wundervogel.'

<sup>9</sup> D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 182 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 205 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (a).



## 342 The Sun as the Bird of Zeus

The Danaides do so in the words—

Lo, thus we call on the saving rays of the sun<sup>1</sup>.

This invocation of the sun as the 'bird of Zeus' is probably a deliberate Egyptism on Aischylos' part, and must not in itself be taken to prove that the Greeks entertained the same idea. There are, however, certain beliefs and practices current in ancient Greece which become more intelligible on the assumption that the sun was once viewed as a bird.

The Orphists, jealous guardians of antiquated ideas, opened their *Rhapsodic Theogony* with a somewhat similar invocation:

Sun that soarest aloft on golden wings<sup>2</sup>.

The solar wheel upon which Ixion was bound is not unfrequently figured with wings<sup>3</sup>; and the solar chariot that took Triptolemos across the world is winged likewise<sup>4</sup>. A bird was on occasion affixed to the *kyrr*-wheel<sup>5</sup>. The Lycian symbol is sometimes furnished with bird-heads<sup>6</sup>. The *triskel's* is superposed on a bird<sup>7</sup>, or itself fitted with wings<sup>8</sup>. And the Greeks were familiar with a variety of winged solar deities<sup>9</sup>.

Apart from these examples of the winged sun, several myths merit attention. That of Kirke, as we have seen, presupposes the belief in a solar hawk<sup>10</sup>. Ovid tells how Daidalion, grieving for the death of his daughter Chione, flung himself from the summit of Parnassos and, as he fell, was transformed by Apollon into a hawk<sup>11</sup>. Hyginus adds that *daidalio* means 'a hawk<sup>12</sup>'. More probably the name is a mere patronymic, the 'son of Daidalos<sup>13</sup>'; for parallels occur in various versions of the Daidalos-myth. According to Athenian tradition, Talos son of Daidalos' sister was hurled from the Akropolis and in mid air changed by Athena into a partridge<sup>14</sup>. But Talos is definitely identified by Hesychios with the sun<sup>15</sup>. It would seem, then, that behind the stories of Daidalion

<sup>1</sup> Aisch. *suppl.* 212 f. ΔΑ. καὶ Ζητὸς ὄρνιν τόνδε νῦν κικλήσκετε. | ΣΟ. λαλοῦμεν αὐγὰς ἡλίου σωτηρίους. The εἰ. ἵναι for ὄρνιν is improbable.

<sup>2</sup> Orph. *frag.* 49, 3. Abel *op. loc.* Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 72 f. Dindorf = Kecklen. *hist. comp.* 57 A—B (i. 101 f. Bekker) Ἡέλιε, χρισσέσθαι ἀερόμενε πτερύγεσσι. Cp. Orph. *frag.* 65. Abel (of Phanes) χρισσάσις πτερύγεσσι φορεμένος ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 198 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 213 n. 2, 217 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* pp. 253, 257.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 300 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 304.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 306 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 296 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 240 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Ov. *met.* 11. 291 ff., cp. Hyg. *fab.* 200, Paus. 8. 4. 6. *Supra* p. 241.

<sup>12</sup> Hyg. *loc. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> Ov. *met.* 11. 271 ff., 294 ff. makes Daidalion son of the Morning Star (*Lucifer*).

<sup>14</sup> *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (h) iv.

<sup>15</sup> *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (h) i.

turned into a hawk and of Daidalos' nephew Talos turned into a partridge lay the old conception of the solar bird. Again, in another version, which has been traced back to the *Cretans* of Euripides<sup>1</sup>, Daidalos imprisoned in the Labyrinth made wings for himself and his son Ikaros: Daidalos got safely away, but Ikaros soaring too high had his wings melted off by the sun and fell into the sea. Many mythologists, arguing from the analogy of Phaethon etc., have concluded that Ikaros was the sun conceived as falling from the height of heaven<sup>2</sup>. If this conclusion, which squares well with the foregoing account of Talos, is valid, we have once more the sun represented by a bird-like figure. A folk-tale from Zakynthos, in which B. Schmidt recognised certain traits of the Ikaros-myth<sup>3</sup>, is here to the point:

'In the time of the Hellenes there once lived a king, who was the strongest man of his day; and the three hairs on his breast were so long that you could take them and twist them twice round your hand<sup>4</sup>. Another king once declared war against him, and on a certain month the fighting began. At first the other king was victorious; but afterwards the strong king with his army beat the enemy and pursued them to their town. He would there and then have destroyed them all, had they not given 400,000 dollars to his wife, who betrayed him and cut off his three hairs. This made him the weakest of all men. The enemy then took him prisoner, bound him, shut him up in a fortress, and gave him only an ounce of bread and an ounce of water a day. However, his hairs soon began to grow again. So Captain Thirteen—that was his name—and thirteen of his companions were flung by the enemy into a pit. As he was the last to be flung in, he fell on the top of his companions and escaped death. But his enemies then covered the pit with a mountain. On the second day

<sup>1</sup> C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2001, G. Knaack in *Hermes* 1902 xxxv. 598 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 525 f.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Gilbert *Gr. Gotterl.* p. 180 and the author of the latest monograph on the subject R. Holland *Die Sage von Daidalos und Ikaros* (Abh. zu dem Ber. der Thomaschule) Leipzig 1902—both cited and criticised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 523 f., who adheres to his opinion that 'Ikaros ist der im Laufe des April und im Anfang Mai in der Sonnennähe verschwindende Orion' (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 946) or perhaps, like Phaethon (*ib.* pp. 42, 336, 960), the Morning Star (*ib.* pp. 960, 1310). But the analogy of Talos, whom Gruppe admits to have been the sun (*ib.* p. 1310 'Ein Helios war ursprünglich der kretische Talos'), makes strongly for the solar view.

<sup>3</sup> B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 p. 91 ff. Märchen no. 11 'Ο καπρίνος Δεκαπρῆς with nn. *ib.* p. 229, J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 11. 4 (v. 47, where for 'a sea-devil clawed him with a thirteen-pronged fork' read 'the god of the sea struck him with a three-pronged fork'), J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 75 f.

<sup>4</sup> B. Schmidt *op. cit.* p. 229 and *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 t. 206 n. 2 ep. a tale from Syria in J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 n. 279 ff. and another from Kypros in A. A. Sakellarios *Τὰ Κυπριακά* Athens 1855 no. 8, in both of which the hero's strength is vested in three golden hairs on the top of his head. So in a tale from Epeiros (J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* 1. 215 ff.). See further Frazer *Golden Bough* 2 iii. 358 f., 390 f., *ib.* Taboo p. 293 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 882, O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3262 ff.

after he was thrown into the pit he found a dead bird somewhere. He stuck its wings on to his hands and flew up. He knocked his head on the mountain and sent it spinning up to the sun. He then flew further afield and soared high into the air. But a rain-storm came on and softened the clay, with which he had stuck the feathers on. So Captain Thirteen fell into the sea. Out came the sea-god<sup>1</sup> and with his three-pronged fork gave him such a blow that the sea turned red with his blood, and changed him into a big fish, a dolphin. He told him too that he could never change back again till he found a girl willing to marry him. Now the sea in which the dolphin lived was of such a sort that no ship entering it could get out again. It so happened that a king and his daughter came that way. They got in easily enough but couldn't get out again; and so fearful a storm overtook them that their ship broke up. Nobody was saved but the princess and the king: for the dolphin took them both on his back to a small island, and then set them ashore on the coast they had come from. The princess resolved to wed the dolphin, and, to get him up to her castle, had a big canal dug from the sea to it. When all was ready for the wedding, the dolphin shook off his skin and changed into a young man of gigantic strength and great beauty. He married the princess, and they lived happily ever after—but we here more happily still.<sup>2</sup>

This tale combines the characteristics of Ikaros with those of Pterelaos, the Taphian hero whose life depended on a golden hair. Amphitryon and his allies could not capture Taphos till Komaitho the daughter of Pterelaos, in love with the hostile chief, plucked or cut the fateful hair from her father's head<sup>3</sup>. O. Gruppe<sup>4</sup> infers from the name *Pterelaos* that a bird played an important part in the Taphian legend<sup>5</sup>, and justly compares the Megarian myth of Nisos and Skylla, which not only contained the same episode of the purple or golden life-lock but also involved the metamorphosis of the father into a sea-eagle and of the faithless daughter into a heron<sup>6</sup>.

Ikaros' tomb was shown on a headland of Ikaria, the island west of Samos<sup>7</sup>. Daidalion and Talos were both precipitated from a rocky eminence. And the story of Skylla was associated with the point Skyllaion near Hermione<sup>8</sup>. This recurrence of a headland suggests comparison with the ritual of the Leucadian promontory. The 'White Rock,' as Homer calls it<sup>9</sup>, is a cliff that

<sup>1</sup> ὁ δαίμονας τῆς θάλασσης.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod. 2. 4. 7. *Tzetze*, in Lyk. *Al.* 932, Dion Chrys. *or.* 64 p. 341 Reiske, *Or.* *ibid.* 361 f.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1412 n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3266 conjectures that Pterelaos was changed into a κρέξ, Komaitho into an αἰθρία (so M. Mayer in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 489), its natural enemy (*Atl. de nat. an.* 4. 5). But this is hardly to be got out of Σοῦδ., i. 7. κρέλα· τὴν τρέλα· πομφυρέην ἤμυσεν κρέλα, which may refer to Nisos and Skylla.

<sup>5</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 425 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. 9. 11. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 426.

<sup>8</sup> *Od.* 24. 11 Λευκάδα πετρῆν.

rises on one side perpendicularly from the sea to a height of at least 200 ft and has on its summit remains of the temple of Apollon *Leukatas*. Once a year at the festival of Apollon the Leucadians, to avert evil, flung a criminal from the top of their cliff. Wings of all sorts and birds were attached to him in order to lighten his 'leap': and many persons in small boats waited down below to pick him up and, if possible, get him in safety beyond the boundary<sup>1</sup>. Dr Frazer regards 'these humane precautions' as probably 'a mitigation of an earlier custom of flinging the scapegoat into the sea to drown<sup>2</sup>'. But this hardly explains the peculiar feather-garb, which surely implies that the victim was a quasi-bird like Ikaros. It is significant that the eponym Leukadios was the son of Ikarios<sup>3</sup>. Further, the Leucadian 'leap' was persistently connected with Sappho's love for Phaon<sup>4</sup>, the favourite of Aphrodite, who was said to have founded a temple for his goddess on the Leucadian rock<sup>5</sup>. But *Phaon*, as K. O. Muller pointed out<sup>6</sup>, is simply a doublet of *Phaithon*, 'the Shining One.' There is, therefore, much to be said for the view recently advanced by A. Fick<sup>7</sup> that the Leucadian 'leap' was the ritual of a solar festival<sup>8</sup>, that

<sup>1</sup> Strab. 452. Cp. Phot. *l. v. s. v.* Λευκάτης· σκόπελος τῆς Ἠπείρου, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ ῥίπτουσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πέλαιος οἱ ἱερεῖς (so MS., Schleusner cp. ἐρασταί)· κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough* 2 m. 126 and on Paus. 10. 32. 6 (v. 401). Cp. C. O. Muller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* Oxford 1830 1. 260 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Almaconis* p. 15, 5 Kinkel and Ephoros *frag.* 57 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 248 Muller) ap. Strab. 452, cp. *ib.* 461, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 52. This Ikarios is called Ikaros by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 293, 12 f., schol. B. L. P. 2. 581, schol. Eur. *Or.* 457.

<sup>4</sup> Menand. *Timon* *frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 158 f. Meineke) ap. Strab. 452 and Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 279. Turpilus (*Com. Rom. frag.* p. 113 ff. Ribbeck) ap. Serv. *loc. cit.*, Phot. *l. v. s. v.* Λευκάτης. See further J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2272 ff.

Others declared that the 'leap' had first been taken by Kephalos son of Deioneus out of love for Perelias (Strab. 452, cp. *ib.* 461), or by Leukates to escape the love of Apollon (Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 279).

Ptol. Hephaest. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 153a 7 ff. Bekker gives a long list of lovers who had leapt from the rock, commencing with Aphrodite herself. She thereby got rid of her love for Adonis: ζητοῦσης δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν λέγεται τὸν Ἀδόλωνα, ὡς μάντις ὦν ἐγνώκει δοῦναι ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὴν ἔρῳν Ἥρας ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ ἐκαθεῖτο καὶ ἀνεπαύετο τοῦ ἔρωτος!

<sup>5</sup> Serv. *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> K. O. Muller *Donnerstag* 1. 233, 1a. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* 4 i. 292 f. On *phaion*, *phaithon* see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 348 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. a. Gr. Spr.* 2 p. 482.

<sup>7</sup> A. Fick *Von griechischen Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 137 ff., *id.* *Haltun und Danubius in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 43. Fick ascribes this cult of the sun-bird to the Leleges. His notion that 'Ἠπείρας ist der "auf Flügeln Daherfahrende," von πτερόν [sic] und εἰλα treiben, fahren gebildet' (*Vorggr. Ortsn.* p. 138) ignores the forms *Ἠπείραος*, *Ἠπείρεως*: the second element in the word is certainly λαός, λαός (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3264).

<sup>8</sup> On a copper of Nikopolis in Epeiros (?), struck by Trajan, Apollon *Leukatas* (ΙΩΛΛΟΠΑ. ΛΕΥΚΑΤΗΣ) is shown, a nude figure on a pedestal with volutes, he

## 346 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

Ikaros, Nisos, Pterelaos are so many mythical expressions of one belief, and that all alike imply the primitive conception of the sun as a bird.

### (f) The Sun and the Ram.

#### i. The Ram and the Sun in Egypt. Zeus *Ámmou*.

##### (a) Khnemu and Ámen.

Another animal that came to be associated with the sun in Egypt was the ram. Khnemu, the great god of Elephantine<sup>1</sup>, was represented originally as a ram<sup>2</sup>, but in historical times generally as a ram-headed human figure. From the beginning of the New Kingdom (s. xvi B.C.) onwards he was fused with the sun-god Râ and worshipped throughout southern Egypt as Khnemu-Râ, a ram-headed deity often depicted as wearing the solar disk<sup>3</sup>. Râ himself was on occasion addressed as a ram, to judge from one of *The Seventy-five Praises of Râ* found at Thebes on the walls of royal tombs of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties:

‘Praise be to thee, o Râ, exalted power. Thou raisest thy head, and thou makest bold thy brow, thou ram, mightiest of created things<sup>4</sup>.’

At Herakleoupolis (*Hennu-su*) Khnemu was equated with the local solar god Her-shef, who not only receives many of the titles of Râ but is also represented with a ram's head<sup>5</sup>. At Mendes too Khnemu

has a quiver and holds a bow in his lowered left hand, a torch in his extended right (J. Friedländer in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 103 pl. 23, 21, Imhoof-Blumer *Monum. gr.* p. 141, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 321). The torch suggests that the cult was solar.

<sup>1</sup> Lanzone *Diction. de Mitel. Egiz.* p. 956 ff. pl. 336 f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 1250 ff., K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2349 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This is inferred from the hieroglyphic form of his name (Sethe *loc. cit.* p. 2350).

<sup>3</sup> A Wiedemann *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1897 p. 128. E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 n. 51 ff., Drexler *loc. cit.* p. 1252 f., Sethe *loc. cit.* p. 2351.

A coin of the Hyspsele nome, struck under Hadrian, shows Isis holding in her hand a ram with a disk on its head (*Bibl. Mus. Cat. Com. Alexandria* p. 363), i.e. Khnemu-Râ in the form of a ram (cp. Sethe *loc. cit.*).

<sup>4</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 342.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 58 ff., Drexler *loc. cit.* i. 1848 ff. and ii. 1252, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* n. 1271 f. (cp. Anthon *Alex. frags.* 3 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* iii. 324 f. Muller) *ap. Plout. d. Is. et Os.* 37 ‘Ἀριστων τοῖνυν ὁ γεγραφὼς Ἀθηναίων ἀποικίαν ἐπιστολῇ τινι Ἀλεξάρχου περιέπεσεν, ἐν ᾗ Διὸς ἰστορεῖται καὶ Ἰσίδος υἱὸς ὦν ὁ Διώνυσος ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτίων, οὐκ Ὀσίρις, ἀλλὰ Ἀρσαφῆς (ἐν τῷ ἄλφα γράμματι) λέγεσθαι, δηλοῦντος τὸ ἀνδρεῖον τοῦ ἰουδαίου· εὐραίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμαῖος, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· Ὁμῆριμον γὰρ φησι μεθερμηνεύμενον εἶναι τὸν Ὀσίριον (Hermaios in *frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 427 Muller).

A magnificent gold statuette of Her-shef with a ram's head was found by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Herakleoupolis: it dates from the twenty-fifth dynasty, s. viii B.C. (*Man* 1904

was identified with another local form of Râ, namely *Ba-neb-Ṭetṭu*, 'the Ram, lord of Ṭetṭu'.

Amen, the provincial god of Thebes<sup>2</sup>, who rose with the rise of Theban power till as Amen-Râ he became 'King of the Gods' of all Egypt<sup>3</sup>, was another ram-divinity. He was figured sometimes as a ram, more often as a ram-headed or ram-horned god wearing the solar disk. But, whereas the ram of Khnemu belonged to a very ancient Libyan species with goat-like horns projecting horizontally from its head, the ram of Amen, like the rams of 'Minoan' art, had horns curving sharply downwards<sup>4</sup>—a fact of which we are reminded by the 'ammonites' of our geologists. In the time of the eighteenth dynasty (s. xvi B.C.) Khnemu acquired the horns of Amen in addition to his own<sup>5</sup>, while *en revanche* Amen acquired those of Khnemu and was even represented as a ram of the Khnemu-species<sup>6</sup>.

### (β) Amen and Zeus *Thebaieús*.

Herodotos, who speaks of Amen-Râ more than once as the Theban Zeus<sup>7</sup>, reports a remarkable myth concerning him :

'All who have a temple of Zeus *Thebaieús* or belong to the Theban nome abstain from sheep and sacrifice goats....But those who possess a temple of Mendes or belong to the Mendesian nome abstain from goats<sup>8</sup> and sacrifice sheep. The Thebans, then, and those who on their account abstain from sheep explain that this custom of theirs arose in the following way. Herakles was very eager to set eyes on Zeus, and Zeus did not wish to be seen by him. At

p. 113 ff. pl. II, W. M. Flinders Petrie *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* Edinburgh & London 1909 p. 94 fig. 107)

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* II. 64 ff., 353 f., A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 205 f.

<sup>2</sup> Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 29 ff. pl. 18 ff., E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* I. 283 ff., R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* I. 1853 ff.

<sup>3</sup> R. Pietschmann *ib.* I. 1874 s.v. 'Ammonrasother.'

<sup>4</sup> O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 p. 309 ff., who holds that the tradition of Herakles importing sheep from north Africa into Greece (Palaiph. 18 (19), Varr. *rer. rust.* 2. 1. 6) corresponds with a cultural fact.

<sup>5</sup> K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* III. 2350. Cp. Euseb. *praef. ev.* 3. 12. 1 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν τετίμηται ἀγάλμα, πεπλασμένον μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρείκελον καὶ καθήμενον, κυναοῦν τε τὴν χροίαν, κεφαλὴν δὲ κριοῦ κεκτημένον, καὶ βασιλεῖον, κέρατα τράγεια ἔχον, οἷς ἐπέστι κυκλὸς δισκοειδής. κάθηται δὲ παρακειμένον κεραμένον ἀγγεῖον, ἐφ' οὗ ἄνθρωπον ἀναπλάσσειν (see Lanzone *op. cit.* pl. 336, 3). δηλοῖ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ κριοῦ πρόσωπον ἔχειν καὶ αἰγὸς κέρατα τὴν ἐν κριῷ σύνοδον ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης· τὸ δὲ ἐκ κυναοῦ χρώμα, ὅτι ὑδραγωγὸς ἐν συνόδῳ ἢ σελήνῃ.

<sup>6</sup> R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* I. 1855, A. Wiedemann *op. cit.* p. 118 f.

<sup>7</sup> Hdt. 1. 182, 2. 42, 2. 54, 4. 181, cp. Eudok. *zool.* 75 τοῦ Θηβαίου Διός.

<sup>8</sup> On the goat-cult of Mendes see Pind. *frags.* 201 Christ with n., Hdt. 2. 46, Plout. *Gryll.* 5. Squid. s.v. *Μενδῆν*.

## 348 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

last, when Herakles was importunate, Zeus thought of this device. He flayed a ram, cut off its head, donned the skin, held the head in front of him, and so showed himself to Herakles. From this circumstance the Egyptians make the statue of Zeus ram-faced; and the Ammonians have got it from the Egyptians, since they are settlers of the Egyptians and Ethiopians and speak a *patois* of both languages. In my opinion, the Ammonians took their name too from the same event, *Amoin* being the Egyptian term for Zeus. The Thebans for the reason I have stated do not sacrifice rams but treat them as sacred. However, once a year, on the festival of Zeus, they, like their god, cut up and flay a ram; they thus clothe the statue of Zeus and then bring before it another statue, that of Herakles. When they have so done, all who are round about the temple beat themselves in mourning for the ram and then bury it in a sacred sarcophagus<sup>1</sup>.

The rite implied by this myth has not hitherto been found represented on the monuments<sup>2</sup>. But it is by no means improbable that *Âmen-Râ* (Zeus *Thebaieus*) was annually confronted with Shu (Herakles), who is often called 'the son of Râ'<sup>3</sup> and as god of the atmosphere 'draws the air before Râ<sup>4</sup>', 'brings the sweet breath of life to the nose of Osiris<sup>5</sup>' etc. The great hymn to *Âmen-Râ* in the Oasis of El-Charge even identifies that god with 'the soul of Shu<sup>6</sup>'.

### (γ) *Âmen* and Zeus *Âmmon*.

Herodotos, therefore, did not hesitate to identify the Greek Zeus with *Âmen-Râ*, the Theban ram-god and sun-god. Doubtless, when Lucian in the second century of our era makes *Mômos*, the

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 2. 42, cp. 4. 181. Zeus *Θηβαίος* had a human consort, who slept in his temple (Hdt. 1. 182). She was a woman chosen for good looks and good birth; and she gave her favours to whom she would till she was past the age for child-bearing, when lamentation was made for her and she was bestowed upon a husband (Strab. 816). The journey of Zeus to *Anthiopia* (*Il.* 1. 423 f.) and his union with *Hera* (*supra* p. 154 ff.) were localised at Thebes. Every year the shrine of Zeus was taken across the river into *Libye*, returning after certain days, as though the god had come from *Anthiopia*; and on the occasion of great public festivals two shrines, presumably for Zeus and *Hera*, were carried up a mountain, which was strown by the priests with all kinds of flowers (Diod. 1. 97, schol. *Il.* 1. 4251). Thebes had a temple dedicated to the parents of Zeus and *Hera*; and two golden shrines of Zeus, the larger of which belonged to Zeus the sky-god, the smaller to *Ammon* the former king and father of the people (Diod. 1. 15). On account of this popular cult Thebes came to be called *Διόσπολις* or *Διόσπολις μεγάλη* (Paus. -Wissowa *Real-Enz.* v. 1144 f.).

On the connexion between *Âmmon* and Herakles see Arrian 3. 3. 1, Eustath. in *Dionys.* 77. 11, interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 196, Vopisc. *Aur.* 22 B (the name *Heraclammon*), and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1506 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> H. Brugsch cited by H. Stern on Hdt. 2. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Lanzoni *Orion, di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 1163 f.

<sup>4</sup> E. Naville *Book of the Dead* ch. 55 and 38 B, 1. For these and the following references I am indebted to Koeder in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 571.

<sup>5</sup> Pap. Salt 825, Lanzoni *Orion, di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 1167 pl. 386, 4.

<sup>6</sup> H. Brugsch *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh in der Libyschen Wüste* Leipzig 1878, pl. 15, 5.

god of 'Mockery,' ask Zeus how he can permit ram's horns to be affixed to him and makes Zeus apologise for the disgrace<sup>1</sup>, Greek refinement had come to despise these barbaric identifications. But in earlier days and with simpler folk it was not so. The Greeks in general delighted to trace an analogy, sometimes quite unessential, not to say far-fetched, between their own deities and those of the foreigners among whom they were sojourning. It was a cheer to meet a familiar face in a strange country, even if the garb was outlandish and some of the accessories novel. If the Egyptian Ámen



Fig. 271.

was 'King of the Gods,' pious Greeks would regard him as their own Zeus and would readily discover further points of resemblance<sup>2</sup>. In fact, they would be glad to worship him under his new-found

<sup>1</sup> Loukian, *don. com.* 10 f.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wiedemann *op. cit.* p. 118 remarks that Ámen-Ra 'was sometimes coloured blue, probably because that was the colour of the heavens in which he ruled as Sun god' (*ib.* n. 3 'Ámen is coloured green in the tomb of Seti I'). If so, we may cp. the blue *nimbus*, globe, and mantle of Zeus (*supra* p. 33 ff.). But Khnemu was coloured blue as a water-god or Nile-god (*supra* p. 347 n. 5, K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2351). The two alleged reasons are not necessarily incompatible: Homer speaks of the Nile as *δυνερέος ποταμίου* (*Od.* 4. 477 with schol.).



## 350 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

aspect as Zeus *Ammon*<sup>1</sup>. They did not indeed represent him as a ram or even give him a ram's head: for the whole trend of Greek religious art was away from theriomorphism. But they hinted at the animal-conception by adding to the divine head ram's ears and downward-curving horns. The Naples bust (fig. 271)<sup>2</sup>, which goes back to a fifth-century original of quasi-Pheidias type<sup>3</sup> perhaps existent once at Kyrene<sup>4</sup>, shows how far they succeeded in combining the infra-human with the supra-human, the ram with Zeus.

So Zeus through contact with Amen became Zeus *Ammon*. Where the change first took place, we cannot with certainty determine. It may have been at Thebes, the original *nidus* of the Amen-cult, for Herodotos definitely states that the Ammonians got their worship from that of Zeus *Thebaïcus*<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, the fact that he calls the Theban god Zeus *Thebaïcus* rather than Zeus *Ammon* makes it more probable that we should look away from Thebes to the *Ammonœion*—the remote Oasis of Siwah, where the Theban Pharaohs planted their favourite religion<sup>6</sup> in a spot destined to become famous throughout the ancient world. Hence the cult radiated, perhaps southwards to Meroe, where the oracular *Ammon* is known to have been worshipped<sup>7</sup> certainly northwards to Kyrene, where Zeus was honoured under a variety of titles<sup>8</sup> and *Ammon* came to be reckoned as a patron-god<sup>9</sup>.

There is, further, some little uncertainty as to the date at which

<sup>1</sup> On the various forms of this name see R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1853 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 84 no. 267, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 193 pl. II, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 278 Atlas pl. 3, 3, Muller—Wieseler—Weincke *Ant. Denk.* i. 37 pl. 3, 9 a head of Greek marble—height 0.43 m.

<sup>3</sup> A. Furtwängler 'Ueber Statuenkopfeen im Alterthum' in the *Arch. d. Bayer. Akad.* 1897 Philos.-philol. Classe xv. 563–565.

<sup>4</sup> F. Studniczka *Kyrene* Leipzig 1890 p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. 4. 181.

<sup>6</sup> G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 552.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra* p. 376 n. 3. Cp. Method. Penteget. *ap. Lact. Plac. in Stat. Tech.* 3. 479 (text reconstituted by L. Maass in the *Jahresb. d. ost. arch. Inst.* 1902 v. 213 f.) *Ammonis templum Iovis inter Aethiopes Endios (ἐνδιούς, 'southern') sunt enim et qui Pseudoaethiopiae vocantur—et Libyas ultimos*.

<sup>8</sup> Zeus *Εὐνίμερος* (*infra* p. 92), *Δέκατος* (*infra* p. 89 ff.), *Σωτήρ* (R. Murdoch Smith—L. A. Pocher *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene* London 1864 p. 113 inser. no. 11), *Euphemos* too, a figure intimately connected with Kyrene, recalls the Zeus *Εὐφρημος* of Lesbos (Hesych. *Εὐφρημος* 'ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λέσβῳ', cp. *Εὐφάμιος* 'ὁ Ζεὺς') and the Zeus *Φήμιος* of Erythrai (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 600, 26 f. *Ζημῖος*, [Φη]μίον καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Φηλιάς).

<sup>9</sup> In Plat. *polit.* 257 B Theodoros of Kyrene (*id. Theaet.* 143 c–d) says ἐν γὰρ νῦν τοῦ ἡμέτερον θεῶν, ὃ Σώκρατες, τοῦ Ἀμμῶνα. See L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 p. 118 n. 6, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1856 cp. Synes 4. 167, where Kyrenaike is called ἡ Ἀμμωνος γῆ.

this Egyptising Zeus arose. At Kyrene his head first appears on silver coins about the year 500 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The cult seems to have spread as early as the sixth century to Lakonike<sup>2</sup>. A herm of bluish marble found beneath the mediaeval fortress *Passara*, the ancient Las, near Gythion shows a pillar surmounted by a simple ram's head (fig. 272)<sup>3</sup>. Whether this is, as Miss Harrison has suggested to me, an indigenous ram-god<sup>4</sup>, or whether it should rather be classed as a theriomorphic *Ammon*, we have at present no means of deciding. At Gythion itself Pausanias found a sanctuary of *Ammon* along with Apollon *Kárneios*, a bronze statue of Asklepios, a spring of the same god, a holy sanctuary of Demeter, and a statue of Poseidon *Gaiaóchos*<sup>5</sup>. *Ammon* was here in excellent company, Apollon *Kárneios*, Demeter, and Poseidon *Gaiaóchos* being old and honoured deities of the land<sup>6</sup>; besides, he was appropriately placed next to Apollon *Kárneios*, whose cult-title marks him as an ancient ram-god<sup>7</sup>, and to Asklepios, who stood beside him at



Fig. 272

<sup>1</sup> Babelon, *Mém. sur les mon.* n. 1. 1359 ff. pl. 64, 16 f., 20—23, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 567 pl. 92, 1. Head *Hist. num.* p. 866 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Wile *Lakon. Kult.* p. 264 'nicht vor 600 v. Chr., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1558 'vielleicht schon im VI. Jahrhundert.'

<sup>3</sup> B. Schoder in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1904 xxix. 21—24 fig. 1. Height .75 m. The pillar ends below in a tenon. The shaft is square in section, slightly tapering, and somewhat rounded in front. About 18.5 cm. below the chin is a shallow hole perhaps meant for an inset *phallós*, unless this was the navel and the *phallós* was added lower down.

<sup>4</sup> See S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* i. Der vor-dorische Widdergott Christiania 1910.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 3. 21. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Wide *op. cit.* p. 263.

<sup>7</sup> S. Wile in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 961 ff. and O. Hofer *ib.* 964 ff. Hesych. ζζζ. κάρ' πρόβατον, κάρ' ἰωνες τὰ πρόβατα, Καρρείος· ἐπιθετον Ἀπόλλωνος· ὡς ἀπο Καρρὸν τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Εὐρώπης, καρρὸς· βοσκήμα, πρόβατον, καρροστασιον· ὅπου τὸ καρρὸν ἵσταται. The whole group of words is ultimately connected with κέρας, 'horn,' the καρρὸς being the 'horned' sheep (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 361, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. Gr. Spr.* p. 216 f., Bousquet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 414, 437 ff., 498 f.): κρῖος, 'ram,' is referable to the same root (L. Meyer *op. cit.* ii. 408 f., Prellwitz *op. cit.* p. 245, Bousquet *op. cit.* p. 519). At Sparta *Kárneios* surnamed *Oikétes* (cp. *Corp. insc. Gr.* i. no. 1446) was worshipped before the return of the Herakleidae, having a shrine in the house of Krios, son of Theokles, a sooth-sayer (Paus. 3. 13. 3). Apollon *Kárneios* was worshipped by all the Dorians from the time of Karnos an Akarnanian, who was inspired with the gift of sooth-saying by Apollon (*ib.* 3. 13. 4, schol. vet. Theokr. 5. 83). A countryman, who claims to be beloved by Apollon, is feeding a fine ram for him against

## 352 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

Kyrene also<sup>1</sup>. At Sparta there was another sanctuary of *Ammon*, concerning which Pausanias remarks :

'From the earliest times the oracle in Libye is known to have been consulted by the Lacedaemonians more frequently than by the rest of the Hellenes. It is said that when Lysandros was besieging Aphytis in Pallene, *Ammon* appeared to him by night and foretold that it would be better for him and for Lakedaimon to desist from the war with the Aphytaeans. So Lysandros raised the siege and induced the Lacedaemonians to revere the god more than ever : and the Aphytaeans are not a whit behind the Ammonian Libyans in their respect for *Ammon*?'

Certainly Aphytis possessed an oracle of *Ammon*<sup>2</sup>, whose head appears as the principal type on its coinage from 424 B.C. onwards<sup>3</sup>. Lysandros himself had a brother named Libys after a Libyan king, who was a friend of the family<sup>4</sup>. And, when Lysandros found it expedient to be absent awhile from Sparta, he obtained permission to go on a pilgrimage to Libye<sup>5</sup>. He even attempted to bribe the oracle of *Ammon* in the Oasis, hoping to obtain its support for certain revolutionary measures that he was contemplating ; but the god sent emissaries to accuse him before the Spartans. On his acquittal the Libyans withdrew, protesting that, when, in accordance with an ancient oracle, Lacedaemonians came to settle in Libye, Libyan justice would be found superior to that of Sparta<sup>6</sup>. The Spartans, apparently, were in the habit of consulting various oracles, that of *Ammon* among them, on matters of importance<sup>7</sup>; and it was said that the oracle of *Ammon* preferred the laconic brevity of the Spartans to the elaborate ritual of the other Greeks<sup>8</sup>. Another town that had established relations with the Oasis as early as the first half of the fifth century was Thebes. Pausanias speaks of a temple of *Ammon* as built there, and adds :

'The image was dedicated by Pindar : it is a work of Kalamis. Pindar also sent a hymn in honour of *Ammon* to the Ammonians in Libye. This hymn was still to be seen in my time on a triangular slab beside the altar which Ptolemaios, son of Lagos, dedicated to *Ammon*.'

the festival of the Kameia (Theokr. 5. 83). Altogether, the ram-connexion is well-established.

See further S. Eitrem *Beitrage zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* i. Der vor-griechische Weltgott Christiania 1910 pp. 1-24.

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1558 n. 5, citing J. Zingerle in the *Arch. Mitth.* 1896 xvi. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 3. 18. 3, cp. Plout. 7. *Lys.* 20.

<sup>3</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀφύτη ἢ Ἀφίτις.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 61, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 209 f.

<sup>5</sup> Diocl. 14. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Plout. 7. *Lys.* 20.

<sup>7</sup> Plout. 7. *Lys.* 25 (after Ephoros), Diocl. 14. 13, cp. Cic. *de div.* 1. 96.

<sup>8</sup> Cic. *de div.* 1. 95.

<sup>9</sup> Plat. *Alcib.* ii. 149 E.

<sup>10</sup> Paus. 9. 16. 1.

A brief fragment of it containing the invocation—

*Ámmon*, lord of Olympos,—

is quoted by a Greek commentator on the Pythian odes<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps, as O. Gruppe supposes<sup>2</sup>, a belief that Thebes in Boiotia was connected with Thebes in Egypt may have led the inhabitants of the one to honour with a temple the chief divinity of the other.

Having thus secured a firm footing on Greek soil, the cult of Zeus *Ámmon* continued for some centuries to flourish<sup>3</sup>, though it never spread much further afield<sup>4</sup>. Its most brilliant episode was undoubtedly the visit of Alexander the Great to the Oasis, when the victor was recognised by the god as his very son. This was indeed a memorable moment. No other mortal could claim the allegiance of Europe, Asia, and Africa. No other god united in himself the ideals of the same three continents. The former did well to seek the sanction of the latter when inaugurating for the first time in history a world-wide empire. But the climax marked by Alexander's visit was followed by a decline protracted throughout the Graeco-Roman age<sup>5</sup>. Strabon in the time of Augustus already speaks of the oracle as fallen into much contempt and in fact as well nigh forgotten<sup>6</sup>.

#### (δ) Ba'al-hammân and Zeus *Ámmon*.

In the last paragraph I described Zeus *Ámmon* as at once European, Asiatic, and African. The description stands in need of further proof, for hitherto we have considered the god only as a blend of the Greek Zeus with the Egyptian Ámen. It is, however, certain that his cult was not altogether free from Semitic influence.

This appears *in primis* from the fact that, whereas Greek writers invariably call him Zeus *Ámmon*, Latin authorities commonly speak of Iupiter *Hammon*. The aspirate has come to him through confusion with Ba'al-hammân, a Phoenician deity greatly

<sup>1</sup> Pind. *frag.* 36 Schroder "Αυτοῦ Ὀλυμποῦ δέσποτα ἄρ", schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 89. On another possible fragment of the hymn see *infra* p. 366 f.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1559.

<sup>3</sup> See the list of cult-centres in G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in the *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1862 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 154--156, and coms in Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 963 Index.

<sup>4</sup> Latin inscriptions rarely mention the god: Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4424 (from a quarry near Syene) I. o. m. Hammoni Chnubidi. Tunoni Reginae, quor. sub tutela hie mons est. etc., 4425 (Carnuntum) I. o. m. Ammoni etc., 4426 (Rome) Iovi Hammoni et Silvano, etc., 4427 (Carthage) Iovi Hammoni barbaro Silvano etc.

<sup>5</sup> See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1560 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Strab. 813.

## 354 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

venerated along the north coast of Africa<sup>1</sup>. The meaning of *Ba'al-hammân* is disputed: some Semitic scholars translate 'Fiery Lord' or 'Lord of Heat'; but the more probable rendering is 'Lord of the Stone Pillars'. In any case the name not unnaturally modified that of *Âmen* or *Zeus Ammon*. Nor was the borrowing all on one side. If *Ba'al-hammân* lent his initial *H* to *Zeus Ammon*, *Zeus Ammon* lent his horns to *Ba'al-hammân*. In 1879 Prof. Berger published a short series of monuments which represent *Ba'al-hammân* with undeniable ram's-horns<sup>2</sup>. A Cypriote terra cotta formerly in the Albert Barre collection portrays him enthroned, his hands resting on a couple of rams (pl. xxvi, 1)<sup>3</sup>. A leaden plate found in the Baths of Iuba ii at Caesarea Iol (*Cherchel*) in Mauretania shows his head four times repeated (pl. xxxvi, 2)<sup>4</sup>. At Carthage, where the ram is his constant attribute<sup>5</sup>, he was associated with *Tanit*, a north-African form of the great Phoenician mother-goddess *Astarte*<sup>10</sup>. As chief god and goddess of the district they are the central ornament of a silver band, probably once a priestly diadem, found in a tomb near Batna in Algeria (pl. xxvi, 3)<sup>11</sup>. The bust of *Tanit* with a mural crown and that of *Ba'al-hammân* with ram's-horns are placed on either side of a star (sun?) and flanked by the serpents of *Esmun* twisted round a pair of pillars to right and left: beyond these are the figures of a goat and a ram ridden by two *Erotes*, and a further succession of religious symbols with which we are not here concerned. Again, Count Baudissin<sup>12</sup> cites an inscription from Mauretania Caesariensis, in which *Tanit*, there called *Panthea*, is invoked as 'partner in the rites of the horned

<sup>1</sup> E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 291, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1856.

<sup>2</sup> So E. Meyer *loc. cit.* (but see *infra* n. 4), F. Baethgen *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Berlin 1888 p. 27 f., Wolf—Baudissin in J. J. Herzog *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* Leipzig 1897 ii. 331.

<sup>3</sup> So H. R. Hall *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* London 1901 p. 230 n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> So P. Berger in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 140, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2869 f., R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1856 and in his *Geschichte der Phönizier* Berlin 1889 p. 212 f.

<sup>5</sup> P. Berger 'La Trinité Carthaginoise' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 133 ff., 222 ff., 1880 vi. 18 ff., 164 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* 1879 v. 138 f. fig.

<sup>7</sup> *Id. ib.* 1879 v. 137 f. fig.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. ib.* 1879 v. 222 ff.

<sup>9</sup> E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 291 and 2871.

<sup>10</sup> On *Tanit* and *Astarte* see W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 18, 267 ff.

<sup>11</sup> P. Berger *loc. cit.* 1879 v. 133 ff. pl. 21 (opposite to p. 222), W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* pp. 269, 285 pl. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 273.

Thunderer...Iuppiter Hammon'. Ba'al-ḥammân was in fact completely assimilated to Zeus *Ammon*.

Semitic influence penetrated to the *Ammonœion* itself. Of its ritual in the fourth century B.C. a twofold account has come down to us:

DIODOROS 17. 50.

CURTIVS 4. 7. 23 f.

'The image of the god is surrounded with emeralds and certain other objects, and has a method of divination quite peculiar to itself. It is taken round on a golden boat by eighty priests. They carry the god on their shoulders, proceeding mechanically in whatever direction the will of the god leads their steps. Together with them follows a crowd of girls and women, singing paeans all along the road and chanting traditional hymns to the god<sup>1</sup>.'

'That which is worshipped as a god has not the same shape as artists have commonly given to deities. It looks most like an *omphalos* set with emerald and gems. When a response is desired, the priests bear this deity on a golden boat, many silver saucers hanging on either side of the boat. Women and girls follow them, raising an artless chant in accordance with traditional custom, whereby they think that Zeus will be propitiated and deliver a true oracle<sup>2</sup>.'

Both of these statements were doubtless drawn from the lost work of Kallisthenes, Aristotle's kinsman, who himself took part in Alexander's expedition. H. Meltzer<sup>3</sup> by a detailed study of discrepancies has made it probable that the Roman writer is more accurate than the Greek: thus, whereas Diodoros uses the vague term 'image' (*εἰκών*), Curtius describes the cult-object as most nearly resembling an *omphalos*. Meltzer would see in it the *baitylos* or *baitylon* of Ba'al-ḥammân, a sacred stone, half-fetich,

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 9018 = F. Bucheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1895 i. 121 no. 253 [Pan]thea cornigeri sacris adiuncta Tonantis, | [q]uae Labyris Maurisque simul venerabilis oris | [his] etiam colitur te[r]ris, quam Iuppiter Hammon | [inter] utrumque lat[us] m[et]e[is]ham cum Dite severo | [dext]er sede tegit: etc. Tanit as Virgo Caelestis is at once Iuno and Ceres, and so is placed between Iupiter and Dis. See Wissowa *Kult. Rom.* p. 314 n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. 17. 50 τὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ξάνον ἐκ σμαράγδων καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων περιέχεται καὶ τὴν μαντείαν ἰδιόουσιν παντελῶς ποιεῖται. ἐπὶ νεῶς γὰρ περιφέρεται χρῆσις ὑπὸ ἱερῶν ὀγδοήκοντα· οὗτοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες τὸν θεὸν προάγουσιν αὐτομάτως, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ἄγῃ (sic codd. F. L., ceteri ἄγροι) τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ νεῦμα τὴν πορεῖαν, συνακολουθεῖ δὲ πλῆθος παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν παιᾶνας ᾄδόντων (sic libri: Wesseling ej. ᾄδουσῶν, L. Dindorf ᾄδον?) κατὰ πάσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πατρίῳ καθημνούων (sic libri: Wesseling ej. καθημνουσῶν, L. Dindorf καθημνοῦν?) ᾧ δὲ τὸν θεόν.

<sup>3</sup> Curt. 4. 7. 23 f. id quod pro deo colitur non eandem effigiem habet quam vulgo diis artifices accomodaverunt: umbilico maxime similis est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. hunc, quum responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacerdotes, multis argenteis patens ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus. sequuntur matronae virginesque patrio more inconditum quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Iovem credunt ut certum edat oraculum.

<sup>4</sup> H. Meltzer 'Der Fetisch im Heiligtum des Zeus Ammon' in *Philologus* 1904 lxiii. 186—223.

## 356 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

half-idol, mid-way between the aniconic block and the anthropomorphic statue. He reminds us that Ba'al-ḥammān appears to have taken his name from such sacred stones, and notes that the Cypriote Aphrodite was likewise 'worshipped in the form of an *omphalos*'<sup>1</sup>.

I am disposed to accept Meltzer's conclusion and to support it by two further considerations. In the first place, Ba'al-ḥammān was akin to the Baal of Tyre, better known as Melqarth or the Tyrian Herakles<sup>2</sup>. If, therefore, the Tyrian Herakles can be shown to have had a cult-object similar to the emerald-set *omphalos* of Zeus *Ammon*, it will—in view of the rarity of such objects—become highly probable that the example in the Oasis belonged by rights to Ba'al-ḥammān and that its usage attests his influence on the cult of Zeus *Ammon*. Now Theophrastos *à propos* of emeralds has the following paragraph:

'This stone is scarce and of no great size,—unless we are to believe the records concerning the kings of Egypt. Certain writers declare that the king of Babylon once sent to Egypt as a gift an emerald four cubits in length and three in breadth, and that in the sanctuary of Zeus too there were dedicated four obelisks of emerald forty cubits long and from four to two cubits broad. This is what the writers in question assert. Of the so-called Bactrian emeralds the one at Tyre is the largest. It is a good-sized *stèle* in the sanctuary of Herakles,—unless indeed it is of pseudo-emerald, for that species too is to be found.' Etc. etc.<sup>3</sup>

This passage proves that the Tyrian Herakles had an *agalma* of emerald. It is, I suspect, represented on imperial coins of Tyre, which show a portable shrine containing a sacred stone shaped much like an *omphalos* (fig. 273)<sup>4</sup>. However that may be, our passage further indicates that such emerald-blocks had reached Egypt and that obelisks<sup>5</sup> of the sort were to be seen there in a precinct of Zeus, *i.e.* of Amen-Râ. Since



Fig. 273.

<sup>1</sup> Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 1. 720 apud Cyprios Venus in modum umbilici vel, ut quidam volunt, metæ colitur.

<sup>2</sup> Ba'al-ḥammān is himself called Herakles in Polyb. 7. 9. 2 (W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* p. 285). A bronze statuette at Vienna shows Zeus *Ammon* holding the club of Herakles (Von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* II no. 7. Romani *Rep. Mus.* II. 12 no. 41; see also *supra* p. 348 n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Theophr. *l.c.* 24 f. cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 74 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 283 no. 435 (Gadianus III. p. 290 nos. 471 f. Valerianus Senior pl. 34. 14. Mr G. F. Hill *ib.* p. cxi suggests that the type 'may perhaps... be connected with Asote).

<sup>5</sup> Theophr. *l.c.* 24 συνακισθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς οὐβελισκοῦς περιμέτρῳ τῶν τετραπάρων, μήκος μὲν τετραπαικοντα πηχῶν, εἶρος δὲ τῇ μὲν τετταρῶν, τῇ δὲ ὄνῳ. But

Ámen-Râ in the tomb of Seti i was himself coloured green<sup>1</sup>, it is clear that the choice of emeralds was deliberate. Certain magical virtues belonging to this stone<sup>2</sup> were connected by Theophrastos with the fact that it is coloured like water<sup>3</sup>; and it was probably this resemblance to the watery sky that made it appropriate to the service of Zeus *Ámmon*<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps it was as the son of *Ámmon* that Alexander the Great had his portrait engraved by Pyrgoteles on an emerald<sup>5</sup>.

In the second place, the method of divination practised at the *Ámmóníon* was not, as Diodoros and Curtius thought, unique. At Ba'albek the image of Zeus *Ádados*<sup>6</sup> and at Bambyke that of a Zeus-like Apollon<sup>7</sup> indicated the divine will in the selfsame manner. Both these cults were Syrian, and we may fairly infer that the usage of the Oasis was Semitic too.

Yet, while admitting H. Meltzer's contention that the *omphalós* of Zeus *Ámmon* was Semitic, I would point out that the golden boat on which it journeyed is hardly to be explained by oriental

Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 74 et fuisse apud eos in Iovis delubro *obelisum e quattuor smaragdis* quadraginta cubitorum longitudine, latitudine vero in parte quattuor, in parte duorum is much more credible.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 132 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The term *σμάραγδος*, strictly used, denotes a crystalline green quartz: it was, however, loosely applied to other green stones (Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 394, cp. 388).

<sup>3</sup> Theophr. *lap.* 4 and 23, cp. Timoth. *Pers.* 32 f., Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 178 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly the non-crystalline green quartz (ὁ χλαρός ἱάσπις) known to us as 'plasma' or 'plasma di smeraldo' would conciliate the gods and secure a plentiful rain-fall (Orph. *lith.* 267 ff.). It was credited also with medicinal powers, especially if engraved with the Khnemu-snake (Galen *de simpliciis medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 9. 2. 19 (xii. 207 Kuhn)): many 'Gnostic' examples are extant (Furtwangler *op. cit.* iii. 388, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1258).

'Plasma' was occasionally used for the figure of Zeus enthroned (Furtwangler *Geschicht. Steine Berlin* p. 111 no. 2355 pl. 22, p. 266 no. 7134) or for that of Asklepios enthroned as Zeus (*id. ib.* p. 111 no. 2356, T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1875 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 289 pl. 1. 10). I append a laureate head of Zeus carved in high relief out of 'plasma,' from a ring in my possession (fig. 274, enlarged  $\frac{1}{2}$ ): the stone is good work of Roman date.

Plat. *Phaed.* 110 D describes *σάρδιά τε καὶ ἱάσπιδας καὶ σμαράγδους καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα* as fragments of the earth's true surface, which have slipped from the *aither* into the *air*—a notion probably based upon folk-belief. Cp. Ex. 24. 10, Ezek. 1. 26, 10. 1, Rev. 4. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (g) xx (a).

<sup>7</sup> *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (g) xx (δ).



Fig. 274.



## 358 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

ideas of a cosmic ship<sup>1</sup>, but is simply the Egyptian solar barque. *Ammon* was identified with 'the setting sun of Libya'<sup>2</sup>; and the Egyptians believed that the sun-god, after travelling all day in his morning barque, at night-fall reached the Mountains of the West, where he was received by the goddess of the West and entered his evening barque to begin his nightly voyage through the Underworld<sup>3</sup>. Sesosis, *i.e.* Sesostriis (Rameses ii), is even said to have dedicated in the temple of *Āmen-Rā* at Thebes a boat of cedar wood, 280 cubits in length, gilded without and silvered within<sup>4</sup>. If, then, we assume a combination of the Semitic *omphalos* with the Egyptian boat, the whole ritual becomes intelligible<sup>5</sup>.

### (e) Zeus *Ammon* and the Snake.

*Ammon* was said to have transformed himself into a snake in order to win his bride<sup>6</sup>; and snakes at Kyrene were called by the

<sup>1</sup> See R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 576 n. 4, 623, 725 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 21. 19 Ammonem, quem deum occidentem Libyae existimant.

<sup>3</sup> A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 11: cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 34.

There are but few certain traces of the solar barque in Greek literature or art. The Pythagorean *ὄλαός* was cosmic, not solar (Philolaos *frag.* 12 Diels). Herakleitos described sun and moon as *σκαφοειδεῖς, τοῖς σχήμασι* (Aet. 2. 22. 2, 24. 3, 27. 2, 28. 6, 29. 3 = H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1906 i. 59. 4 ff.). An Apulian *kratēr* from Basilicata, now in the Louvre, shows Helios and Selene in a four-horse chariot, which rises out of a boat; on the left Phosphoros (?) acts as leader, on the right a Kouros brandishes his sword (L. Gerhaid *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 p. 8 f. pl. 3, 3 text. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1838 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 383 ff.), Welcker *All. Denkm.* iii. 67—71 pl. 10, 1, A. M. Migliazza in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1852 xiv. 97 ff. pl. F, 3, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cr.* ii. 384 ff. pl. 114, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 291, 1, Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Arch.* 1908—1909 xi. 335 fig. 8).

The solar cup in which Herakles crossed Okeanos (Athen. 469 c—470 b), a black-figured vase in the *Rom. Myth.* 1902 xvii. 107 ff. pl. 5; the red-figured Vatican *kylīx* in E. Gerhard *op. cit.* p. 9 pl. 1, 4 and *Ausw. Vasenb.* ii. 84 ff. pl. 109, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 59, 6) is, however, comparable with the cup-shaped boats of Assyrian art (Pieller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 435 n. 4).

<sup>4</sup> Diod. 1. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Monsieur E. Naville, the distinguished Egyptologist, has recently ('Le dieu de Poasis de Jupiter Ammon' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des ins. et belles-lettres* 1906 pp. 25—32) suggested that the schist palettes referred by him to the first three dynasties, which are often shaped like shields and have on one side a nearly central circular sinking, were intended to serve as base for a precious stone or perhaps a piece of metal or wood representing the *omphalos* or boss of the shield and worshipped as 'le dieu ombilic.' This somewhat *bizarre* view must be left for other Egyptologists to criticise. But it can hardly claim the support of Curt. 4. 7. 23 *umbilico maxime sanctus*, for Curtius *umbilicus* is presumably a translation of Kallisthenes' *ὀμφαλός*, and *ὀμφαλός* would not convey to any classical reader the idea of 'shield-boss' unless there were an express allusion to a shield in the immediate context (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 2002 c—d).

<sup>6</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 9. 241. 1 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike) *βουκόλος ἔπλετο, Φοῖβε,*

name of *Ammon*<sup>1</sup>. The association of the god with this reptile was probably due not so much to Semitic as to Egyptian influences.

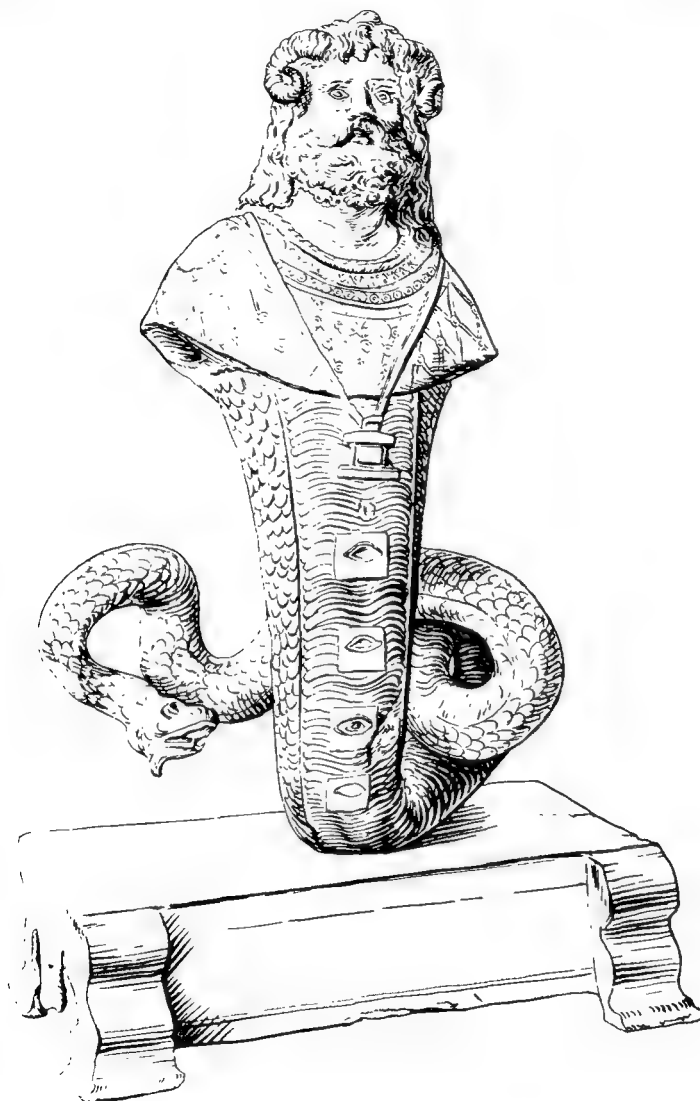


Fig. 275.

Ποσειδάων δὲ κατὰλλης. | κύνος Ζεὺς, Ἀμμων δ' ὠκυπόροτος ὄφις - - | χοῖ μὲν ἐπ' ἠϊθέας, σὺ δὲ παιδελὸς—δφρα λαθοῖτε κ.τ.λ. This has been explained as a reference to the story of Alexander's parentage (Plout. *τ.* *Πελ.* 21. ὥφθη δὲ ποτε καὶ δράκων κοιμωμένης τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεκτεταμένος τῷ σώματι κ.τ.λ., Apollin. *Sid. arm.* 2. 80 *diacomigenae* .. *hosti*, and especially Cougny *Anth. Pal. Suppl.* 2. 217. 27 f. οἱ δ' αὖ Μακεδῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος | δὲν τίκεν Ἀμμων θέμενος εἰς ὄφιν μορφὴν :): see H. Stadtmüller *ad loc.*

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. Ἀμμών (Ἀμμώνια c). Boeckh: ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν ἀγομένη. καὶ ὄφεις. Κερηναῖοι.

## 360 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

True, we have already seen the snakes of Esmun, the Punic Asklepios<sup>1</sup>, brought into connexion with the horned Ba'al-hammân<sup>2</sup>; we cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility that the snake of Zeus *Ammon* owed something to the Semites.

But snakes undoubtedly played a large part in Egyptian religion<sup>3</sup>. Of the *viper cerastes*, which has been found at Thebes in mummified form<sup>4</sup>, Herodotos writes:

'In the neighbourhood of Thebes there are sacred snakes, which do no harm to man. They are small of size and have two horns springing from the top of the head. When they die, they are buried in the sanctuary of Zeus; for they are deemed sacred to this god<sup>5</sup>.'

It is very possible, then, that the snake of *Āmen*, the Theban Zeus, was transferred to Zeus *Ammon*<sup>6</sup>.

Again, Isis and Sarapis were often represented as a pair of human-headed *uraeus*-snakes or asps<sup>7</sup>. Sarapis alone appears in the same shape on imperial coins of Alexandria<sup>8</sup>. A handsome bronze formerly in the Demetriou collection and now at Athens (fig. 275)<sup>9</sup> shows a Sarapis of this sort equipped with the horns of *Ammon*<sup>10</sup>. The god raises himself from an oblong base perhaps meant for his *kiste* or sacred 'chest'<sup>11</sup>. On his head are traces of the usual *kálathos* or *modius*. Over his shoulders is a cape incised with a net-work pattern, probably a form of *agrenón*. Round his neck hangs an amulet shaped like a small shrine. The arms are missing. The body is that of a scaly asp, adorned in front with

<sup>1</sup> At Kyrene (*supra* p. 351 f.) and at Gythion (*supra* p. 351) *Ammon* was linked with Asklepios: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1558 n. 5. (p. the pantheistic type figured *infra* p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 II. 376 f.

<sup>4</sup> H. Brugsch cited by H. Stein on Hdt. 2. 74.

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. 2. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Ptolemaios *ap.* Arrian. 3. 3. 5 states that two snakes guided the army of Alexander the Great across the desert towards the *Ammonion*.

<sup>7</sup> W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* II. 536 ff. fig., H. J. Weitz *ib.* IV. 378 fig. 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 88 no. 745 Hadrian pl. 14. p. 130 nos. 1103 f. Antoninus Pius, cp. no. 1105 pl. 14, *Hunt. Cat. Coins* III. 472 no. 489 Antoninus Pius pl. 88. 13.

<sup>9</sup> P. Kabbadias in the *Éph. Arch.* 1893 p. 187 ff. pl. 12, Remach *R. Stat.* II. 21 no. 1.

<sup>10</sup> P. Kabbadias and S. Remach *loc. cit.* prefer to describe him as Zeus *Ammon*.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. fig. 276 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 81 no. 677 Hadrian pl. 1 (bust of Zeus *Ammon* with a solar disk on his head, the whole set on an oblong base or box dotted to indicate an inscription).



Fig. 276.

## Zeus of the Oasis a Graeco-Libyan god 361

four inlaid eyes and ending in a bearded snake's-head. The aesthetic effect of this complex whole is surprisingly good. If man and beast are to be blended at all, the Greek method of representing a snake's body with a human head was infinitely preferable to the Egyptian method of representing a snake's head with a human body.

But syncretism went further even than this. The pantheistic type of Sarapis, as it is commonly called<sup>1</sup>, or the pantheistic type of *Ammon*, as P. Kabbadias would term it<sup>2</sup>, appears on gems<sup>3</sup> and coins of imperial date. For example, a coin of Alexandria struck by Hadrian (fig. 277)<sup>4</sup> represents Zeus with the rays of Helios, the *modius* of Sarapis (Zeus Helios Sarapis<sup>5</sup>), the horizontal ram's-horns of Khnemu, the spiral ram's-horn of *Ammon*, the *cornu copiae* of Neilos, and the trident of Poseidon combined with the serpent-staff of Asklepios<sup>6</sup>.



Fig. 277.

### (ζ) Zeus of the Oasis a Graeco-Libyan god.

Stripping off these later accretions and subtracting also the earlier Semitic traits, we are left with the Greek Zeus and the Egyptian Amen-Râ, who at some period prior to the fifth century B.C. and probably in the Oasis of Siwah coalesced into the sun-god Zeus *Ammon*. But we have yet to ask how Zeus found his way into the Oasis, and what was the original aspect of his worship in that isolated spot.

Here we must take account of a startling hypothesis put forward in 1871 by J. Overbeck<sup>7</sup>. That admirable scholar argues at length<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. P. Weitz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 379 ff.

<sup>2</sup> P. Kabbadias in the *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1893 p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> List by L. Stephan in the *Compte-rendu St. Pet.* 1866 p. 94 n. 9. Add *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 144 no. 1212, Furtwängler *Geschmitt. Steine Berlin* p. 122 nos. 2630—2636 pl. 24, 2639 f. pl. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 4 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 88 no. 744 pl. 15, cp. *ib.* p. 130 no. 1102 Antoninus Pius pl. 15, p. 168 no. 1362 Lucius Verus pl. 15, p. 251 no. 1945 Philippus 1 pl. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 188 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. the cult of Zeus *Ἡλῖος Σωτήρ* (G. Plaumann *Ptolemäus in Oberägypten* (Leipz. hist. Abh. xviii) Leipzig 1910 p. 89, R. Wunsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 581).

<sup>7</sup> On the controversy, to which this hypothesis gave rise, see H. Meltzer in *Philologus* 1904 lxxv. 213 f.

<sup>8</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 273 ff.

## 362 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

in support of the view that Zeus *Ammon* was essentially a Greek god<sup>1</sup>, whose cult had spread from Europe to Africa, not *vice versa*. His conclusion rests largely on the alleged fact that Amen was never represented by the Egyptians as ram-headed. But that fact we now know to be no fact. Overbeck was misled by G. Parthey<sup>2</sup>; and Lepsius was able to prove that such representations occur as far back as the reign of Seti i (c. 1300 B.C.)<sup>3</sup>. This blunder has unfortunately blinded the eyes of subsequent critics to the force of other arguments adduced by Overbeck. He justly lays stress on the early appearance of Zeus *Ammon* among the accepted gods of Greece and on the wide popularity that in course of time he achieved. Of what really barbaric god could it be shown, for example, that he was portrayed for cult-purposes by Kalamis<sup>4</sup> and other fifth-century artists<sup>5</sup>, or that he was honoured with public rites at Athens in 333 B.C.<sup>6</sup>? In view of these circumstances it is worth while to enquire whether after all there was not some long-standing affinity between the Zeus of the Oasis and the Zeus of continental Greece.

Now it is a well-established fact that during the nineteenth dynasty Egypt was twice attacked by a combination of northern tribes. Rameses ii c. 1300 B.C. had to fight the Hittites (*Kheta*) and their allies, who included Lycians (*Luka*), Dardanians (*Dardenui*), Mysians (*Masa*), Maeonians? (*Maunna*?), or Ionians? (*Yauunna*?), Pedasians (*Pidasa*), and Cilicians (*Qalagšava*). Again, in the reign of Merenptah c. 1250 B.C. Egypt was invaded by Achaeans (*Aḡaiwaša*), Tyrsenians (*Thuirša*), Sardinians? or Sardians? (*Šardina*), Sagalassians (*Šakalasa*), and Libyans (*Labū*)<sup>8</sup>. Similarly during the twentieth dynasty Rameses iii between 1200

<sup>1</sup> In Soud. s.v. Ἀμμων ὄνομα θεοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Kuster would read Λιβυκοῦ (cp. Dionys. per. 212 with Eustath. ad loc. τέμενος Λιβυκοῦ θεοῦ, Nonn. Dion. 40. 392 Λιβυς κεκλημένος Ἀμμων, Eudok. viol. 75 Ἀμμων Λιβυκός ἐστὶ θεός κ.τ.λ., Phot. 4. 1. 103, Oxy. pap. 313), or else understand Ἑλληνικοῦ as ἐθνικοῦ, 'gentile': see G. Bernhardt ad loc. The latter is the right alternative.

<sup>2</sup> G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1862 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 137 f.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. Lepsius in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1877 xv. 8 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 9. 16. 1 (at Thebes in Boeotia) οὐ πορρω δέ ἐστι ναὸς Ἀμμωνος, καὶ τὸ ἀγάλμα ἀνέθηκε μὲν Πινδαρος, Καλάμιδος δέ ἐστιν ἔργον.

<sup>5</sup> A. Furtwangler in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1897 Philos.-philol. Classe xv. 563—565.

<sup>6</sup> Dittenberger *Syll. metr. Gr.* 2 no. 580. 14 ff., 27 ff., no. 606. 19, no. 620. 32 f.

<sup>7</sup> See H. R. Hall *The Old Testament and the History of Egypt* London 1901 p. 171 f., G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 389 ff., F. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 vi. 33 ff., J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 343 ff., W. W. How and J. Wells *A Commentary on Herodotus* Oxford 1912 i. 420 f.

<sup>8</sup> H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 172 ff., G. Maspero *op. cit.* p. 430 ff., F. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* vi. 36 f.

## Zeus of the Oasis a Graeco-Libyan god 363

and 1150 B.C. witnessed yet another attempted invasion by northerners, among whom were Philistines (*Pulusatha*), Siculo-Pelasgians? (*Zakkala*), Oaxians? (*Waašaša*), Teucrians (*Tákarai*), and Danaans (*Daànau*, *Danauna*)<sup>1</sup>. Several of these identifications are doubtful; but that Egypt was thus repeatedly exposed to a general movement of Mediterranean peoples, many of whom were forefathers of the historical Greeks, is fortunately beyond all question. Prof. Flinders Petrie would even carry back the said Graeco-Libyan league well into the third millennium B.C.<sup>2</sup> This extreme view must be left for Egyptologists to criticise. But on the strength of the ascertained facts I have elsewhere suggested that the invaders may have planted in the Oasis a cult of their sky-god Zeus, who at some later date was fused firstly with the Theban Āmen-Rā and secondly with the Punic Ba'al-ḥammān<sup>3</sup>. If so, we should expect to find that the cult of Zeus in the *Ammoníon* resembled the most archaic cults of the same god on Greek soil, e.g. that of Zeus *Náios* at Dodona. Was this actually the case?

The Zeus of the Oasis is by Nonnos termed Zeus *Asbýstes* after the Asbystai, a Libyan tribe occupying the *Hinterland* of Kyrene, and under that denomination is compared with the Zeus of Dodona:

Lo, Zeus *Asbystes*' new-found answering voice  
The thirsty sands oracular sent forth  
To the Chaonian dove<sup>4</sup>.

The same comparison of the Libyan with the Dodonaean Zeus was made some 850 years earlier by Herodotos, who not only declares that—

‘The oracular usage of Thebes in Egypt and the oracular usage of Dodona in point of fact resemble one another’<sup>5</sup>

—but also reports at first hand with every appearance of fidelity the local myths of both cult-centres:

‘This is the tale that the Egyptians tell concerning the oracles of Hellas and Libye. The priests of Zeus *Thebaíus* stated that two priestesses were

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 175 ff., G. Maspero *op. cit.* p. 459 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* vi. 37 f.

<sup>2</sup> W. M. Flinders Petrie in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 271—277. The sherds of Middle ‘Minoan’ and Late ‘Minoan’ were found by him in the Fayum (*ib.* pl. 14) are not necessarily the deposit of hostile invasions; they may surely be due to peaceful trading.

<sup>3</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 403 f., *cp. Poik.-Lore* 1904 xv. 295.

<sup>4</sup> Nonn.  *Dion.* 3. 292 ff. καὶ Διὸς Ἀσβύσταο νέην ἀντιρροπον ὁμφήν Χαονίη βοῶσσι πελειαδὶ διψαδὲς ἄμμοι | μαντιπόλοι (i.e. μαντιπόλω), *cp.* 13. 370 ff. καὶ Διὸς Ἀσβύσταο μεσημβρίοντας ἐναίλους, | μαντιπόλου κερύεντος, ὅπη ποτὶ πολλάκις Ἀμμίων | ἄρνεϊοῦ τρέλεικτον ἔχων ἰνδαλμα κεραιῆς | ὁμφαίοις στοματεσσιν ἐθέσπισεν Ἐσπερίος Ζεὺς.

<sup>5</sup> *Hdt.* 2. 58

## 364 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

carried off from Thebes by Phoenicians, that one of them—so they had heard—was sold into Libye, the other into Hellas, and that these women were the original founders of the oracles among the aforesaid peoples. When I asked them of the evidence on which this definite statement was based, they said in reply that a great hue and cry had been made by them for these women, and that they had been unable to find them, but that they had subsequently learnt about them just what they told me. The foregoing account, then, I heard from the priests at Thebes. The following is the statement made by the prophetesses at Dodona. Two black doves started to fly from Thebes in Egypt. One came to Libye, the other to Dodona, where it settled on an oak and announced with human voice that on that very spot must be established an oracle of Zeus. Deeming this a divine injunction, they had acted accordingly. They say that the dove which went to Libye bade the Libyans make an oracle of *Ammon*; and that too belongs to Zeus. This was the tale told by the priestesses of Dodona, the eldest of whom was named Promeneia, the next Tumarete, the youngest Nikandra; and the other Dodonaean dwelling about the sanctuary agreed with them<sup>1</sup>.

Herodotos, who—if any man—was acquainted with the facts, clearly believed that the cult of the Oasis and the cult of Dodona were akin. Two priestesses according to the Egyptian version, two doves according to the Greek version, had simultaneously founded the twin oracles of Zeus. This testimony on the part of one who had himself visited both Thebes and Dodona is not lightly to be set aside or explained away as a case of Aigypto-mania.

The same story with some interesting differences of detail occurs in later writers. Thus Silius Italicus in the first century of our era relates that Hannibal after the capture of Saguntum sent Bostar to enquire of *Ammon* what the issue of the war would be, and that Bostar on reaching the Oasis was welcomed by the Libyan Arisbas:

‘These shady woods and tree-tops heaven-high,  
Groves trodden by the foot of Jupiter,  
Worship with prayer, friend Bostar. All the world  
Knows of his bounty, how he sent twin doves  
To settle in mid Thebes. Whereof the one  
That winged her way to the Chaonian coasts  
Fills with her fateful coo Dodona’s oak.  
The other, wafted o’er Carpathian waves,  
With the same snowy pinions crossed to Libye  
And founded this our fane—Cythereia’s bird.  
Here, where ye see an altar and dense groves,  
She chose a ram /I tell the miracle/  
And perched betwixt the horns of his fleecy head  
Chanted her answers to Marmaric tribes.  
Then on a sudden sprang to sight a wood,

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 2. 54—55.

## Zeus of the Oasis a Graeco-Libyan god 365

A grove of ancient timber, and the oaks  
That now touch stars came from that primal day.  
Hence our forefathers feared; for lo, the tree  
Hath deity and is served with altar-flames!'

It will be noticed that Silius is not simply paraphrasing Herodotos. He makes the doves start from Thebes in Greece, not from Thebes in Egypt, as is clear from his reference to the Carpathian sea, and he adds the episode of the dove settling on the ram. The latter feature, if not the former, reappears in the learned *scholia* on Servius<sup>2</sup> and points to the existence of a non-Herodotean tradition<sup>3</sup>. Silius' statement about the ancient grove and the oak-tree with altars burning before it is of considerable moment, because—if true—it goes far towards proving the essential similarity of the Dodonaean and the Libyan cults. We cannot, I think, reject the statement on the ground of botanical improbability. Authorities both ancient and modern mention several species of oak as growing in north Africa<sup>4</sup>; and Pliny even states that in the neighbourhood of Thebes at a distance of 300 stades from the Nile was a wooded tract with springs of its own (an oasis?) producing oaks, olives, etc.<sup>5</sup>. Again, *Ammon* appears to have had a sacred grove on the shores of the Syrtis<sup>6</sup>; and various writers attest the existence in

<sup>1</sup> Sil. It. 3. 675–691. The concluding lines (688 ff.) *immo: mox subitum nemus atque annoso robore lucus; exiluit, qualesque premunt nunc sidera quercus | a prima venere die. prisco inde pavore | arbor numen habet coliturque tepentibus aus.* Cp. *ib.* 10 f. *coninger Hammon fauidico pandit vementia saecula lucos.* 666 f. *lucos nemorosaque regna coninger Iovis.*

<sup>2</sup> Interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 466 Iuppiter quondam Hebae (i.e. Thebae) thiae tribuit duas columbas humanam vocem edentes, quarum altera provolavit in Dodonae glandiferam silvam Epini, ibique consedit in arbore altissima, praecepitque ei qui tum eam succidebat, ut ab sacrata quercu ferrum sacrilegum submoveret; ibi oraculum Iovis constitutum est, in quo sunt vasa aenea, quae uno tactu universa solebant sonare. altera autem columba pervenit in Libyam, et ibi consedit super caput arietis, praecepitque ut Iovis Ammonis oraculum constitueretur.

<sup>3</sup> L. Beger *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus selectus* Coloniae Marchicae 1696 iii. 221 (Montfaucon *Antiquité Égyptienne* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 28 f. pl. 10 no. 4. Remach *R. A. Stat.* ii. 771, 8) published a bronze at Berlin, which according to him represents the dove on the head of the Ammonian ram. More probably it is a variation of the type of an eagle on a ram's head (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 494 no. 1252 fig.; Remach *op. cit.* ii. 771, 7).

<sup>4</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 32 (*parva aquifolia ilex = quercus coccifera* Lam.); *La Grande Encyclopédie* x. 1065 b, 1066 a, b (*qu. ballota* Desf., *qu. suber* Lam., *qu. Mirto* in Durica).

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 63 *cine Thebas haec, ubi et quercus et persea et oliva, etc. a Nilo stans, silvestri tractu et suis fontibus riguo.*

<sup>6</sup> Skyl. *per.* 109 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 85 Mallet) *ἐν δὲ τῇ κοινοτατῇ τῆς Συρτιδος (ἐν τῇ περὶ Φειάκων θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμμοῦνων· ἀλούς (i.e. ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμμοῦνων ἁλῶος) τῆς Συρτιδος.* The great *Ammonition* is loosely connected with the Syrtis by Lucan. 4. 673, 10. 38, Prudent. *apoth.* 443.



## 366 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

the *Ammóneion* of an oracular grove without specifying oak-trees<sup>1</sup>. Finally, Clement of Alexandria and Eusebios allude to an ancient oracular oak as worshipped amid the desert sands<sup>2</sup>. This can be none other than the oak of *Ammon*<sup>3</sup>. I conclude, therefore, that Silius' statement is not to be dismissed as a mere poetic fiction, but to be accepted as a fact.

If Zeus had an oak-cult of immemorial antiquity in the *Ammóneion*, we might reasonably expect that it would figure in the earliest traditions of the Libyan tribes. Now the Oases of the eastern Sahara were occupied in classical times by the Garamantes<sup>4</sup>, whose eponym was Garamas—also called Amphithemis—the son of Apollon by Akakallis daughter of Minos<sup>5</sup>. Of the Garamantes in general it is recorded that they were pious folk, who had a temple or temples established in their midst<sup>6</sup>; but of Garamas in particular we fortunately possess an older and more definite account. A lyrical fragment<sup>7</sup> attributed by Schneidewin to Pindar and recognised by Bergk as coming from the *Hymn to Zeus Ammon*<sup>8</sup> declares that in the beginning men sprang from Mother

<sup>1</sup> Curt. 4. 7. 20 incolae nemoris, quos Hammonios vocant, dispersi tuguris habitant: medium nemus pro arce habent, etc., *ib.* 22 est et aliud Hammonis nemus: etc., Lucan. 9. 522 ff. esse locis superos testatur silva per omnem | sola virens Libyen. solus nemus abstulit Hammon. | silvarum fons causa loco, etc., Sil. It. 1. 414 tu quoque fatidicis Garamanticus accola lucis | etc., Stat. *Theb.* 8. 201 quin et cornigeni vatis nemus atque Molossi | quercus anheia Iovis, Avien. *descr. orb. terr.* 317 mugit arenosis nemus illic denique lucis.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 11. 1 p. 10, 22 ff. Stahlin *γεράνδρον δὲ ψάμμοις ἐρήμας τετιμῆ- μένον (τετηρημένον cj. Mayor) καὶ τὸ αὐτῷ μαντεῖον αὐτῇ θρῦτὶ μεμαρασμένον μῦθοις γεγηρα- κόσι καταλείψατε* = Euseb. *praef. ev.* 2. 3. 1.

<sup>3</sup> On a double bust of Zeus *Ammon* and Sarapis (?) with oak-wreath and *kalathos* see Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 320, 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 289.

<sup>4</sup> This important piece of evidence was clearly pointed out by E. H. Toelken in his notes to H. von Minutoli *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon* Berlin 1824 p. 377, by C. J. Schmittshenker *De Jove Hammonae* Weilburgi 1840 p. 30 n. 2, and independently of them by me in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 vii 403 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 295, but it appears to have escaped the notice of all recent writers on the cult of *Ammon*.

<sup>5</sup> H. Dessau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 751 f. They hold the oracle of Zeus *Ammon* in Lucan. 9. 511 ff., Sil. It. 1. 414, 3. 10, 14. 440. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 21. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Ap. Rhod. 4. 1483 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 209, Hyg. *fab.* 14 p. 48. 21 ff. Schmidt. interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 198. Cj. Agrotas *φραγ.* 1 (*φραγ. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Muller) ap. Herodian. *περί μιν.* λέξ. p. 11, 19 ff. Dindorf.

<sup>7</sup> Agrotas *φραγ.* 4 (*φραγ. hist. Gr.* iv. 295 Muller) *ap. schol.* Ap. Rhod. 4. 1492 (*ἔστι δὲ καὶ ναὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς* scholia vulgata, *καὶ ναοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰδρύνται* cod. Paris.).

<sup>8</sup> *φραγ. adesp.* 84 Bergk<sup>4</sup> (33 Muller), 12 f. *ap.* Hippol. *ref. haeretic.* 5. 7 p. 97 Muller *φαντὶ δὲ πρωτόγονον Γαραμαντὰ | Λιβύης αἰχμηρῶν πεδίων ἀναδύντα γλυκείας Διὸς ἀπάρ- ξασθαι θαλάνοι.* This is Bergk's restoration of the MS. *Λίβης δὲ Ταρβαντα φασὶ πρωτόγονον αἰχμηρῶν ἀναδύντα πεδίω, γλυκείας ἀπάρξασθαι Διὸς θαλάνον.* Muller reverts to Schneidewin's *cj. Τάρβαντα.* But T. Zielinski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 42 n. 1 gives reasons for preferring Bergk's emendation.

<sup>9</sup> *Sueta* p. 352 f.

## Zeus of the Oasis a Graeco-Libyan god 367

Earth, though it is hard to discover who was the first of her sons. After naming in true Pindaric fashion various possible claimants our fragment proceeds:

The Libyans say that first-born Garamas  
Rose from parched plains and made his offering  
Of Zeus' sweet acorn.

May we not venture to see in these lines another confirmation of Silius' statements concerning the oaks of the Oasis?

Again, the fauna as well as the flora of the two oracular centres was alike. Birds, according to Aristophanes, were an essential feature of both<sup>1</sup>. The doves of Dodona are sufficiently notorious<sup>2</sup>. But, as we have already seen, the sister oracle in the Oasis was likewise founded by a dove from Thebes. Moreover, Semiramis is said to have learnt her destiny from *Ammon*<sup>3</sup> and to have fulfilled it by becoming a dove<sup>4</sup>. Finally, small wild doves are numerous in the Oasis nowadays<sup>5</sup>.

The institution of both oracles was also connected with a shepherd. Proxenos, a contemporary of king Pyrrhos, in his *History of Epeiros* wrote<sup>6</sup>:

‘A shepherd feeding his sheep in the marshes of Dodona stole the finest of his neighbour's flocks and kept it penned in his own fold. The story goes that the owner sought among the shepherds for the stolen sheep, and, when he could not find them, asked the god who the thief was. They say that the oak then for the first time uttered a voice and said—“The youngest of thy followers.” He put the oracle to the proof, and found them with the shepherd who had but recently begun to feed his flock in that district. Shepherds go by the name of followers. The thief was called Mandylas<sup>7</sup>. It is said that he, angered against the oak, wished to cut it down by night; but that a dove showed itself from the trunk and bade him desist from so doing. He in fear gave up the attempt and no longer laid hands on this sacred tree. The Epeirotes, however, were wroth with him for his rash deed.’ Etc.’

Similarly with regard to the Oasis Leon of Pella, a contemporary

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. *av.* 716 ἐσμέν δ' ὑμῖν Ἀμμων . Δωδώνη. Alexander the Great was guided to the oracle of *Ammon* by two or more ravens (Aristoboulos *ap.* *Atrian.* 3. 3. 6; Kallisthenes *ap.* *Plout.* 7. *Alex.* 27, Strab. 814; Diod. 17. 49, Curt. 4. 7. 15, Eustath. *in* *Dionys.* *per* 211).

<sup>2</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 185 f.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. 2. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 2. 30.

<sup>5</sup> G. Rohlf's *Von Tripolis nach Alexandria*<sup>2</sup> Bremen 1882 ii. 115 ff., 121 mentions that the Fountain of the Sun is known locally as *Am el hammam*, which he renders ‘the Doves' Bath.’ But this appears to be a mistranslation: *infra* p. 382.

<sup>6</sup> Proxenos *Epirotica frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 462 Muller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 14. 327.

<sup>7</sup> Μανδύλας (Q. Μαρδύλας V. Μανδρέλας c). C. Muller.

<sup>8</sup> The concluding sentence ὅθεν καὶ λαβόντας δίκην ταύτην εἰσπράσασθαι τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομονῆς (ἐπιμονῆς cod. Baines.) τὸν μαντιν προάγει stands in need of emendation.

## 368 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

of Alexander the Great, in his treatise *On the gods of Egypt* observed<sup>1</sup>:

‘When Dionysos ruled over Egypt and all its borders and was said to have been the original inventor of everything, a certain Hammon came from Africa and brought him a vast flock of sheep, partly to secure his favour and partly to win the credit of having invented something himself. In return for this present Dionysos is said to have granted him a domain over against the Egyptian Thebes: and those who make effigies of Hammon furnish him with a horned head in order that men may remember how he was the first to discover sheep.’ Etc.

It was probably this Hellenistic romance which led Pausanias to remark: ‘*Ammon* derived his name from the shepherd who founded the sanctuary.’ Nor must we forget the tradition noticed above which makes the foundress dove settle on the head of a ram<sup>2</sup>.

Both sites possessed a miraculous spring. Pliny observes:

‘At Dodona the spring of Zeus is cold and puts out torches that are plunged in it, but kindles such as are put out and brought near to it. It always fails at midday, wherefore they call it the Resting Water; but it soon increases till it is full at midnight, from which time onwards it again gradually fails<sup>3</sup>. . . . The pool of Zeus *Hammon*, cold by day, is hot by night<sup>4</sup>.’

Many other writers from Herodotos to Eustathios describe this pool as ‘the Fountain of the Sun’ and assert that throughout the morning it grows cooler and cooler till at midday it is quite cold, but that as the day declines it gains in warmth becoming tepid at sundown and fairly bubbling with heat at midnight<sup>5</sup>. The current explanation of the phenomenon was that by night the sun went below the earth and there boiled the water—a view which Lucretius is at pains to disprove<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Leon *περὶ τῶν κατ’ Αἰγυπτίον θεῶν frag. 6* (*Frags. hist. Gr.* n. 332 Muller) *ap. Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 20. The sequel is quoted *infra* p. 373 n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 4. 23. 10. So in Byzantine times Eudok. *zool.* 75. Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 211.

<sup>3</sup> Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 166 f. suggested rather vaguely that the ram-symbolism properly belonging to some old Greek cult led to the confusion of a Greek with an Egyptian ram-god. It is by no means unlikely that the ram was sacred to a Graeco-Egyptian Zeus before this god came to be identified with Amen-Ra. But the indications recorded in the text do not suffice to prove it.

<sup>4</sup> So Mela 2. 43. Solin. 7. 2. Aug. *d. civ. Dei* 21. 5. Methodios *ap. e. mag.* p. 98. 22 ff. Cp. Ov. *met.* 15. 311 f. The interp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 466 states that the spring flowed from the roots of a huge oak and itself gave oracles by means of its murmuring sound.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 228. Cp. 5. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Hdt. 4. 181. Lucr. 6. 848 ff. Ov. *met.* 15. 308 ff. Diod. 17. 50. Val. Max. 8. 15. 3 *et.* Curt. 4. 7. 22. Mela 1. 39. Sil. It. 3. 669 ff. Arrian. 3. 4. 2. Solin. 27. 45. Aug. *d. civ. Dei* 21. 5. Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 211. Cp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 4. 196 *locum quendam in quo arces terram pede suo scalpsit, e quo locus fons manavit.*

<sup>7</sup> Lucr. *loc. cit.*

## Zeus of the Oasis a Graeco-Libyan god 369

In short, it appears that the whole apparatus of the oracle at Dodona—its grove, its oak of special sanctity, its doves, its holy well—was to be matched in the Oasis of *Ammon*. Strabon adds that both oracles gave their responses in the self-same manner, 'not by means of words, but by certain tokens' such as the flight of doves<sup>1</sup>.

Nor was the character of Zeus himself different at the two cult-centres. Zeus *Náios* of Dodona was essentially a god 'of Streaming Water': the oracular spring—we are told—burst from the very roots of his famous oak<sup>2</sup>. So with Zeus *Ammon*. The close connexion between his cult and water comes out clearly in Diodoros' description of the Oasis<sup>3</sup>:

'The Ammonians dwell in villages, but have in the midst of their territory an *akrópolis* secured by a threefold wall. Its first rampart encloses a palace of the ancient rulers; the second, the womens' court, the apartments of the children, wives, and kinsfolk<sup>4</sup>, together with guard-houses, and besides the precinct of the god and the sacred spring, which is used to purify all that is offered to him: the third includes the quarters of the king's body-guard and their guard-houses. Outside the *akrópolis* at no great distance is built a second temple of *Ammon* shaded by many large trees. Near this temple is a fountain, which on account of its peculiar character is called the Fountain of the Sun.' Etc.

The same association of the desert-god with water occurs in a tale for which our earliest authority is Hermippos the pupil of Kallimachos (c. 250 B.C.)<sup>5</sup>. When Dionysos in the course of his

<sup>1</sup> Strab. 329 *μαρ.* 1 οὐ διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τινων συμβόλων, cp. 814 οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Βραγχιδαῖς τὰς ἀποθεσπίσεις διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νεύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ πλεον, ὡς καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ ἥ καὶ λυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεύσε Κρονίων. To the same effect Eudok. *ῥιολ.* 75 οὐ πινος αἱ μαντεῖαι διὰ συμβόλων γίνονται, ἤτοι διὰ σχημάτων τινῶν καὶ κατανείσεων καὶ ἀνανείσεων = Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 211. See also Hdt. 2. 58 cited *supra* p. 363.

Yet Zeus *Náios* and Zeus *Ammon* both gave oracles in verse. For those of the former see Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 175 f.; for those of the latter, Cougny *ib.* 6. 179 and G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1862 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. *Il.* 16. 233 ὁ δὲ Δωδωναῖος καὶ Náios ὑδροπλά γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία. Cp. *Náia* a spring at Teuthrone in Lakonike (Paus. 3. 25. 4). Other cognates are *νάω*, *ράμα*, *ναμρός*, *ναρός*, *Νηπειος*, *Νηιάς*, etc. (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 230 f., *Priellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* 2 p. 306 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 415). See further *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 178 f. and O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 368 n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. 17. 50. This and the parallel passage in Curt. 4. 7. 20—22 are derived from the same source, presumably Kallisthenes.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. *loc. cit.* σπγγυρῶν: Curt. *loc. cit.* pellicibus. Curtius has again (*supra* p. 355) preserved a detail dropped by Diodoros.

<sup>6</sup> Hermippos *ap. Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 20. Nigidius *ap. schol. Caes. Germ. Aratea* p. 401, 6 ff. Eyssenhautt. *Amp.* 2. Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3. 476. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 4. 196, schol. Lucan. 4. 672.

## 370 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

triumphal progress came into Africa, he was overtaken by thirst in the desert and like to perish with all his host. A ram appeared to them in their extremity and having led them safely to a plentiful pool in the Oasis there vanished<sup>1</sup>. Dionysos founded on the spot a temple of Zeus *Ammon*, and set the helpful ram among the stars, ordaining that when the sun was in Aries all things should revive with the fresh life of spring. In this connexion it should be observed that from Berytos in the east to Pompeii in the west *Ammon*-masks were used as fountain-mouths<sup>2</sup>.

Finally, as Zeus *Náios* was paired with Dione, so Zeus *Ammon* had a female partner worshipped at Olympia as Hera *Ammonia*<sup>3</sup> and associated with him on certain extant gems (fig. 278)<sup>4</sup>. Or, if



Fig. 278.

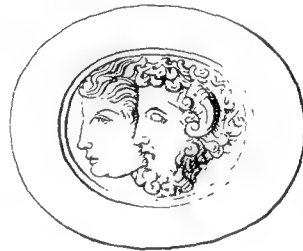


Fig. 279.

it be urged that the original consort of Zeus at Dodona was Ge rather than Dione<sup>5</sup>, I would point to the fact that in the Libyan Oasis too we have found a tradition of Mother Earth<sup>6</sup>—a tradition the more noteworthy because in purely Egyptian religion the earth-deity was not a goddess, but a god.

The conclusion to which the evidence here adduced appears to

<sup>1</sup> The ram was presumably Zeus himself in animal form. Another late aetiological tale told how the gods, when attacked by Typhoeus, fled in a panic to Egypt and disguised themselves as animals, Zeus becoming a ram, etc. (Ov. *met.* 5. 327 f.; Laert. *Plac. narr. fab.* 5. 5. *Myth. Vat.* 1. 86, cp. Apollod. 1. 6. 3, Diod. 1. 86, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 72, Loukian. *de sacrif.* 14, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 28).

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4535 (Berytos) = Congny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 317, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 277, 285.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 5. 15. 11 with J. G. Frazer's n. *ad loc.* (iii. 584). On the association of Zeus with Hera at Thebes in Egypt see *supra* p. 348 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> I figure a garnet in the Berlin collection: the original is inscribed ΑΙΣΑ in careless lettering (Furtwangler *Geschicht. Steine Berlin* p. 73 no. 1121 pl. 14, Müller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 40 pl. 5, 65 omitting *inscr.*, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 301 Gemmentaf. 4, 13). Cp. also a prase at Florence (fig. 279), on which the female head has no *stephane* and is rather Dionysiac in character (Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 301 Gemmentaf. 4, 11). The existence of double busts representing Zeus *Ammon* and Hera *Ammonia* is more problematic (*id. ib.* p. 288 f.).

<sup>5</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 179 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 366 f.

point is that the cult of Zeus in the Oasis was, as Herodotos declared, really akin to the cult of Zeus at Dodona. I submit that it was a relic of an early Graeco-Libyan occupation of north Africa<sup>1</sup>.

## (η) The youthful *Ámmon*.

On gold, silver (figs. 280—283), and copper coins of Kyrene struck c. 431—285 B.C. we have not only a bearded but also a beardless



Fig. 280.



Fig. 281.



Fig. 282.



Fig. 283.



Fig. 284.



Fig. 285.

type of *Ámmon*<sup>2</sup>. The same mature and youthful heads with a downward-curving ram's-horn appear on electrum *hektaí* of Lesbos c. 440—350 B.C.<sup>3</sup>, on coppers of Aphytis c. 424—358 B.C.<sup>4</sup>, on silver

<sup>1</sup> The myth of Danaos and the Danaides belongs to the same Graeco-Libyan stratum (*infra* ch. II § 9 (d) II (a)). Diod. 17. 50 states that the precinct of Zeus *Ámmon* was founded by Danaos (τὸ μὲν οὖν τέμενος φασὶν ἰδρύσασθαι Δαναὸν τὸν Αἰγυπτίον).

<sup>2</sup> Bearded: Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 53 pl. 26, 44 (=my fig. 280), *id. Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 865, 869 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 570 pl. 92, 71, 572, 574 pl. 92, 16. Fig. 281 is from a specimen in the McClean collection, fig. 282 from another in the Leake collection, at Cambridge (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 African Greece p. 2).

Beardless: Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 69 pl. 35, 40 (=my fig. 283), *id. Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 865, 869, 871 fig. 388, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 569 ff. pl. 92, 6, 10—12.

<sup>3</sup> Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 161 pl. 32, 26, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* II. 2. 1219 f. pl. 160, 15.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 167 pl. 34, 21 f., *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* II. 2. 1227 f. pl. 161, 30 f., Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 210, 559.

All these heads have in front a curious set of upstanding curls (?), perhaps derived from an Egyptian head-dress misunderstood (cp. the coin of Kyrene discussed by L. Muller *Numismatique de l'Antienne Afrique* Copenhagen 1860 I. 85, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 295 Munzaf. 4, 16).

<sup>4</sup> Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 61, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 297 Munzaf. 4, 20 f.

Beardless: Monnet *Descr. de med. ant.* Suppl. III. 47 no. 319, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 210.

## 372 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

(figs. 284, 285) and copper coins of Tenos from the fourth to the second century B.C.<sup>1</sup>, and on coppers of Mytilene in the second and first centuries B.C.<sup>2</sup> Similarly in the west on silver coins of Metapontum *c.* 400—350 B.C. both types occur (fig. 286)<sup>3</sup>, and on silver coins of Nuceria Alfaterna after *c.* 308 B.C. the younger without the older head<sup>4</sup>.



Fig. 286.

The identification of this youthful figure is a matter of some difficulty. The general trend of fourth-century religious art is doubtless towards juvenile forms. But the usual succession of bearded and beardless types hardly accounts for the simultaneous recognition of a senior with a junior *Ammon*. The latter must be either a different god from the former, or at least a distinct phase of his personality. Among names suggested are *Aristaios*<sup>5</sup> and *Apollon Karneios*<sup>6</sup>. *Aristaios* was worshipped as Zeus in Arkadia<sup>7</sup> and bears a name which appears to have been a cult-title of Zeus<sup>8</sup>, he was also an important figure in the mythological history of Kyrene<sup>9</sup>, and he not improbably passed for a shepherd-god<sup>10</sup>. But we have not the least

<sup>1</sup> Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. pp. 127, 129, 131 pl. 28, 10—15, 29, 2 f., 11, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 297 Munztaf. 4, 22. Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 492 f.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 128 ff. pl. 28, 16—20, 29, 1, 8 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* n. 212 f. pl. 44, 4 f., Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 493.

<sup>2</sup> Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 194 ff. pl. 38, 14, 16, 18, *Hunter Cat. Coins* n. 317, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 562.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 193 f. pl. 38, 9—12, *Hunter Cat. Coins* n. 316, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 562.

<sup>3</sup> Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 258, Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 81 pl. 153, 96—98, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 138 pl. 104, 24.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 258, *Hunter Cat. Coins* 1. 91, Carelli *op. cit.* p. 81 pl. 153, 99—103, Garrucci *op. cit.* p. 138 pl. 104, 13, 25—27. The specimen illustrated (fig. 286) is in the British Museum and shows a ram's ear as well as a ram's horn.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 121, *Hunter Cat. Coins* 1. 45 pl. 3, 15, Carelli *op. cit.* p. 311, pl. 86, 1—5, Garrucci p. 97 pl. 90, 1—3.

<sup>5</sup> Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 865 Kyrene ('perhaps *Aristaios*').

<sup>6</sup> Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 77 Metapontum ('possibly *Apollo Karneios*').

<sup>7</sup> Interp. Serv. in Verg. *georg.* 1. 14 hunc opinionem Pindarus [*frag.* 251 (*Poet. lyr. Gr.* 1. 461 Beagk<sup>3</sup>)] refragatur, qui eum ait de Caeta insula in Arcadiam migrasse, ibique vitam coluisse, nam apud Arcadas pro Iove colitur, quod pinus ostendit, quater apes debcant repant. See further Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Dkalt.* p. 251 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Pind. *lyrk.* 9. 112 ff. Ζῶνα καὶ ἄγρον Ἀπόλλων' | ἀνδρῶσι χάρις φιλῶσι, ἀγχοῖστον ὁπάων μῆλων, | Ἀγρία καὶ Νόμιον, | τοῖς δ' Ἀρισταῖον καλεῖν with schol. αὐτὸν ἱστέον ὅτι τὸν Ἀρισταῖον διὰ τὸ τὴν κτηνοτροφίαν καὶ κυνηγίαν ἐνρηκέναι Ἀγρία καὶ Νόμιον, Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα προσηγόμενον. F. Hiller von Gärtringen in Pauly *Wissowa Real-Enc.* II. 856 says: 'Die Wortstellung ist chiastisch. Ἀγριος und Νομιος sind Beinamen des Apollon. [Aristaios] des Zeus.'

<sup>9</sup> L. Mullen *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* II. 8 ὁπάων μῆλων. F. Studniczka *Kyrene* Leipzig 1890 p. 105 f. translates

reason to suppose that he was himself ever regarded as a ram or represented with ram's horns. There is more to be said for the proposed identification of the youthful horned head with that of Apollon *Karneios*. This deity too was worshipped as Zeus at Argos<sup>1</sup>; moreover, he was essentially a ram-god<sup>2</sup>, and one who, as we have already seen<sup>3</sup>, was associated at Gythion with Zeus *Ammon*. Nevertheless a comparison of the towns issuing coins of the youthful *Ammon* type<sup>4</sup> with the known cult-centres of Apollon *Karneios*<sup>5</sup> is disappointing. Kyrene is the only name common to the two lists.

L. Muller in his great work on the coinage of north Africa was the first to set this question on a more satisfactory basis by adducing the available literary evidence<sup>6</sup>. He pointed out that Zeus *Ammon* was connected with Dionysos, partly by certain tales recorded above—how the former brought sheep to the latter<sup>7</sup>, how the latter founded the temple of the former<sup>8</sup>—but partly also by the definite belief that Dionysos was the son of *Ammon* and horned like his father<sup>9</sup>. Hence L. Muller<sup>10</sup> and subsequently L. Stephani<sup>11</sup> did not hesitate to identify the youthful *Ammon* of the coins with the Libyan Dionysos<sup>12</sup>. By way of confirmation they note that on the coins of Aphytis, Tenos, and Mytilene the reverse type is

the *οἰοπόλος δαίμων* of Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 49 f. as 'a sheep-pasturing god' and identifies him with Aristaios. Welcker *Gr. Gotterl.* i. 489 cites from J. R. Pacho *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaïque*, etc. Paris 1827—1829 pl. 51 a Cyrenaic tomb-painting, which shows Aristaios with a ram on his back, a *pedum* in his hand, surrounded by sheep and encircled by fish.

<sup>1</sup> Theopomp. *frag.* 171 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 307) *ap. schol. vet. Theokr.* 5. 83 *ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν* (*sc. Κάριον Ἀπόλλωνα*) *καὶ Δία καὶ Ἡγήτορα καλοῦσιν Ἀργεῖοι, διὰ τὸ κάλειναί ἡγήσασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ*. Perhaps, however, Theopompus merely meant that at Argos Apollon bore the title *Ἀγῆτωρ* (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 41) as Zeus did at Sparta (Wide *Lakon. Kultur* pp. 1, 13).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 351 n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 371 f.

<sup>5</sup> K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 55 f.

<sup>6</sup> L. Muller *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique* Copenhagen 1860 i. 101 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 367 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 369 f.

<sup>9</sup> Diod. 3. 73 *εἰσι δ' οἱ μυθολογούντες αὐτῷ* (*sc. τῷ Ἀμμωνί*) *πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γενέσθαι καθ' ἐκάτερον μέρος τῶν κροτάφων κεράτια· διὸ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, νῦν αὐτοῦ γεγονότα, τὴν ὁμοίαν ἔχειν πρόσοψιν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων παραδεδῶσθαι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον γεγονότα κεράτιαν*. Cp. Leon *περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῶν frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 332 Muller) *ap. Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 20 *qui autem Libero factum voluerunt adsignare, quod non petierit ab Hammone, sed ultro ad eum sit adductum, simulacra illa cornuta faciunt et arietem memoriae causa inter sidera fixum dicunt*. The context is given *supra* p. 368.

<sup>10</sup> L. Muller *loc. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1862 p. 76 ff.

<sup>12</sup> The first to suggest Dionysos was Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.* iv. 118; and his suggestion has been widely accepted (see L. Muller *op. cit.* i. 102 f.).



## 374 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

commonly Dionysiac—a *kántharos*, a bunch of grapes, a herm of Dionysos. But this is an argument on which it is easy to lay too much stress.

Stephani further drew attention to a series of double busts which combine the head of *Ammon* with that of a more or less certain Dionysos<sup>1</sup>. Sometimes a bearded head with ram's horns is joined to a bearded and hornless head<sup>2</sup>. Where the latter is wreathed with vine-leaves<sup>3</sup> or ivy-leaves<sup>4</sup>, it undoubtedly represents Dionysos. Where the wreath is absent<sup>5</sup>, we cannot feel the same assurance. Again, a bearded head with ram's horns is joined to a beardless head with short bovine horns<sup>6</sup>. Here opinion is divided, some supposing that *Ammon* is combined with a semi-bovine Dionysos<sup>7</sup>, others that he is linked to a second water-god, the Libyan Triton<sup>8</sup>. Exceptional is a double bust in the Vatican, which yokes two youthful heads, one having ram's horns and a slight beard, the other small bovine horns<sup>9</sup>. Stephani concludes that the artist wished to unite the Libyan with the Greek Dionysos<sup>10</sup>; Overbeck, that the head with ram's horns is more probably a portrait in the guise of *Ammon*<sup>11</sup>. Another isolated example is a double herm of *Ammon* and a satyr at Berlin, surmounted by a capital in the form of a *kálathos*<sup>12</sup>. On the whole, a survey of these double busts makes it clear that *Ammon* stood in close relation to the Dionysiac circle.

Finally, Stephani published an Apulian bell-*kratér* at Saint

<sup>1</sup> L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 77 f.

<sup>2</sup> (1) Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 657 no. 523 pl. 70. (2) *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 49, E. Braun in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 186 ff pl. I. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 285 f. Atlas pl. 3, 11. (3) S. Maffei *Museum Veronense* Verona 1749 p. 93 no. 3. (4) *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1792 viii. (Le Lucerne ed i Candelabri d' Ercolano) 313 pl. 70, Roux-Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* vii Bronzes 3. Scene p. 4 f. pl. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Amelung *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Maffei *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.*, *Ann. d. Inst.*, Overbeck *loc. cit.* In *Antichità di Ercolano*, Roux-Barré *loc. cit.* the head of *Ammon* has a wreath of ivy and flowers, the other head a chadon.

<sup>6</sup> (1) Visconti *Mus. Pio-Clem.* v pl. A. 3. (2) Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 287 f. no. 37. (3) *Id. ib.* p. 288 no. 38 Atlas pl. 3, 12. (4) *Id. ib.* p. 288 no. 39. (5) *Id. ib.* p. 288 no. 40.

<sup>7</sup> So e.g. J. de Witte in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858 xxx. 82, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> So e.g. K. Büttcher *Vortrag zum Vorschuss der Bildhauerkunst in Berlin* 1867 no. 985 ff., especially no. 988.

<sup>9</sup> E. Pistolesi—C. Guella *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* Roma 1829—1838 vi pl. 103, E. Planer—C. Bunsen—E. Gerhard—W. Rostell *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* Stuttgart und Tübingen 1834 ii. 2. 281 no. 33, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 289 f.

<sup>10</sup> L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 77 f.

<sup>11</sup> Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 289 f., quoting Pistolesi's interpretation 'Lismaco.'

<sup>12</sup> Overbeck *ib.* p. 288.

Petersburg, on which is a scene of considerable interest (fig. 287)<sup>1</sup>. A youthful god with ram's horns stands leaning on a pillar, a bay-branch in his left hand. He is conversing with a matronly female figure seated before him. Behind him Pan with goat's horns holds a larger branch of bay with leaves and berries. He is balanced by a second female figure raising a *phiale*. The sanctity of the place is shown by the *bucranium* and fillet hung in the background, by the incense-burner visible between the two principal persons, and perhaps by the sprigs of bay etc. in the foreground. Stephani, followed by S. Reinach, suggests that we have here the horned Dionysos of Libye<sup>2</sup> promising pardon



Fig. 287.

<sup>1</sup> Stephani *Vasensamm.* St. Petersburg i. 380 ff. no. 880, *Compte-rendu St. Pet.* 1862 p. 79 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 2 and 3. Remach *Rep. Vases* i. 13. 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> This identification is confirmed by an unpublished Apulian jug at St. Petersburg (Stephani *Vasensamm.* St. Petersburg ii. 28 f. no. 1119, though F. Wieseler in the *Nachr. d. kon. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1892 p. 226 f. says Apollon *Karnaios*), which represents a definitely Dionysiac scene. In the centre sits a young man (Dionysos) with ram's horns, originally painted yellow, on his head: he wears an upper garment, which has slipped on to his lap, and yellow shoes. In his right hand he holds a cup, in his left a lyre, both partly yellow. Before him stands a woman (Ariadne?) in *chiton* and *himation*, who offers him a bunch of grapes with her left hand, a white wreath with her right: her arm-bands and necklaces are yellow. Behind Dionysos stands a second woman leaning on a pillar, which is yellow in part. She wears a *chiton*, a small fluttering garment, shoes, arm-bands and necklaces, and holds in her right hand an *albástron* (?). At her back is a fillet: and in the field are four partly yellow rosettes.

## 376 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

to Rhea<sup>1</sup>. If so, the scene is presumably laid in the *Ammonéion*. The bay-branches suggest that the Apulian artist based his conception of this far off spot on the more familiar oracle of the Delphic Apollon. But it may be remarked that the elder *Ammon* wears a bay-wreath on coins of Kyrene, Tenos, and Metapontum, as does his younger counterpart on coins of Metapontum and Tenos. We are not, therefore, forced to assume a confusion or contamination of cults.

In view of the foregoing evidence it would, I think, be unsafe to conclude that the connexion between Zeus *Ammon* and Dionysos was essentially late. Herodotos<sup>2</sup> states that at Meroe, where Zeus (*Ammon*<sup>3</sup>) had an oracle, the only gods worshipped were Zeus and Dionysos. And the coins at least suffice to prove the existence of a youthful *Ammon* as early as the fifth century B.C.

### (θ) The Oasis of Siwah.

The last glimpse that we get of the *Ammonéion* in classical times is a sad one. Athanasios states that in 356 A.D. many elderly bishops of the Egyptian church were driven out by Georgios the Arian persecutor; those from Libya were banished to the Great Oasis, those from the Thebaid to the Ammonian district<sup>4</sup>. After this, darkness descends and shuts out the view.

From the fourth to the eighteenth century we know nothing of the *Ammonéion* beyond a few casual and partly fantastic references

<sup>1</sup> According to the romantic version of Diod. 3, 71—73, Rhea and Kronos took with them the Titans and attacked *Ammon*, who thereupon fled to Crete and, having married Krete the daughter of one of the reigning Kouretes, became lord of the district. Meantime Kronos and Rhea had usurped the realm of *Ammon*. But Dionysos, helped by the Amazons and Athena, vanquished the Titans and reinstated his father. He took the usurpers captive, but promised them forgiveness and exhorted them to be reconciled with him. Rhea loyally accepted his overtures: Kronos was insincere. After this, Dionysos founded the oracle of *Ammon*, and made the child Zeus king of Egypt. Etc., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. 2, 29. We must, however, remember that Dionysos may mean Osiris (*id.* 2, 42, 144).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Hdt. 2, 42 'Αροῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτῳ καλέουσι τὸν Δία. Plin. *nat. hist.* 6, 186 (of Meroe) delubrum Hammionis et ibi religiosum et toto tractu sacella.

<sup>4</sup> Athanas. *ad imp. Const. apol.* 32 (i. 316 f. ed. Bened.) οἱ δὲ θαναστοὶ πλέον τι τῆς σῆς προστάξεως τολμώντες ὑπὲρ τρεῖς ἐπαρχίας εἰς ἐρήμους καὶ ἀήθεις καὶ φοβεροὺς τοποὺς ἐξώρισαν γέροντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐπισκόπους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπο τῆς Λιβύης εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Ὀάσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεβαΐδος εἰς τὴν Ἀμμωνιακὴν τῆς Λιβύης ἀπεστάλησαν, *hist. Arian. ad Monachos* 72 (i. 387 ed. Bened.) καὶ ἐξώρισαν μὲν ἐπισκόπους γηράσαντας ἐν τῷ κληρῷ καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, Ἀμμώνιον μὲν καὶ Ἑρμῆν καὶ Ἀνάγαμφον καὶ Μάρκον εἰς τὴν ἀνω Ὀάσιν, Μοῦν δὲ καὶ Ψενόσιριν καὶ Νειλάμμωνα καὶ Παλῆην καὶ Μάρκον καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον εἰς τὴν Ἀμμωνιακὴν, δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἵνα διὰ τῶν ἐρήμων διερχόμενοι τελευτήσωσι, *cp. apol. de fide sua* 6 f., Sokk. *hist. eccl.* 2, 28, Theodoret. *eccl. hist.* 2, 14.

in Arabic geographers<sup>1</sup> The Arabs obtained possession of Egypt and presumably of the Oases also in the seventh century. A certain king Kofthim—we are told—built two towns in remote Oases and equipped them with palaces, fountains, pools, brazen pillars and magic idols: the traveller who set eyes upon the idols stood rooted to the spot until he died, unless one of the natives released him by blowing in his face<sup>2</sup>. Another king Ssa, son of Assad, established a town in a distant Oasis (probably that of *Ammon*), which was attacked in 708 A.D. by Musa, son of Nosseir. Musa marched his troops for seven days through the desert, but found the town protected by walls and gates of brass. He made a futile attempt to take it, and was forced to retire with heavy losses<sup>3</sup>. In 943—944 A.D. the king of the Oases was Abdelmelik Ben Meruan, of the Lewatah tribe, who had several thousand riders under his command. Seven years later the king of the Nubians came, explored the Oases, and carried off many prisoners. The devastation must have been great: for Edrisi, the *Geographus Nubiensis*, says that in his day (*s. xii*) the small Oases had no inhabitants, though water, trees, and ruined buildings were still to be seen<sup>4</sup>. It was otherwise with the Oasis of Santariah or Siwah, which in Edrisi's time was occupied by Mohammedans with a resident *Imam*<sup>5</sup>. Abulfeda (1273—1331 A.D.) describes the Oases with their palm-groves and springs as islands in the sand<sup>6</sup>. Makrisi (1364—1441 A.D.) has more to say:

'The town Santariah forms part of the Oases and was built by Minakiush, one of the old Coptic Kings, founder of the town Achmim.... He built it (Santariah) in the form of a square of white stone. In each wall there was a gate, from which a street led to the opposite wall. Each of these streets had gates right and left, leading to streets that traversed the town. In the middle of the town was a circus surrounded by seven rows of steps and crowned by a cupola of laquered wood resting on costly marble columns. In the middle of the circus rose a marble tower supporting a statue of black granite, which every day turned on its axis, following precisely the course of the sun. Under the dome on every side figures were suspended, which whistled and spoke in diverse languages. On the highest step of the circus the king took his place, and beside him his sons, his kinstolk, and the princes. On the second step sat the high priests and the viziers; on the third, the commanders of the army; on

<sup>1</sup> These were collected by Langlès 'Memoire sur les oases d'après les auteurs arabes' in F. C. Hornemann *Voyages dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique* Paris 1802 Appendice no. 2, and are conveniently summarised by G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1862 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 172 f.

<sup>2</sup> Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 364, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 368, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 350, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 398, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> Abulfeda *descr. Aeg.* p. 4 Michaelis, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

## 378 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

the fourth, philosophers, astronomers, physicians, and masters of learning : on the fifth, builders ; on the sixth, foremen of guilds ; and lastly on the seventh, the bulk of the commoners. Each class was bidden "to look upon those only that were below it, not those that were above it, for they would never be on an equality with their betters." This rule was an education in itself. The wife of Minakiush slew him with a knife : so he died after a reign of sixty years<sup>1</sup>.

Makrisi further tells at third hand how the officer of a certain *Emir* saw in the country of the Oases an orange-tree, which every year bore 14,000 ripe fruit<sup>2</sup>. The Oasis of Santariah or Siwah was in his own day inhabited by 600 Berbers, who spoke a dialect akin to Zialah or Zenatah and suffered much from fevers and evil spirits<sup>3</sup>. Leo Africanus (c. 1517 A.D.) speaks of the Oases as a district situated to the west of Egypt in the Libyan desert. The district comprised three fortresses, numerous houses, fruitful fields and dates in great abundance. Its inhabitants were almost wholly black, very rich, and remarkably avaricious<sup>4</sup>.

The first European to reach the Oasis of Siwah in modern times and to recognise in it the long-lost *Ammônion* was the English traveller W. G. Browne, who left Alexandria with a caravan of Arab traders on February 24, 1792, and, following much the same route as Alexander the Great, entered Siwah on March 9. Here he stayed four days, making geographical, ethnographical, and archaeological notes<sup>5</sup>. A few years later came the German F. C. Hornemann, who, obtaining a permit from General Bonaparte then in Egypt, joined a large company of pilgrims returning from Mecca *via* Cairo to the west of Africa and spent eight days in Siwah, September 22—29, 1798. His observations confirmed those of Browne<sup>6</sup>. The French were next in the field. The incautious and ill-starred engineer Boutin or Butin towards the middle of 1819<sup>7</sup>, and the more careful and successful traveller Cailliaud at

<sup>1</sup> G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Ammonion* c. Bielefeld und Leipzig 1904 p. 79 f.

<sup>2</sup> Langles *op. cit.* n. 390. Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Langles *op. cit.* n. 384. Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Langles *op. cit.* n. 354. Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173. Wansleben, who visited Egypt in 1664, 1672, and 1673 A.D., praised the dates of Sila as the best (S. Ideler in the *Fundgruben des Orants* Wien 1814 iv. 401, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173).

<sup>5</sup> W. G. Browne *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798* London 1799. There is also a German translation (Leipzig und Gera 1800).

<sup>6</sup> *Fr. Hornemanns Tagebuch seiner Reise von Cairo nach Marzai, der Hauptstadt des Königreichs Fessan in Afrika im Jahr 1797 und 1798*, aus der deutschen Handschrift desselben herausgegeben von Carl König, Weimar 1802. Hornemann himself, having been commissioned to explore north Africa by the London Association for promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, continued his route westwards from Siwah and never returned home. But his letters were forwarded to England by Bonaparte. The minute-book of the African Association containing an account of them formed part of the Leake collection and is now preserved at Cambridge.

<sup>7</sup> Parthey *op. cit.* p. 177. Boutin took with him a portable boat, in which to navigate

its close<sup>1</sup>, both reached their distant goal. Others followed suit, among whom may be specially mentioned the Prussian general H. von Minutoli and his party (1820)<sup>2</sup>, the Englishmen G. A. Hoskins (1835)<sup>3</sup> and Bayle St John (1847)<sup>4</sup>, the Scot J. Hamilton (1853)<sup>5</sup>, and the German G. Rohlfs (1869, 1874)<sup>6</sup>. But the journey even now-a-days is seldom undertaken<sup>7</sup>: the desert is a serious deterrent<sup>8</sup>, and the inhabitants have no great love for strangers<sup>9</sup>.

the mysterious Lake Aïahieh; but the inhabitants of Siwah burnt his boat, and did their best to rob and murder the explorer—a fate that ultimately overtook him in the mountains of Syria.

<sup>1</sup> F. Cailhau *Voyage à Maroc, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fâzogl dans le midi du Royaume de Sennâr, à Syouah et dans cinq autres Oases, fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822* Paris 1826 i. 86—122. Cp. Jomard *Voyage à l'Oasis du Syouah, d'après les matériaux recueillis par M. le chevalier Drovetti et par M. Frédéric Cailhau, pendant leurs voyages dans cette Oasis, en 1819 et en 1821* Paris 1823.

<sup>2</sup> H. von Minutoli *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon in der libyschen Wüste und nach Ober-Aegypten in den Jahren 1820 und 1821*, herausgegeben von Dr E. H. Toelken, Berlin 1824, with an Atlas of 38 plates and a map.

<sup>3</sup> G. A. Hoskins *Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert* London 1837.

<sup>4</sup> Bayle St John *Adventures in the Libyan Desert and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1849.

<sup>5</sup> J. Hamilton *Wanderings in North-Africa* London 1856.

<sup>6</sup> G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*<sup>1</sup> Bremen 1871 <sup>2</sup>Bremen 1881 <sup>3</sup>Norden 1885 in two vols., 1. *Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste* Cassel 1875, W. Jordan *Physische Geographie und Meteorologie der libyschen Wüste, nach Beobachtungen, ausgeführt im Winter 1873/74 auf der Rohlfs'schen Expedition*, Cassel 1876.

<sup>7</sup> L. Robecchi-Bucchetti (1886) 'Notizie sull' oasi di Siwah' in the *Archivio per Antropologia e la Etnologia* 1887 xvii. id. 'Un' Escursione attraverso il deserto Libico all' Oasi di Siwa 1886' in the *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 3. Série. 2. 1889 pp. 388—396, 468—488 (cp. *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie* 3. Série. 1888—89 pp. 83—118), id. *All' oasi di Giove Ammon, viaggio* Milan 1900.

H. Burchardt (1893) 'Über den Besuch der Oase Siwah im Februar d. J.' in the *Verhandl. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* xx. 387 f.

W. Jennings-Bramley (1896) 'A Journey to Siwa in September and October 1896' in the *Geographical Journal* London 1897 x. 597—608.

C. von Grünau (1898) 'Bericht über meine Reise nach Siwah' in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 1899 xxxiv. 271—280. Cp. the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 515.

A. Silva White (1898) *From Sphinx to Oracle. Through the Libyan Desert to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1899.

G. Stenardt (1899—1900) 'Vorläufiger Bericht über seine im Winter 1899/1900 nach der Oase Siwa und nach Nubien unternommenen Reisen' in the *Ber. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-Hist. Classe 1900 pp. 209—239, id. 'Eine archaologische Reise durch die Libysche Wüste zur Ammonsoase Siwa' in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteilungen* 1904 Heft viii with a map by Dr B. Hassenstein, id. *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Ammonsoase* Bielefeld und Leipzig 1904 (with full bibliography *ib.* p. 156 f.).

<sup>8</sup> Archonides or Andron of Argos, a man who all his life ate plenty of dry salt food without feeling thirsty or drinking, travelled twice to the Oasis of Ammon on a diet of dry meal; and Magon of Carthage did so thence (Aristot. *frag.* 99 Rose 1494 a 7 ff.). Their 'record' remains unbroken!

<sup>9</sup> A certain Mī Bilant, who came to Siwah disguised as an Arab, was detected and

The situation of Siwah was determined by Browne, Caillaud, and W. Jordan. It lies  $29^{\circ} 12'$  north of the equator by  $25^{\circ} 30'$  east of Greenwich<sup>1</sup>, and—as Rohlfs has pointed out—forms part of the vast depression, which runs without a break from the Greater Syrtis to Egypt<sup>2</sup>. According to W. Jordan's reckoning, the Oasis is actually 29 metres below the level of the Mediterranean<sup>3</sup>. Aristotle, indeed, shrewdly conjectured that the Ammonian district and other low-lying patches were due to the gradual evaporation of an arm of the sea<sup>4</sup>. Similarly Eratosthenes in his *Geography* remarked that the precinct of Ammon and the route leading to it were strewn with shells and a deposit of salt<sup>5</sup>; he even hazarded the guess that this remote oracle acquired its fame at the time when



Fig. 288.

it was an accessible coast-town<sup>6</sup>! In point of fact the Oasis is dotted with lagoons (*sebkha*), which overflow in winter and, partially drying up in summer, leave an incrustation of salt several inches thick. In early days special sanctity attached to this pure

had to flee for dear life: his camp was plundered and his tent was burnt (Gi. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* p. 3 f.).

<sup>1</sup> G. Rohlfs *Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste* p. 185 gives the position as determined by W. Jordan at  $29^{\circ} 12'$  north of the equator by  $25^{\circ} 30'$  east of Greenwich. Browne had fixed it at  $29^{\circ} 12'$  and some seconds north of the equator by  $24^{\circ} 54'$  east of Greenwich. Caillaud had made the longitude  $23^{\circ} 38' 0''$  east of Paris (=  $25^{\circ} 58' 13''$  east of Greenwich).

<sup>2</sup> G. Rohlf's *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*<sup>2</sup> II, 113.

<sup>3</sup> G. Rohlf's *Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste* p. 185. Rohlf's earlier calculation showed a mean depth of 52 metres (*Von Tripolis nach Alexandria*<sup>2</sup> n. 113).

<sup>4</sup> Aristot. *meteor.* I. 14. 352 b 30 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Eratosthenes *ap.* Strab. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Eratosthenes *ap.* Strab. 50.

white salt: it was dug up in large crystals, packed in palm-baskets, and taken by certain priests of *Ammon* to Egypt as a gift for the Persian king or other favoured individual, being in request for sacrificial purposes<sup>1</sup>. It is still an article of export. As to the shells mentioned by Eratosthenes, G. Rohlfs found and figured a variety of fossils, including astroite, ostracite, etc.<sup>2</sup> He also obtained from a running ditch near Siwah a number of small fish, which K. A. Zittel identifies with the *Cyprinodon dispar* discovered by Desor in the artesian wells of Algeria and regards as a relic of the primeval Sahara-lake<sup>3</sup>.



Fig. 289.

Despite the saline character of its soil, the Oasis can boast more than thirty springs of fresh water. Of these the most famous, though no longer the most copious, is *Ain el hammam* (fig. 289)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Anian* 3, 4, 5 f., *Ann. Alb.*, 52 p. 160 Muller, *Demon Persica* pag. 15 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* n. 92 Muller) *ap.* Athen. 67 A. B. Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1500, 2. On *sal Hammonia* us. see further Plin. *nat. hist.* 31, 784, *Op. medic. fac. fem.* 94, Colum. 6, 17-7, *Cels. de med.* 6, 6, 39. The name has passed into the modern pharmacopoeia as 'sal ammoniac,' 'Salmiak,' etc. G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Ak. vanden* n. 121 pl. 4, 2 describes and illustrates a salt-crystal from the Oasis.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* pls. 3 f.

<sup>3</sup> G. Rohlfs *Die Monate in der Lybischen Wüste* p. 187 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Ammonsee* pp. 58 fig. 43, 62, 101 f.



## 382 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

traditionally identified with the Fountain of the Sun<sup>1</sup>. It measures about 110 paces in circumference, and is enclosed by an early

wall still in excellent repair<sup>2</sup>. The ancients believed that its temperature varied inversely with the height of the sun<sup>3</sup>—an error refuted by modern thermometers<sup>4</sup> and due to the fact that the observers were themselves warmer by day than by night. G. Rohlfs took *Ain el hammam* to mean 'the Fountain of the Doves'; but G. Steindorff points out that it is rather 'the Fountain of the Bath'—he himself saw women and children bathing in it. I may add that *hammam*, 'bath,' is in reality the same word as that which forms the second element of *Ba'al-hammam*, so that the name of Zeus *Ammon* still haunts the Oasis at least in this modified and unrecognised shape.

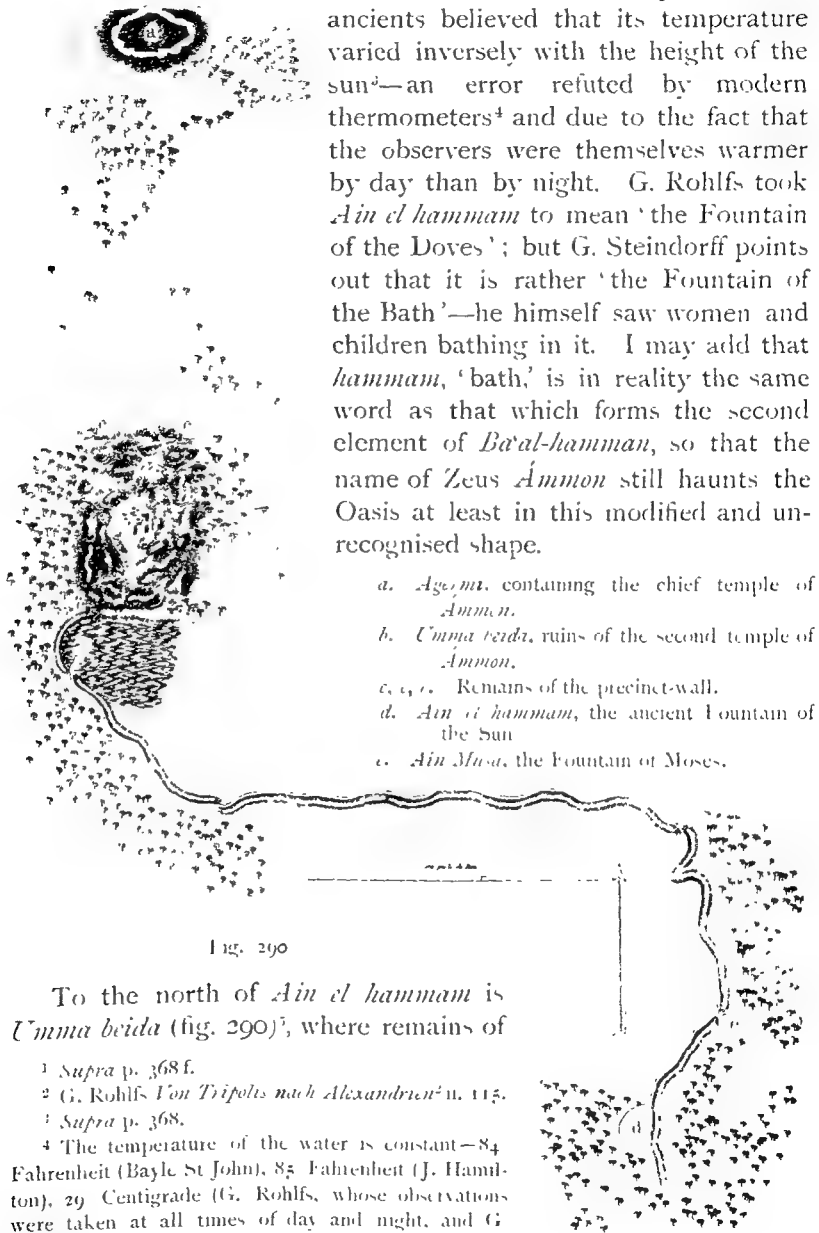


Fig. 290

To the north of *Ain el hammam* is *Umma beida* (fig. 290)<sup>5</sup>, where remains of

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 368 f.

<sup>2</sup> G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandria* ii. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 368.

<sup>4</sup> The temperature of the water is constant—84 Fahrenheit (Bayle St John), 85 Fahrenheit (J. Hamilton), 29 Centigrade (G. Rohlfs, whose observations were taken at all times of day and night, and G. Steindorff, who made repeated experiments always with the same result).

<sup>5</sup> H. von Minutoli *Reise etc.* p. 372 Atlas pl. 6, 1; a - the village *Agarm*, b - the

the second or smaller temple of *Ammon*<sup>1</sup> are still to be seen. It is, however, falling more and more into decay. W. G. Browne (1792) saw five of its roofing stones yet in position and one on the ground. He gives the inside dimensions of the building as 32 ft long by 15 ft broad. F. C. Hornemann (1798) estimates the length roughly at 10 to 12 paces, the whole breadth at about 24 ft. But it is to H. von Minutoli (1820) that we owe the first detailed description of the temple<sup>2</sup>. It appears from his account that the precinct, 70 paces long by 66 wide, was surrounded by a wall, of which the great corner-stones were *in situ*. Within this wall were traces of other walls—direction and purpose



Fig. 291.

uncertain. In the middle of the precinct rose a mass of limestone rock, artificially shaped to serve as a platform or stylobate some 8 ft high. The temple itself was built of limestone blocks, large and small, bonded with mortar. Orientated north and south, it comprised two parts—a *pronaos* and a *naos*. On the north the extant portion of the *pronaos*-wall was not quite  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ft in length, and the larger of its side-walls was of about the same size. The temple-doorway was still standing. Minutoli sketched it from the

ruins *Umna brida*, *c* = remains of the precinct-wall, *d* = the Fountain of the Sun, *e* = another spring connected with it and forming a marsh to the south of the ruins.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 369.

<sup>2</sup> H. von Minutoli *op. cit.* p. 95 ff.

## 384 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

north-east (fig. 291)<sup>1</sup> and from the south with the village *Agermi* in the distance (fig. 292)<sup>2</sup>: he also had copies made of its reliefs, which represent *Ammon* in Egyptian form (fig. 293)<sup>3</sup>. In addition to this main doorway the *prónaos*, to judge from the gaps in its walls, had two side-entrances opposite to each other. The walls of the *naós* to east and west were still  $15\frac{1}{2}$  ft long,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ft thick, and over 19 ft high<sup>4</sup>. The south wall had completely disappeared, so that the original length of the structure could not be determined. Three of the huge roofing stones, 5 ft broad by 3 ft thick, still spanned the entire breadth of the building ( $24\frac{1}{2}$  ft): of



Fig. 292.

the five seen by Browne two had been overthrown through an earthquake in 1808<sup>5</sup>. The whole temple was covered, inside and outside, with reliefs and hieroglyphs. On the exterior and on the larger figures of the interior all traces of colour had vanished. Elsewhere the prevailing green and blue was fairly well preserved. Near the main entry was a ruined vault, which, Minutoli thought, might perhaps have belonged to a secret passage giving access to

<sup>1</sup> H. von Minutoli *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 7, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* Atlas pl. 7, 2—taken from the hill *Gebel Dora Enhari*, where the quarries are situated.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* Atlas pl. 10, 2—designs on the left of the main entry (pl. 7, 1).

<sup>4</sup> Hornemann put the height at 27 ft. probably, as E. H. Todden suggests, this included the stylobate of rock.

<sup>5</sup> Cailliaud dates the earthquake in 1811.

the inner shrine. His guides spoke of an underground way from the temple to a hill full of catacombs just beyond the Fountain of the Sun. But the vault could not be explored without pumping apparatus.

G. Rohlfs<sup>1</sup> in 1869 found nothing of the precinct-wall left save the huge blocks forming its south-east angle. He reports that 'the upper part of the limestone rock, either by art or by nature, exhibits great blocks of alabaster, in which are curiously crystalized rosettes in many cases a foot in diameter.' The precise orientation of the temple was  $348^{\circ}$  with a deviation of  $15^{\circ}$ . No

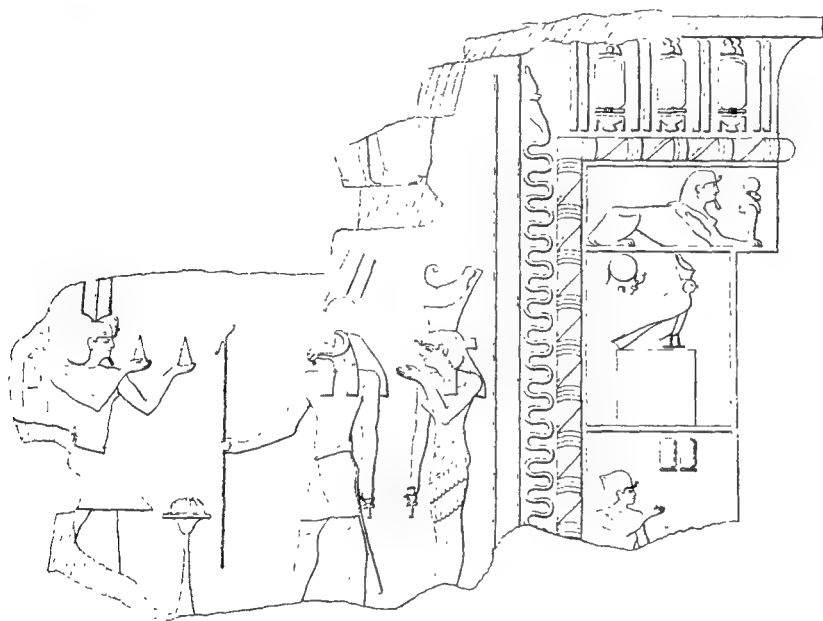


Fig. 293.

subterranean corridors are now to be seen, though the people talk of secret passages to Agermi and Siwah. Rohlfs further notes that the doorway seen by H. von Minutoli (1820) and by Bayle St John (1847), and with it the whole *prónaos*, have gone. He found, however, the side-walls of the *naós* standing to a height of about 25 ft and separated by a space of 16 ft. The extant walls were 14 and 10 ft long respectively, and were roofed in by three colossal monoliths, which on their under surface showed well-preserved eagles (*sic*) with outspread wings. Two roof-stones lay on the ground and fragments of perhaps two others. The outside of the *naós* appeared never to have had any hieroglyphs on it; and

<sup>1</sup> G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandria*² II. 128 ff.

## 386 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

its reliefs were wholly weather-worn. But the inside still exhibited on the east wall 53 columns of hieroglyphs, of which the middle 47 were complete, and on the west wall 52, with 49 complete. The small blocks of the lower courses and the large blocks of the upper courses were alike covered with them. Below and above them were symbolic designs, between which in many places the original colouring, especially green and blue, could be seen. The best-preserved figure was that of the horned *Ammon* seated at the south end of the temple to receive the homage of human figures with the heads of jackal and sparrow-hawk. Within the temple was a great block of marble, which on all four sides showed a large human head with ram's horns: this may have been the base on which stood the statue of Zeus *Ammon*. The head, a hideous fright of twice life-size, doubtless had reference to him<sup>1</sup>. Rohlfs was told by the natives that the temple had been built by *Iskender* (Alexander), the founder of *Skendria* (Alexandria)<sup>2</sup>.

Thirty years later (1899) G. Steindorff<sup>3</sup> was still able to do good service by making an accurate survey of the rapidly dwindling ruin and a transcript of its hieroglyphs. The west side-wall of the inner chamber has now collapsed, and with it the last of the roof-blocks have fallen. These blocks, of which several strew the ground, were decorated on their under surface with two rows of *uræus*-snakes and vultures, representing Uatchit the goddess of the North and Nekhebet the goddess of the South<sup>4</sup>: the reliefs were enclosed by three bands of inscriptions dealing with the erection of the temple. The east side-wall, though damaged at the top, is standing to a height of 6.12 m. It consists of 26 limestone blocks, which attain a maximum length of 7 m. Its upper part had originally an ornamental frieze, sparrow-hawks sheltering the king's name with their wings, and below a series of sacrificial scenes in which the ruler of the Oasis also took part. Beneath these comes a lengthy ritual text in 51 columns. It speaks of the princely builder of the temple as 'the chief of the foreigners, Un-Amon, the blessed, the son of Nefret-ronpet.' Under the ritual text are reliefs in three registers. The highest tier shows a ram-headed Egyptian deity enthroned beneath a canopy. He has the horns of both Khnemu and Amen<sup>5</sup>, the double plumes, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rohlfs *ib.*<sup>2</sup> n. 105 f. R. Putschmann in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1858 points out that *Ammon* is often figured in Egyptian art with four ram's heads.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* *ib.*<sup>2</sup> n. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* pp. 60, 62, 118, 119—121 with figs. 69, 70, 71, 72.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra* p. 206.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 347.

solar disk and *uraeus* on his head. In his right hand he holds a sceptre, in his left the symbol of life, which he extends to a man kneeling before him. The deity is 'Āmen-Râ, the lord of the councillors<sup>1</sup>, the great god, who dwells in the Oasis.' His suppliant, Un-Amon, has an ostrich-feather upright on his brow, therein resembling the Timihû or Libyans as depicted in Egyptian art<sup>2</sup>. Behind Āmen-Râ stands his wife Mut, the 'Mother'-goddess, wearing the united crowns of the South and the North. Behind Un-Amon are seen several other deities including the human-headed Āmen-Râ of Thebes (Zeus *Thebaieus*)<sup>3</sup> and his consort Mut. The next tier of reliefs shows a god with the head of a sparrow-hawk, Shu (Herakles)<sup>4</sup> representing the dry atmosphere and his wife the lion-headed Tefnut representing the moisture of the sky. Set (Typhon), the earth-god Seb with his wife the sky-goddess Nut, and another goddess whose name is lost. The lowest tier figures Horos with the head of a sparrow-hawk, Uatchit and Nekhebet, and the ram-headed Khnemu of Elephantine. Steindorff notes that Un-Amon appears to have built this temple in the reign of Nehtarheb (Nektanebes), a king of the thirtieth dynasty, who reigned 378—361 B.C., and points out that it was therefore standing in all its glory at the time of Alexander's visit.

The chief temple of *Āmmon* was however that situated on the Akropolis of the Ammonians, now known as *Agermî*<sup>5</sup>. This limestone hill has on its summit an open *piassa* surrounded by houses, in one of which lives the *sheikh*, the richest man of the whole Oasis. H. von Minutoli caught a glimpse of the temple wall, which crowns the precipitous northern side of the hill, but was prevented from entering the place and did not discover its true character. J. Hamilton made his way into the building, and was the first to report that it is an Egyptian temple with *prónaos* and *naós* complete. He also found near by an ancient well some 50 ft deep. A more detailed account of this temple was given by G. Rohlfs, who recognised in it the great temple of Ammon. He had many obstacles to overcome. Grime, smoke and darkness combined to make investigation difficult. And, worse still, the temple had been largely filled in and blocked by the houses of a crowded modern population. Nevertheless this indefatigable explorer contrived to make out the main outlines of the ancient structure. Its

<sup>1</sup> This title marks Āmen-Râ as a giver of oracles.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Aethiopien* Berlin 1846—1856 vi pl. 136, G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 pp. 220 fig. (cp. *ib.* p. 439), 767 fig.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 347 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 348.

<sup>5</sup> This identification was first made by the French consul-general Drovetty in 1820.

## 388 The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

*prónaos*, now roofless, is a chamber 15 ft long by 10 ft broad, with a single great doorway as the main entry on the south side (fig. 294). No hieroglyphs were here to be seen. On the north two large doors of Egyptian design 18 ft high lead into the *naós*. This measures 24 ft long by 18 ft broad and is 18 ft in height. In



Fig. 294.

it Rohlfs found numerous hieroglyphs and reliefs. With the help of several candles he copied some of them and in due time submitted them to the Egyptologist H. Brugsch. Brugsch reported 'that the texts are written in old Egyptian script, that they refer to a series of male deities which, to judge from their extant crowns,

represent Ámmon and the ram-headed Harschaf the Arsaphes of the Greeks, and lastly that the texts contained speeches of those deities addressing a god named Urtestu that is Lord of the nations. This appellative proves that the king was not a native but must have belonged to a foreign dynasty.' Here again more exact results were obtained by Steindorff<sup>1</sup>. The reliefs are accompanied by inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. On one side of the *naós* stands Set-erdaïs, 'chief of the foreigners, the son of the chief of the foreigners, Retneb,' and pays homage to a row of deities with Ámen himself at their head. The chief, whose figure is much damaged, wears the costume of an Egyptian king but, like the light-skinned Libyans mentioned above, has an ostrich-plume in his hair. On the other side of the *naós* a similar scene shows the real Pharaoh making an offering to the gods. He wears the crown of Lower Egypt; and the name inscribed in his cartouche may be completed as *Khenemma-Re*, the first name of Akoris or Hakoris, a king of the twenty-ninth dynasty, who reigned at Mendes 396—383 B.C. and succeeded in freeing his realm from the Persian yoke. Whether he actually built this templè or merely redeccorated it, can hardly be decided.

Rohlfs also discovered in the thickness of the inner long wall on the east side a secret passage 2 ft broad leading to a great spring on the south side of the *piassa*. This spring filled a deep and roomy cutting in the rock. Looking down into it, he could see just above the level of the water a small platform on which the priests' passage ended. To the south of the temple he found a great wall of colossal blocks, but was unable to trace it far. Outside *Aggermi* on the south-west are other remains of walls, perhaps those of an outer precinct. The net result of these discoveries was fully to confirm the accuracy of the description cited above from Diodoros<sup>2</sup>.

About a furlong to the south of *Aggermi* Rohlfs detected the ruins of a Greek temple lying east and west. Its outline could be made out by means of blocks projecting from the soil; but of the upper part of the structure nothing was to be seen beyond the shafts of two fluted columns. The *débris* formed a mound 18 paces long by 14 broad.

Some twelve kilometers to the east of *Aggermi* Steindorff<sup>3</sup> found the remains of another building known as *Qasr el-Ghashashâm*.

<sup>1</sup> G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amensosee* pp. 60, 118 with figs. 67, 68 (here reproduced as fig. 294).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amensosee* p. 125 f. with fig. 78.



## 390 The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

A single wall faced with limestone blocks is *in situ*. But a lintel decorated with the winged solar disk and a few lengths of dentils suffice to prove that here stood a Graeco-Egyptian temple. An adjacent mound yielded Greek sherds and copper coins, while away to the east stretch the relics of a once flourishing Greek community.

Lastly<sup>1</sup>, at a distance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours to the south-west of Siwah, on the edge of the oasis and the sand dunes, Rohlfs discovered a mound 12 ft square on which are sundry limestone blocks. The name *Bab el medina*, 'the Town-gate,' suggests that here once stood a triumphal arch. A marble ram (fig. 295)<sup>2</sup> obtained from

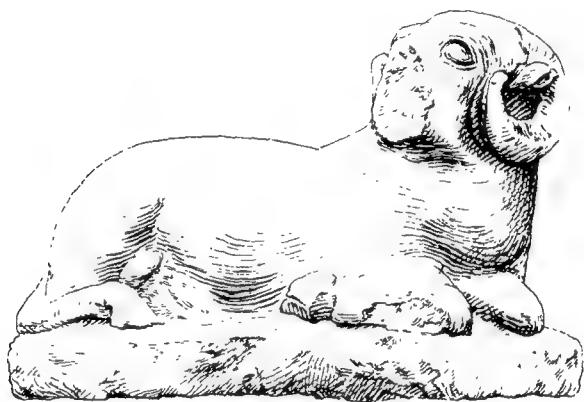


Fig. 295.

this remote spot was brought back in triumph to the Berlin Museum.

### ii. The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia. Zeus *Sabázios*

Another cult in which the ram played an important part was that of the Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios*.

The extant representations of this deity have been carefully collected and discussed first by C. Blinkenberg and subsequently by Eisele. The latter concludes that, though they may all belong to the Roman imperial age yet in most cases they imply an older Phrygian type, probably that of some famous cult-image. The

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of *Blebe' ram* in the extreme west of the oasis, regarded by W. G. Browne as a Doric temple (!) and first recognised by Bayle St John as a copy of the temple at *Umm el-beda*, are described by G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*<sup>2</sup> ii. 92 f. and by G. Stendort *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amansose* p. 126 f. with figs. 79, 80, 81.

<sup>2</sup> G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*<sup>2</sup> i. Frontisp. and ii. 137, cp. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 242 ff.

## The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia 391

series includes bronze votive hands, which sometimes bear the name of *Sabázios*<sup>1</sup> or Zeus *Sabázios*<sup>2</sup>, and sometimes represent him seated or standing with his feet on a ram's head (fig. 296)<sup>3</sup>; a few bronze statuettes, which portray him in similar attitudes on the same support (fig. 297)<sup>4</sup>; and a couple of bronze reliefs,



Fig. 296.



Fig. 297.

possibly breastplates worn by priests of *Sabázios*<sup>5</sup>, which figure him standing amid a crowd of attributes with his right foot

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 150 f. no. 874 CABAZI[Ω] on a specimen from Lord Londesborough's collection.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* *ib.* p. 377 no. 3216 ΔICABAZI(Ω) on a specimen from Asia Minor.

<sup>3</sup> *Antichità di Lucania* Napoli 1767 v (Bronzi) p. xxxvii. *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1868 xvi pl. 9, 1. Reinach *Rep. Stat.* ii. 477 no. 2, an example from Resina. The god wears a Phrygian cap and raises both hands in the attitude of the *benédicte Latine*. For other examples see Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 246 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 248 (especially the bronze from Amiens published in the *Rev. Arch.* 1894 ii. 373 f., Reinach *Rep. Stat.* ii. 478 no. 3, and its fellow in Babelon---Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 289 no. 674 fig. = my fig. 297).

<sup>5</sup> Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 248.

## 392 The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

on the ram's head (pl. xxvii)<sup>1</sup>. The persistence of the ram as a footstool is most noteworthy. In the art of the Babylonians, Hittites, etc.<sup>2</sup>, a god standing on an animal is commonly explained as a superposition of the later on the earlier form of the same divine being. Similarly I should conjecture that the Phrygian *Sabázios* was originally conceived as a ram and remained essentially a ram-god.

But, just as the Egyptian ram-god *Ammon* had sacred snakes, and was said to have become a snake to win his bride<sup>3</sup>, so the Phrygian ram-god *Sabázios* had sacred puff adders<sup>4</sup> and was himself said to have taken their form for the like purpose. Both animals figure in his myth, which has come down to us with some rhetorical embellishment in the pages of Clement and other apologists<sup>5</sup>. Their accounts, printed in full below, may be thus

<sup>1</sup> C. Blinkenberg *Archaeologische Studien* Copenhagen and Leipzig 1904 p. 90 ff. pl. 2 (to a scale of  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) in the Nationalmuseum at Copenhagen. In the centre stands *Sabázios* wearing Phrygian costume. His right hand holds a pine-cone; his left, a sceptre tipped with a votive hand. His right foot rests on a ram's head. Round him are numerous attributes etc., including the thunderbolt and eagle of Zeus. All these are placed in a distyle temple, the pediment of which contains the sun-god's chariot between two stars. The upper angles of the plate are occupied by the Dioskouroi with their horses.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Prinz in the *Alt. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 167 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 358 n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Demi. de cor.* 259 f. ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος (sc. Διόσκουρος) τῇ μητρὶ τελοῖσθαι τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίνωσκας καὶ τὰλλα συνεσκευρωτοῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων, καὶ καθάιρων τοὺς τελονυμένους κατομάττων τῷ πληγῇ καὶ τοῖς πετίροις, καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελειῶν λέγειν “ἔφριζον κακόν, εἴρον ἀνείων.” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲνα πώποτε τηλικούτ’ ὀλολίξαι σμιννόμενος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῖς καλοῖς θιάσις ἀγων διὰ τῶν οὐδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λυαῇ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλιβών καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰώρων, καὶ βούων εἰσοὶ σαζοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχοιμενος υἱὸς ἄττης ἄττης υἱὸς, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγούμεναι καὶ κιστοφόρος (κιστοφόρος, a variant in *Harpor.* and in *schol. Patm.*, is adopted by Dindorf and others) καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῖα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορεύμενος, μυσθὸν λαμβάνων τοῦτων ἐνθρηπτα καὶ στρηπτοῖς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ’ οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εἰδαιμονίσκει καὶ τιν αὐτοῦ τύχῃ; On this passage see *Eusebe loc. cit.* p. 251 f. and for the adders (p. Theophyl. *char.* 16 καὶ εἰς τὴν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐάν περὶαν, Σοβάσιον καλεῖν, ἐάν δὲ ἱερὸν, ἐνταῖνα ἡρώων εἰσὶν ἰδμενίσσθαι, Artemid. *ομιλιὰς* 2. 13 καὶ θεοὺς πάντας (sc. ὀφίων) ἰδμενίσσθαι σημαίνει, οἷς ἐπὶν ἱερὸς. ἐσὶ δὲ οἱδε· Ζεὺς Σοβάσιος, Ἥλιος, Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη, Ἐκάτη, Ἀσκληπιός, Ἡρώες, ... ὁρμῖναι δὲ καὶ παρταῖαι καὶ φίσσαιοι πονηροὶ πάντες (*loc. cit.* 4. 26).

<sup>5</sup> *Clem. Al. prol.* 2. 15. 1 ff. p. 13. 2 ff. *Stahlin* *Διοῦς δὲ μυστήρια [καὶ] Διὸς πρὸς ὑπὲρ Διμήτρη ἀφροδίτης συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μῆνις (οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι φῶ λαιπὸν, μητρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς) τῆς Διοῦς, ἧς δὲ χάριν Ἑρμῆς προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται, - καὶ - ἱκετηναὶ Διὸς καὶ πύμα χολῆς καὶ καρδωὶ λαιαὶ καὶ ἀρητοιγυαίαι - ταῦτα οἱ Φρυγες τελέσκουσιν “Ἀττιδί καὶ Κιβέλλῃ καὶ Κορέβασιν” τεθνήσκουσιν δὲ ὡς ἄρα ἀποσπάσας οὐ Ζεὺς τὸν κρυπτοῦ τοῖς διδύμοις φέρων ἐν μέσσοις ἐριψέ τοῖς κούποις τῆς Διοῦς, τιμωρίαν ψυδὴ τῆς θείας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτεννῶν, ὡς αὐτὸν ὀθήεν ἐκτεννῶν. τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μυστικῆς ταύτης ἐκ περιουσίας παρατιθέμενα οὐδ’ ὅτι κινῆσαι γελῶτα καὶ μὴ γελᾶσειοπιν ἡμῖν διὰ τοῖς ἐλέγχουσιν. “ἐκ τιμῶν ἐφαγόν” ἐκ κυμβαλου ἐπών· ἐκερποφόρητα ὑπο τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδον· ταῦτα οἷχ’ ἔβρισκον τὰ σύμβολα· οὐ χλευεῖ τὰ μυστήρια· τί δ’ εἰ καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα προσέθεον· κινεῖ μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀνατρέφεται δὲ ἡ Κόρη, μέγνυται δ’ αἰθεὶς ὁ γυνήσας οἷοιτο Ζεὺς τῇ Φερεφάττῃ, τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγατρὶ, μετὰ τὴν*





## The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia 393

summarised :—Zeus, desiring to consort with his own mother Deo or Demeter, turned himself into a bull and so compassed his end.

μητέρα την Δηῶ, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ προτέρου μίσους [πατὴρ καὶ φθορεὺς λόγῃς ὁ Ζεὺς] καὶ κίγνεται δράκων γενόμενος, ὃς ἦν, ἐλεγχθεὶς. Σαβασίων γοῦν μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς υἱοιμένοις ὁ διὰ κολπου θεὸς δράκων δε ἔστιν οἷτος, διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων, ἐλεγχος ἀκρασίας Διὸς. κλεῖ καὶ ἡ Φερέφαττα παῖδα ταυρόμορφον· ἀμέλει, φησί τις ποιητῆς εἰδωλικός.

ταῦρος δα-αλοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταῖρου δράκων.

εν ὄρει το κρυφίον. βουκυλος, τὸ κέντρον (κέντριον? Dieterich),

σοιολοκόν, οἰαι, κέντρον τὸν νάρθηκα ἐπιπλῶν, ὃν δὴ ἀναστέφουσιν οἱ βάρχοι.

Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 20 f. erat nobis consilium praeterire, praetervehi illa etiam mysteria, quibus Phrygia initiati atque omnis gens illa, nisi nomen interpositum his Iovis prohiberet nos strictum iniurias eius ignominiasque transire. quondam Diespiter, inquit, cum in Cererem (*iniciere* codd.: *inire* Scaliger) suam matrem libidinibus impudicis atque inconce-ssis cupiditatibus aestuaret, (nam genetrix haec Iovis regionis eius ab accolis trahitur) neque tamen auderet id quod procaci adpetitione conceperat apertissima vi petere, ingeniosas commiscitur captiones, quibus nihil tale metuentem castitate immuaret geneticem: fit ex deo taurus et sub pecoris specie subsectoris animum atque audaciam celans in securam et nesciam repentina immittitur vi furens, agit incestus (v. l. *incestus*) res suas et prodita per libidinem fraude intellectus et cognitus evolat ardescit furis atque indignationibus mater, spumat, anhelat, exaestuat, nec fremitum continere tempestatemque irarum valens ex continua passione Brimo (*primo* codd.) demceps ut appellaretur adsumpsit, neque alia cordi est res ei, quam ut (*quin* codd.) audaciam illi poenis quibus potis est persequatur. Iuppiter satagit fractus metu nec quibus remedia leniat violatae animos reperit. fundit preces et supplicat: obstructae sunt dolentes (v. l. *dolentis*) aures, adlegatur deorum universus ordo: nullus auctoritas tanta est ut audiat: ad postremum filius vias satisfactionis inquirens commiscitur remedum tale. anietem nobilem bene grandibus cum testiculis deligit, execat hos ipse et lanato exit ex folliuli tegmine. accedens maeiens et summisus ad matrem et, tamquam ipse sententia condemnasset se sua, in gremium proicit et facit (*mit* codd.) hos eius. anilitate pignoris visa sumit animum mitiorem et concepti fetus revocatur ad curam parit mensem post decemum luculenti filiam corporis, quam aetas mortalium consequens modo Liberam, modo Proserpinam nuncupavit. quam cum verveceus (*vervicius* codd.) Iuppiter bene validam, floridam et suci esse conspiceret plenioris, oblitus paulo ante quid malorum et scelers esset adgressus et temeritatis quantum, redit ad priores actus, et quia nefarium videbatur satis patrem cum filia communis uxoria coniugatione misceri, in draconis terribilem formam migrat, ingentibus spiris pavefactam colligat virginem et sub obtentu fero mollissimis ludit atque adulatur amplexibus. fit ut et ipsa de semine fortissimi compleatur Iovis, sed non eadem condicione qua mater: nam illa filiam reddidit limamentis descriptam suis, at ex partu virginis tauri species (*specie* codd.) fusa, Iovialis monumenta pellactae. auctorem aliquis desiderabit rei: tum illum entabimus Tarentinum notumque senarium, quem antiquitas canit dicens: *taurus draconem genuit, et taurum draco*. ipsa novissime sacra et ritus initiationis ipsius, quibus Schadus nomen est, testimonio esse poterunt veritati, in quibus aureus coluber in sinum demittitur (*dimittitur* codd.) consecratus et eximitur rursus ab inferioribus partibus atque imis. *Id. ib.* 5. 37 Iuppiter, inquit, in taurum versus concubitus matris suae Cereris adpetivit: ut expositum supra est, nominibus his tellus et labens pluvia nuncupatur. legem allegoricam video tenebrosis ambiguitatibus explicatam. irata Ceres est et exarsit et arietis proles pro poena atque ultione suscepit. hoc iterum video communibus in proloquiis promptum: nam et ira et testes, satisfactio, sus in motibus et condicionibus dicta sunt. quid ergo hic accidit, ut ab Iove, qui pluvia, et ab Cerere, quae appellata est terra, res transiret ad verum Iovem atque ad verum simplicissimam dictionem?

Firm. Mat. 10 Sabazium colentes Iovem anguem, cum intant (v. l. *intiantur*), per

## 394 The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

Deo in fierce anger took the title *Brimó*, 'the Wrathful,' and would not be appeased till Zeus came before her in a mood of mock-repentance, pretended to have made a eunuch of himself, and in proof of his words flung the severed parts into her lap. In reality they were those of a fine ram, which he had gelded. The issue of his union with Deo was Kore or Pherephatta, with whom he again had intercourse under the form of a monstrous snake. This time the offspring was shaped like a bull. Hence the well-known line:

Bull begat Snake, Snake begat Bull.

Hence too the practice of those who were initiated into the rites of Zeus *Sabázios* by passing a golden adder through their bosoms and out below.

In this crude, not to say repulsive, tale we have beyond a doubt the aetiological myth of the *Sabázios*-cult. The devotees of the great mother-goddess sacrificed to her their own virility or, failing that, the virility of a ram<sup>1</sup>. Why they did so, we do not know for certain. Dr Farnell<sup>2</sup> suggests that they wished to assimilate themselves to her and took this desperate way of becoming feminine, or at least non-masculine. But this explanation hardly fits all the facts<sup>3</sup>. More probably the worshippers sought to increase the

sumum ducunt, *id.* 26, 1 sequitur adhuc aliud symbolum, quod pro magno miserationum hominum credulis auribus traditur: ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ ταῦρον δράκων (δράκων ταῦρον Wower) πατήρ.

<sup>1</sup> H. Hejding *Attis: seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gießen 1903 p. 192: 'Diese Erzählung sieht aus wie das *aitrion* für Ablösung der Selbstentmannung durch ein Wilderopfer (*terribolium*?)'. So too Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>. Adonis Attis Osiris<sup>2</sup> p. 224 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* iii. 300 f. (of the Γάλλοι: 'Even the self-mutilation necessary for the attainment of the status of the eunuch-priest may have arisen from the ecstatic craving to assimilate oneself to the goddess and to charge oneself with her power, the female dress being thereupon assumed to complete the transformation.' Cf. also W. Leonhard *Hittiter und Amazonen* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 131 ff.

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Krl.* p. 1345 n. 5 is content to explain the rite as primarily 'eine Pochenzeit' and cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 7 mammae sibi demittit Galli filia pellicis, *ib.* 5. 13 quid admiserat Gallus, quid pellicis filia, ut ille se viro, haec mammarum honestate privaret? But this aetiological tale is equally intelligible on Farnell's showing (assimilation to the Amazonian goddess). Nor can we lay stress on the view of the Naassenes (Ophites) that the emasculated Attis symbolises the soul freed from sensuality (Hippolyt. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 99 Miller). Other practices of the Γάλλοι Gruppe regards as vices arising 'aus den niedrigsten Motiven.' Yet even these might be covered by Farnell's charitable hypothesis.

E.g. the deposition of the *genitalia* in the 'chambers' of Rhea *Λοβήνη* (schol. Nik. alex. 8 Λοβρηνης θαλάμαι (θαλάμοι *coll.*) τόποι ἱεροὶ ὑπόγειοι, ἀνακείμενοι τῇ Πέγᾳ, ὅπου ἐκτεμνόμενοι τὰ μέλῃα κατετίθεντο οἱ τῷ Ἄττει καὶ τῇ Πέγᾳ λατρεύοντες. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ Λοβρηνα ὄρη Φρυγίας ἣ τόπος Κεζίκων' κ.τ.λ.). On Mt. Lohrmon see F. W. Hasluck *Cyrenaica* Cambridge 1910 p. 219. Apparently the relics were buried in the ground and *skuta*,

fertilising powers of their goddess by thus thrusting upon her their own fertility. As Dr Frazer<sup>1</sup> has argued *à propos* of eunuch priests in the service of Asiatic goddesses generally,—‘These feminine deities required to receive from their male ministers, who personated the divine lovers, the means of discharging their beneficent functions: they had themselves to be impregnated by the life-giving energy before they could transmit it to the world.’ Further reflexion will, I think, show that herein lies the true explanation of the Phrygian rite. *Sabázios*-mystics referred their action to the example of the god—‘this wether-sheep Zeus’ (*verveccus Iuppiter*), as Arnobius contemptuously calls him<sup>2</sup>. Nay more, they were believed to have borrowed his name and to have been dubbed *Saboi* because he was *Sabós*. It is therefore hard to resist the

possibly of phallic form, erected over them: this I infer from Hesych. θαλάσαι· στήλαι ἐπιτέμνεται τοῖς αἰδοίοις τῶν ἀποκόπων. See further the passages quoted by Herping *op. cit.* p. 164. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1545 f. justly observes that such practices attest ‘die alte Vorstellung von der Ehe mit der Göttin.’

<sup>1</sup> Frazer *Glean. Boughe*. Adams Attis Osiris<sup>2</sup> p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 21 cited *supra* p. 392 n. 5 *med.*

A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 I. 414 gives an interesting parallel from the legend of Ahalya in the *Rāmāyanam*: ‘It is said in this passage that the god Indras was one day condemned to lose his testicles by the malediction of the fishis Gautamas, with whose wife, Ahalya, he had committed adultery. The gods, moved to pity, took the testicles of a ram and gave them to Indras, who was therefore called Meshapalas; on this account, says the Ramayanam, the Pitavas feed on wethers, and not on rams, in funeral oblations.’ Indras is himself called a ram in a Vedic hymn (*Rig-veda* I. 51. 1 cited *ib.* I. 403).

<sup>3</sup> Phot. *h. l.* s.v. Σαβός καὶ Σαβάζιος· τοὺς βακχεύοντας τῷ Σαβάζιῳ· τὸ γὰρ σαβάζειν τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ὁ Διόνυσος Σαβός καλεῖται. Παρρηκ. s.v. Σαβοί· Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος (Dem. *de ion.* 260 εἰσι σαβοί). οἱ μὲν Σαβούς λέγεσθαι τοῖς τελομένοις τῷ Σαβάζιῳ, τούτεστι τῷ Διονύσῳ, καθάπερ τοῖς τῷ Βακχῷ Βάκχοις. τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι Σαβάζιον καὶ Διόνυσόν φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀμφίθεος δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἡρακλείας (Nymphiis *frag.* 11 (*frag. hist. Gr.* III. 14 Muller)). οὕτω δὲ φασὶ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τινες τοὺς Βάκχοις Σαβοῖς καλεῖν. Μνασείας δὲ ὁ Παταρεὺς νῦν εἶναι φησὶ τοῦ Διονύσου Σαβάζιον (*frag.* 36 (*frag. hist. Gr.* III. 135 Muller)), Soud. s.v. Σαβάζιος· ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ Διονύσῳ. ἐτύχε δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης παρὰ τὸν γινόμενον περὶ αὐτὸν θείασμον. τὸ γὰρ εὐάζειν οἱ βάρβαροι σαβάζειν φασίν. ὅθεν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἀλολοθούντες τὸν εὐασμὸν σαβασμὸν λεγούσιν· ἐνθεν Σαβάζιος ὁ Διόνυσος. Σάβους ελεγον καὶ τοὺς ἀφιερωμένους αὐτῷ τοῖς καὶ τοὺς Βάκχοις αὐτοῦ (*op. cit. m. q.* p. 707. 14 ff., schol. Aristoph. *av.* 874 and *tu. g.*). Hesych. s.v. Σαβάζιος· ἐπώνυμον Διονύσου. οἱ δὲ νῦν Διονύσου· καὶ Σάβον εἰσὶ καλοῦσιν αὐτόν. Φρύξ δὲ ὁ Σαβάζιος, *id.* s.v. σαβός βακχεῖα, *id.* s.v. εὐσασα· καὶ σαβαῖοι (σάβασι οἱ Νύσσοι) βακχεύοντες. Orph. *h. Hicr.* I f. Ἰππαν κελύσσω, Βάκχου τροφόν, εὐάδα λούρη. | μυστιπόδον, τελετήσιν ἀγαλλουμένην Σίβον ἀγροῦ, Plout. *symph.* 4 6 2 οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Σαβάζων ἐορτὴν μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπροσδιώριστον εἶναι. Σάββους γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολλοὶ τοὺς Βάκχοις καλοῦσι καὶ ταύτην ἀφ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν φωνὴν δταν ὀργιάζωσι τῷ θεῷ. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1431. 45 f. ἡ Ῥέα. ἡ φασὶν ὁ κατεχόμενος ἡ καὶ ἄλλω δαίμονι καταχρηστικῶς, λέξῃςτος ἐλέγεται. ὁ καὶ σάβος καὶ σαβάζιος καὶ βάκχος καὶ βαβέκτης καὶ βάζαξ κ. τ. λ.

It is obvious that such passages would lend themselves indifferently to two opposite views: (a) that the *Saboi* were called after *Sabós*, (b) that *Sabós* was called after the



## 396 The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

conviction that the initiate actually posed as the divine consort of the mother-goddess. Nevertheless, as A. Dieterich has pointed out<sup>1</sup>, the culminating rite of *Sabázios* was a sacred marriage in which the god, represented by the golden adder, was drawn through the bosom of his worshipper; and here the worshipper, whether man or woman, is conceived as female, being none other than the bride of the god. We have, then, in this difficult and complex cult to reckon with the amazing fact that the mystic was identified first with the god, and then with the goddess! Two ways of escape from this improbable situation present themselves. Either we must fall back after all on Dr Farnell's explanation; or—and this I should prefer—we must assume that in course of time, perhaps with the shift from mother-kin to father-kin, the ritual had altered. The old rite, in which the initiate played the part of the god, was indeed retained, at least in a mitigated form; but its meaning was forgotten<sup>2</sup>, and it was supplemented by a new rite, in which the initiate played the part of the goddess.

That development of some sort had taken place within the cult seems clear. Originally, as we have said, *Sabázios* appears to have been a ram-god. But in later times it was the snake not the ram that characterised him in the eyes of the multitude. Agreeably with this, the ram figures in the relations of Zeus *Sabázios* to the older goddess Deo or Demeter, the snake in his relations to the younger goddess Kore or Pherephatta. Behind both goddesses looms the venerable form of the earth-mother, from whom they were alike differentiated. For most scholars will certainly accept the well-considered verdict of Dr Farnell, who insists that in Demeter and Kore the single personality of the earth-goddess is dualized into

*Saba.* Broadly speaking, we may say that the former is the ancient and the latter the modern interpretation.

<sup>1</sup> A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marpurgi Catorum 1891 p. 38 f. (= *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 98 f.), *id. Mutter Erde* Leipzig and Berlin 1905 p. 110 ff., *id. Eine Mithrasliturgie* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 123 ff.; 'Der Ritus der durch den Schoss des Mysten gezogenen Schlange kann gar nichts anderes bedeuten sollen als die geschlechtliche Vereinigung des Gottes mit dem Einzuweihenden. Dem Sinne des rituellen Symbols ist es kein Anstoss, dass das Bild real unvorstellbar wird, wenn der Myster ein Mann ist. Dem Gotte gegenüber sind sie weiblich, wie das bei analogen Bräuchen gerade auch in jener späten Zeit die Gnostiker deutlich aussprechen. Der Gott ist immer das Männliche gegenüber dem Menschen, der sich ihm leiblich eint, mag man nun die *φελή* als weiblich in Auffassung und Deutung des Rituals ausdrücklich gemeint haben oder nicht.'

On the snake as phallic see F. L. W. Schwartz *Die altgriechische Schlangengötter*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1897 p. 31, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 866 n. 1, R. Eisler *Wiltmanns! und Homers Zeit* München 1910 i. 123 n. 4. J. Maehly *Die Schlange im Mythos und Cultus der klassischen Völker* Basel 1867 p. 26 misses the point.

<sup>2</sup> See Varro *ap. Aug. de civ. Dei* 7. 24, Lucr. 2. 614 ff.



A Corn-maiden from Lesbos.

*See page 397 n. 4.*



two distinct and clearly correlated personalities<sup>1</sup>, 'pre-Homeric offshoots of Gaia?'. He further notes the significant fact that Demeter was often worshipped without her daughter, Kore rarely without her mother<sup>2</sup>. It is therefore permissible to suggest that there was a time when the Phrygian cult recognised one goddess not two, the earth-mother rather than the corn-mother and corn-daughter. Whatever the origin of the corn-daughter<sup>3</sup>, she may well have been later than the earliest form of the said cult.

I am therefore emboldened to hazard the provisional guess that *ab initio* the Phrygians worshipped a fertilising sky-father and a fertilised earth-mother; that originally and for long the goddess was of more importance than the god, being duplicated for the sake of fuller recognition; but that ultimately their positions came

<sup>1</sup> Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* iii. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* iii. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Dr F. B. Jevons in his able book *An Introduction to the History of Religion* London 1896 p. 364 f. suggested that in the primitive rites of Eleusis a sheaf of ripe corn was dressed up as an old woman (cp. *h. Dem.* 101 γρηὶ παλαιγενέϊ ἐναλίγκιος of Demeter) and preserved from harvest to seed-time as the Corn-mother, and that the green blade or young plant when it appeared above ground was known as the Corn-maiden. He argued *ib.* p. 239 that rites appropriate to Kore were celebrated in the spring, rites appropriate to Demeter later in the year. Dr J. G. Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup> ii. 216 f. advocates a similar view: 'It is probable, therefore, that Demeter and Proserpine, those stately and beautiful figures of Greek mythology, grew out of the same simple beliefs and practices which still prevail among our modern peasantry, and that they were represented by rude dolls made out of the yellow sheaves on many a harvest-field long before their breathing images were wrought in bronze and marble by the master hands of Phidias and Praxiteles. A reminiscence of that olden time—a scent, so to say, of the harvest-field—lingered to the last in the title of the Maiden (*Kōrē*) by which Proserpine was commonly known. Thus if the prototype of Demeter is the Corn-mother of Germany, the prototype of Proserpine is the harvest-Maiden, which, autumn after autumn, is still made from the last sheaf on the Braes of Balquhadder. Indeed if we knew more about the peasant-farmers of ancient Greece we should probably find that even in classical times they continued annually to fashion their 'Corn-mothers' (Demeters) and Maidens (Proserpines) out of the ripe corn on the harvest-fields.'

These opinions gain much in probability from a discovery made by my friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse, who obtained in Lesbos an actual Corn-maiden of strikingly human shape. By his kind permission I have had a drawing (pl. xxviii) made from the original, now deposited by the Folk-Lore Society in the ethnographical collection at Cambridge. Dr Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1896 vii. 147 pl. 1 writes: 'The *first ears* are plaited into a curious shape, they call it *ψάθα*, or "mat," and no one could (or would) tell me any more about it. But its shape strikes me as very odd, and it bears no small resemblance to a human figure in a cloak, with arms outstretched. In some of them the neck is adorned with a necklace of beads. I saw these in all parts of Lesbos, always with the same shape; and also on the mainland of Greece, where they called it *στράφι* ("corn"). Is it fanciful to imagine that this is really a corn-baby? It ought, however, to be made of the last sheaf, not the first.' The scruple here expressed by Dr Rouse is surely of little import. If Kore was the *young* corn as distinguished from the old corn, her puppet might well be made of the first ears.

## 398 The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

to be equalised or even reversed. Certain wiseacres in antiquity, venturing to expound the true inwards of the *Sabazios*-mysteries, asserted that Zeus was the rain and Demeter the earth<sup>1</sup>. Arnobius takes them to task; but perhaps they were not after all so utterly misguided. Whether the bull-shaped offspring of the sky-father and the earth-mother was from the first a sharer in their cult is a question that may for the moment be postponed. There is no *a priori* reason to doubt it.

The Sabazian myth has much in common with Orphic tradition. For Orpheus too represented Zeus as united successively with his mother Rhea or Demeter and his daughter Phersephone or Kore. Rhea, to avoid him, turned into a snake. Thereupon he became another snake, and twined about her with the so-called Heracleian knot, which is symbolised by the *caduceus* of Hermes. Rhea bore to him Phersephone, a horned child with four eyes, two in their normal position, two on the forehead, and an extra face on the back of her neck. Zeus, again taking the form of a snake, consorted with his own monstrous progeny. The child born of this second union was Dionysos<sup>2</sup>, i.e. the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus<sup>3</sup>. Nonnos in Orphic vein describes him as a horned infant, who mounted the throne of Zeus himself and sat there grasping the thunderbolt in his tiny hand. But Hera soon roused the Titans to smear their faces with gypsum and to attack him as he was looking in a mirror. In his efforts to escape he took the forms of a youthful Zeus brandishing the *aigis*, an aged Kronos dropping rain, a babe of shifting shape, a wildly excited youth (*koînos*), a lion, a horse, a horned snake, a tiger, and a bull; in which final disguise he was cut to pieces by the knives of the Titans<sup>4</sup>. Elsewhere the same poet makes Dionysos himself recall his former exaltation:

Grant to my love one grace, o Phrygian Zeus.  
Rhea my nurse told me while yet a child  
How Zagreus- Dionysos long ago  
Once hsped thy name, and lo, thou gavest him

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 392 n. 5 *sub fin.*

<sup>2</sup> Orph. *frag.* 41 Abel *ap.* Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 20 p. 22 f. Schwartz, p. Orph. *frag.* 47 Abel *ap.* Athenag. *op. cit.* 32 p. 42 Schwartz and Tatian. *or. adr. Græc.* 6

<sup>3</sup> Hesych. s.v. *Ζαγρεὺς*, *et. mag.* p. 406, 46 f. For a full collection of authorities see Lobbeck *Aglaophamus* 1. 547 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 155 ff. Orphic influence again underlies Nonnos's statement (*Dion.* 7. 309 ff.) that Zeus, when he wooed and won Semele at Thebes, became successively a human form with bull's horns, a lion, a leopard, and a snake. The *metamorphose* was simultaneous, not successive, in the case of the Orphic Phanes, who combined in his own person the heads of rams, bulls, a snake and a lion (*supra* p. 92).

The lightning, thine own fiery shaft, and with it  
The roaring thunder and the rushing drops.  
So, still a babe, he was a second Zeus  
And sent the rain-storm<sup>1</sup>.

With the details of this myth and their ritual implications we are not here concerned. But in passing we note one point of importance: Dionysos was conceived as in some sense Zeus reborn<sup>2</sup>. This squares with the *Sabázios*-myth, in which the tauriform offspring of Kore duplicated the tauriform Zeus.

It would seem, then, that the myth of the Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios* and the myth of the Orphic Zeus were closely related but not identical. Reciprocal influence between the kindred cults is probable enough; and a certain assimilation to that of Attis will not be denied<sup>3</sup>. But, broadly speaking, we may claim that the parallelism of the Phrygian and Orphic traditions is best explained on the assumption that both alike were rooted in the religion of the old Thraco-Phrygian stock. Nor need we hesitate to describe the early Thraco-Phrygian god as Zeus, provided that we recognise once more the Dionysiac character of his cult. For we have already found evidence in north-eastern Phrygia of a very primitive

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* 10. 292 ff., cp. 39. 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This made it easy for the systematisers to identify Dionysos, son of Zeus by Pherephone, with *Sabázios*: Diod. 4. 4 μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγονέναι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτεροῦντα τούτου· φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπο τῶν Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον, οὗ τὴν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ κριφοῖς παρεισάγουσι διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνοσίας ἐπακολουθεύσαν. Λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν ἀγχινεῖα διενεγκεῖν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπιχειρῆσαι βοῦς ζειγρεῖν καὶ διὰ τούτων τὸν σπὸρον τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιτελεῖν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ κερατίαν αὐτὸν παρεισάγουσι, cp. *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 51 p. 106, 21 ff. Wünsch.

<sup>3</sup> Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* v. 185, Lasele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 261 f.

Attis is identified with the Phrygian Zeus by Psell. *περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν δικῶν* p. 109 Boissonade ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἄττις (*Dem. de cor.* 260) τῇ φρυγίᾳ γλώσση ὁ Ζεὺς, τὸ δὲ εἰς εὐλατικὸν ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ σάββα ἐθνικόν· ὡς τὴν ὅλην εὐχὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι· "ὡς ὦ ζεῦ σαβάζιε εἴς." Similarly Arrian. *haz.* 30 (*Diag. hist. Gr.* iii. 592 Muller) *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 565. 4 ff. ἐνταῦθα δὲ χρῆσιμον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρριανοῦ εἰπόντος ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς ὅτι ἀνιόντες εἰς τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ὁρῶν Βιθυνοὶ ἐκάλλον Ἡάπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἄττιν τὸν αὐτόν. The statement that Attis was called Ἡάπας is borne out by Diod. 3. 58 τὸν προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἄττιν ἔσπερον δ' ἐπικληθέντα Ἡάπαν, Hippolyt. *ref. haeres.* 5. 9 p. 118 f., Miller Ἄττι· σὲ καλοῦσι· οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Ἡάπαν κ.τ.λ., *Corip. inscr. Lat.* v no. 766 (Aquilaia) *Atte Papa* etc.; see F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* n. 2180, H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythion und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 112 n. 5. That the Phrygian Zeus too was Ἡάπας appears from inscriptions: *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 260 no. 12 near Nakoleia Διῖ Παπᾶ | εὐχην, *Corip. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3817 Παπία Διῖ Σωτῆρι εὐχην καὶ | Πρακλῆ Ἀνικῆτῳ].

In the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79 I drew attention to these equations, and suggested that Ἄττις and Παπας alike meant 'Father,' the one being related to ἄττα, the other to πάππα. The Phrygian Zeus *Bronten* was entitled Πατῆρ (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 123 f., *infra* ch. ii § 4 (d)). See further Hepding *op. cit.* p. 187 f.

## 400 The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

Zeus, whose Dionysiac nature was clear from his altar adorned with two grape-bunches and a plough<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the name *Sabázios* is, as all admit, a mere ethnic<sup>2</sup>. The *Sáboi* are called by Eustathios Thracians<sup>3</sup>; by Stephanos Phrygians<sup>4</sup>. Their god *Sábos* or *Sabázios* was a Thraco-Phrygian Zeus, whose *avatar* was a Thraco-Phrygian Dionysos.

Finally Zeus *Sabázios* came to be identified with the sun<sup>5</sup>. An inscription from Nikopolis in Moesia records a dedication to 'Zeus-Helios the Mighty Lord, the Holy Sebazios<sup>6</sup>'. And in Thrace on the hill Zilmissos there was a circular hypaethral temple of *Sol Liber Sebadius*, the Dionysiac form of the same deity<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 4. Note also Hesych. s.v. Βαζαῖος· ἡ Ζεὺς Φρυγίος. P. Kretschmer *Einführung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 81 'von \*baga, gr. φάγος' showed that this epithet implied an early 'Oak'-god: cp. *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79.

<sup>2</sup> A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 65 f. 'Σάος oder Σάον Berg auf Samothrake. Σάος und Σάοννησος die Insel selbst. Der thrakisch-phrygische Gott, der von den Griechen meist Σάβος, Σαβάζιος genannt wurde, hieß eigentlich Σάφος Σαφάδιος, was aus der phrygischen Inschrift von Blaundos Δι Σααζίου [Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 239, 243 fig. 2] und σαβάδου, σαῦδου Hesych, wie nach Amerias die Silenen bei den Makedonen hießen, zweifellos erwiesen wird. Σάβου, richtiger demnach σάφου "hießen auch seme (des Gottes) Heilighümer und die Geweihten" [Preller—Robert *Griech. Myth.* ii. 701 n. 1]. Damit ist der Sinn der Namen Σάος, Σάοννησος völlig aufgeklärt; auch die thrakischen Σαῖοι, mit denen Archilochos zu kämpfen hatte, mögen nach dem Gotte Σάος benannt sein, *ud. Hattulen und Banubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 46 f. 'Auf die thrakische Herkunft des Dionysos-Dienstes weisen Namen und Beinamen des Gottes Διώνισος ist bloss grazilisiert, die richtige Form ist Δευ-Δεο-. Diese finden wir in Δευδάει· οἱ Σάῖοι ἐπ' Ἰλλυρίων Hesych die Δευάδαι, Verehrer des Gottes Δευ-, hießen bei den Illyriern die thrakischen Diener des Gottes Σαῖος. Von den Thrakern überkamen zunächst die Makedonen den Dienst des Σαῖος, Σαβადιος; darauf zielt die Glosse Hesychs σαῦδάει, σαῦδου· Ἀμερίας τοὺς σειλείνοισι οὕτω καλεῖσθαι φησιν ὑπο Μακεδόνων. Die richtige Form wird wohl σαράδου sein.' O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 6 (cp. p. 97 f.): 'Die Σαράδαι lassen sich nicht trennen von dem Namen des thrakisch-phrygischen Gottes Σαράζιος (inschriftlich), Σαβάζιος, Σαβადιος, der als Vegetationsgott dem Dionysos am nächsten stand und gleich diesem durch orgiastische Feste gefeiert wurde (Strabo x 471).'.

<sup>3</sup> Eustath. in Dionys. p. 1. 1069 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἔθνος Θρακικὸν Σάβου, ὅπερ τοῖς Βόαχοις ὁηλοῖ Φρυγίᾳ διελέντω.

<sup>4</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Σάβου ἔθνος Φρυγίας. λέγονται καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Βόαχου παρὰ Φρυγίαν.

<sup>5</sup> P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xv. 101 holds that *Sabázios*, as a sun-god was the Phrygian counterpart of Men the moon-god, with whom he was certainly brought into connexion (see Lasele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 262 and especially Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* iii. 41, 101 Diehl *παρελήφθαι καὶ παρὰ Φρυγίᾳ Μῆνα Σαβάζιον ὑμνούμενον* [καὶ ἐν μέσταις ταῖς τοῦ Σαβάζιον τελεταῖς]. But Lasele *loc. cit.* p. 255 views the solar aspect of *Sabázios* as due to Orphic influence in the case of the Thracian cult and perhaps to late solar monotheism in the case of the Moesian inscription.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 241 no. 6 an altar from Nikopolis (*scilicet Nikupis*) inscribed [εὐφ' θεῶς] Ἰδεας μεγάλης [μητρ]-[ς] Δι' Ἠλίου μεγάλῳ κυρίῳ Σεβάζιῳ ἀγίῳ. For the cult-title 'Agios' cp. the solar Zeus Agios at Tripolis (*supra* p. 192).

<sup>7</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 18. 1 item in Thracia eundem haberi solem atque Liberum accipimus, quem illi Sebadium nuncupantes magnifica religione celebrant, ut Alexander

If the foregoing considerations are well founded, it follows that there was no small resemblance between Zeus *Ammon* and Zeus *Sabázios*. In both cases a ram-god developed into a sun-god. In both the deity became a snake. The Libyan Zeus had his sacred oak<sup>1</sup>: the Phrygian Zeus as *Bagaios* was an oak-god<sup>2</sup>. Zeus *Ammon* had a goddess to wife, possibly Mother Earth herself<sup>3</sup>, and begat a youthful *Ammon* most probably identified with the Libyan Dionysos<sup>4</sup>. Zeus *Sabázios* consorted with Demeter and Kore, perhaps before them with the earth-mother, and likewise begat a Phrygian Dionysos.

Now there are strong reasons for believing that the Graeco-Libyans were near akin to the Thraco-Phrygians, and that both sets of tribes had relatives among the early Cretans<sup>5</sup>. It is therefore of interest to find in Crete, the half-way house between them, sundry traces of the same worship. We do not, it is true, get here any 'Minoan' evidence of Zeus as a ram-god, unless indeed we may see with Sir Arthur Evans in a clay sealing from the palace at Knossos (fig.

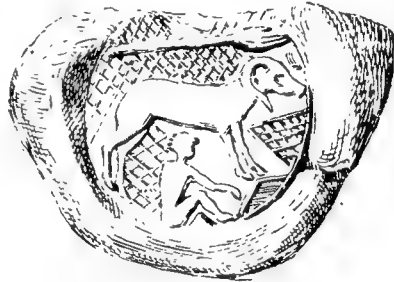


Fig. 298.

298)<sup>6</sup> the infant Zeus nursed by a horned sheep. But observe that in Crete the ram gave place to other animals of a like significance, especially to the *agrimi* or wild-goat and to the bull<sup>7</sup>.

scribit: eque deo in colle Zalmisso aedes dicata est specie rotunda, cuius medium interpatet tectum. rotunditas aedis monstrat huiusce sideris speciem: summoque tecto lumen admittitur, ut appareat solem cuncta vertice summo lustrare lucis inmissu, et quia oriente eo universa patefiunt. Perhaps we may compare the story of Perdikkas in Hdt. 8. 137 f. W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe* 1868 lx. 358 derived *Zalmis* from ζῆλα, 'wine' (He-sych. v.7. ζῆλαι ὁ οἶνος παρὰ Θραζῖ with M. Schmidt's note *ad loc.*).

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 364 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 400 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 370.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 371 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The evidence is persuasively marshalled by Sir Arthur Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 372 ff. ('Crete the Meeting-point of Thraco-Phrygian and Libyan Elements'). For a review of recent research in the same direction see K. Penka *Die vorhellenische Bevölkerung Griechenlands* Hildburghausen 1911.

<sup>6</sup> A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 129 fig. 17 and in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902-1903 ix. 88 fig. 60. The sealing is enlarged ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

<sup>7</sup> *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xvi.

At Gortyna there appears to have been an annual festival (Τῆρποι), in which Zeus as a Satyr (Τῆρπος) consorted with the earth-goddess Europe (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xviii). Now, according to Serv. in Verg. *ed.* 1 prooem., Laconum lingua Tityrus dicitur uris



## 402 The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

The well-known fragment of Euripides' *Cretans*<sup>1</sup> suffices to prove that the mysteries of Zeus *Idaios*, the mountain-mother, and Zagreus were already connected with that island in the fifth century B.C. Not improbably they had been celebrated there from time immemorial. Silver coins of Priansos in Crete from c. 430 B.C. onwards represent a goddess enthroned beneath a palm-tree, who caresses with her hand the head of a great snake (fig. 299)<sup>2</sup>. F. Lenormant<sup>3</sup>, Prof. P. Gardner<sup>4</sup> and Mr W. Wroth<sup>5</sup> have made out a strong case for regarding this goddess as Persephone the mother of Zagreus. J. N. Svoronos would see in her Hygieia<sup>6</sup>. Dr B. V. Head cautiously observes: 'The goddess fondling the serpent may be Persephone approached by Zeus in the likeness of a serpent.... or possibly Hygieia<sup>7</sup>.' Whatever her name, she could doubtless claim kinship with the snake-goddess of Knossos, Gournia, and Palaikastro<sup>8</sup>. Other silver coins, probably struck at



Fig. 299.



Fig. 300.



Fig. 301.

Gortyna between 66 and 31 B.C., belong to the large series of *kistophoroi*. This quasi-federal currency had on its obverse side

maior qui gregem antere consuevit: sicut etiam in comoedus invenitur. And Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1388 n. 8 thinks that this use of *τίρπος* came to Sparta from Crete. It is therefore just possible that at Gortyna Zeus was originally a ram-god. But?

The head of Zeus *Ammon*, both bearded and beardless, occurs on coins of the Cretan towns Arkadia c. 300 B.C. (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète antique* Macon 1890 i. 26 f. pl. 2, 16-21, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 12 pl. 3, 7 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* n. 170. Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 458) and Knossos c. 200-100 B.C. (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 78 f. pl. 6, 24, 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 23 pl. 6, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 176 pl. 41, 4. Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 462)

<sup>1</sup> *Luci. Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète antique* Macon 1890 i. 295 f. pl. 28, 21-23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 73 pl. 18, 6 (—my fig. 299), 7. Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 476.

<sup>3</sup> F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 24.

<sup>4</sup> P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* p. 162 pl. 9, 5.

<sup>5</sup> W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. xxxv f. cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 87 f.

<sup>6</sup> J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Head *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> The examples of a 'Minoan' snake-goddess are listed by H. Punsz in the *Ath. Myth.* 1910 xxxv. 157 f.

## The Golden or Purple Ram in Italy 403

an ivy-wreath enclosing a *kiste* with half-open lid, from which a snake creeps out, and on its reverse two snakes twisted together with a bow-case between them. The Cretan modification of the latter type introduces Zeus with thunderbolt and eagle in place of the bow-case (fig. 300)<sup>1</sup>.

The early Cretans are known to have carried their civilisation westwards as far as Sicily and south Italy. They took with them their cult of a god identified with Zeus<sup>2</sup>. For this among other reasons<sup>3</sup> we may accept Eckhel's<sup>4</sup> interpretation of a type occurring on certain small fifth-century silver coins of Selinous (fig. 301)<sup>5</sup>: Persephone seated on a rock, as befits the daughter of a mountain-mother, coquets with Zeus, who approaches her as a bearded snake. The same type is found on a small silver coin of Segesta<sup>6</sup>. No wonder Orphic and Pythagorean doctrines received so ready a welcome in Magna Graecia. It was their old, though not their oldest, home.

### iii. The Golden or Purple Ram of the Etruscans and Italians.

Etruscan books declared that a ram born of a remarkable or unusual colour portended universal prosperity to the emperor<sup>7</sup>. Tarquitiu, who translated into Latin an Etruscan collection of omens, wrote: 'If a sheep or ram be sprinkled with purple or golden colour, it increases plenty and great prosperity for the prince of the order and clan; the clan continues to have illustrious descendants and becomes more flourishing in them<sup>8</sup>.' Hence

<sup>1</sup> J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 334 pl. 32, 1 (Naples), *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 479, 535.

<sup>2</sup> *Infia* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ).

<sup>3</sup> See Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter-Kora p. 668 f. *Munztaf.* 9, 27 a, b.

<sup>4</sup> Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*<sup>2</sup> i. 240 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 142, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 218 pl. 16, 2, G. F. Hill *Coin. of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 86 pl. 6, 5, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 169. I figure a specimen in my collection.

<sup>6</sup> *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 166, citing G. Tropea *Numismatica Sicula del Mus. Mandralisa in Cefalù* 1901 p. 29 no. 5. Lisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 260 notes a similar type at Gela, but his reference to Monnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* i. 236 is mistaken. Cp. also *denari* of C. Memmius c. 60 B.C., on which Ceres appears enthroned with three corn-ears in her right hand, a torch in her left, and a snake at her feet (Babelon *Monn. Rép. rom.* ii. 218 fig.)—a type revived in imperial times (Rösche *Lex. Num.* viii. 696).

<sup>7</sup> Serv. in Verg. *id.* 4, 43, Macrobi. *Sat.* 3, 7, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Macrobi. *loc. cit.* Rheginos *ap. Teet. Phil.* i. 468 f. cites from Isigonos (*frags.*, 5 Westermann) the statement that sheep have wool of a golden colour.

## 404 The Golden or Purple Ram in Italy

Virgil in his famous fourth *Eclogue*, anticipating the dawn of a brighter age, says:

Nor wool shall learn its parti-coloured lies:  
But in the meadows of himself the ram  
Shall change his fleece for sweetly-blushing purple  
Or saffron stain, and of its own accord  
Scarlet shall clothe the lambs what time they graze<sup>1</sup>.

One of the omens portending the accession of Diadumenus was that twelve purple sheep, one of them parti-coloured, were born on his father's estate<sup>2</sup>.

In the folk-tale of *Cupid and Psyche* the second task imposed on the unhappy Psyche is thus described by Apuleius<sup>3</sup>:

‘Just as Aurora drove up, Venus called Psyche, and began: “Do you see that wood, all along the banks of the river that flows past, with its lower waters falling into the fountain close by us? There are sheep there with gleaming fleeces that grow with the colour of gold, grazing and wandering about, with no one looking after them. Seek out one tuft from all that growth of costly fleece, any way you like, and bring it to me: that is my command.” Psyche went off with a will, not however with the intention of doing as she was bid, but to seek rest in her misfortunes by hurling herself from the cliff over the stream. But the green reed by the river, the nursling of soft music, was divinely inspired by the gentle rustling of the balmy breeze, and gave its oracle forth. “O Psyche, exercised by great and numerous woes, pollute not my sacred waters by thy most wretched death, nor yet approach the formidable sheep on yonder bank. For they are wont to become heated from the raging sunshine and rush about madly and savagely, bringing death to mortals in their fury, with their sharp horns and stony foreheads and, sometimes too, envenomed teeth. But when midday has assuaged the heat of the sun, and the cattle have settled down to rest in the cool that comes up from the river, thou canst hide thyself secretly beneath that giant plane-tree, which drinks from the same current as myself, and then, when the sheep have passed from their first fury and are relieved of mental tension, strike the foliage of the neighbouring wood: there thou shalt find the golden wool, which is everywhere clinging and cleaving to the undergrowth.” So spake the reed, so frankly and humanely, and taught poor Psyche the way of health, though her sickness was unto death. She did not fail to put in practice the instruction she had received through her hearing, and of which she had no cause to repent. She was careful in everything, and, by an easy exercise of petty theft, she filled her bosom with the soft yellow gold, and brought it back to Venus.

Fulgentius, writing about the year 500 A.D., describes these sheep with golden fleece as ‘the flocks of the Sun!’ And he is probably right; for their fury varied, as Apuleius says, with the heat of that luminary. Psyche finding the fleece of gold adhering

<sup>1</sup> Virg. *ec.* 4. 42 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ael. Lampr. *Ant. Diadum.* 4. 5, *cp. ib.* 3, 3 quasi sideris et caelestis emicuit.

<sup>3</sup> Apul. *met.* 6. 11-13 trans. F. D. Byrne.

<sup>4</sup> Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 6 p. 718 van Staveren.

## The Golden or Purple Lamb of Atreus 405

to the tree-stems near the big plane-tree will—I suspect—prove to be a doublet of Iason finding the fleece of gold hung on an oak-tree in the grove of Ares<sup>1</sup>.

### iv. The Golden or Purple Lamb of Atreus.

Analogous beliefs in Greece appear to connect the purple or golden ram not only with the prosperity of the ruler but also with the sun. A Greek commentator on the *Iliad* tells the following tale:

‘Atreus, son of Pelops and king of the Peloponnese, once vowed that he would sacrifice to Artemis the fairest offspring of his flocks. But, when a golden lamb was born to him, he repented of his vow and kept the lamb shut up in a chest. Proud of his treasure he used boastful language in the market-place. Thyestes, vexed at this, made love to Acrope and induced her to give him the treasure. Having secured it he told his brother that he had no right to boast in that way, and asserted in the hearing of the multitude that the man who had the golden lamb ought to have the kingdom. When Atreus had agreed to this, Zeus sent Hermes and bade him make a compact about the kingdom, informing him that he was about to cause the sun to travel backwards. Atreus made the compact, and the sun set in the east. Wherefore, inasmuch as heaven had borne witness to the avarice of Thyestes, Atreus received the kingdom and drove Thyestes into banishment<sup>2</sup>.

This tale was celebrated in antiquity. It can be traced back to the *Alkmaionis*<sup>3</sup>, an Argive epic probably written in the sixth century B.C. And Euripides, who took a special interest in primitive religious ideas, has repeated allusions to it<sup>4</sup>. The myth has come down to us with the usual number of slight variations<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. 1. 9. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. *Il.* 2. 106 (codd. A. D.), cp. schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 (codd. A. C. Fl. 33).

<sup>3</sup> *Alkmaion. frag.*, 6 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 997: see T. Voigt *De Atr. et Thyest. fab.* p. 26 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Eur. *I. T.* 811 ff., *Or.* 995 ff., *El.* 700 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The lamb was brought to Argos by Ant[ops?] (*Alkmaion. frag.* 6) or Hermes (Eur. *Or.* 995 ff.) or Pan (Eur. *El.* 700 ff.); or was found in the flocks of Atreus through the wrath of Hermes, who wished to avenge the murder of his son Myrtilos (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Gu. I., *ib.* 990 A. B. I. C., *ib.* 995 A. B. M. I., *ib.* 998 A. B. M. I., Tzet. *chil.* 1. 433 ff.), or through the wrath of Artemis (Pherekydes *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 997 A. B. I.); or was simply born in the flocks of Atreus (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Fl. 33. A, schol. *Il.* 2. 106 A. D.). The sun and the Pleiads reversed their usual course for a single day (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Gu. I., *ib.* 998 A. B. M. I., Tzet. *chil.* 1. 444 ff.) or permanently (Plat. *politic.* 268 E—269 A). The myth is sometimes combined with that of Thyestes' feast (Eur. *Or.* 1007 f., schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Gu. I., Tzet. *chil.* 1. 447 ff.), sometimes not (Eur. *I. T.* 811 ff., *El.* 700 ff., schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Fl. 33, *ib.* 990, 995, 997, 998, schol. *Il.* 2. 106). One account makes Atreus strangle the golden lamb that appeared and then keep it in a box (Apollod. *epit.* 2. 10 f., Apollonios *ap.* Tzet. *chil.* 1. 436 ff.); another makes him sacrifice to Artemis the flesh of the golden lamb born in his flocks, but save its fleece (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 C.; cp. *ib.* Fl. 33).

## 406 The Golden or Purple Lamb of Atreus

among which the most interesting are perhaps Simonides' statement that Atreus' golden lamb was purple<sup>1</sup>, and Seneca's mention of a ram, not a lamb:

Pelops' high standing hath a noble beast,  
A magic ram, leader of that rich flock  
Over and o'er its body hangs the hair.  
One wave of gold: and from its back new kings  
Tantalean their golden sceptres bear.  
Its owner reigns—the whole line's fortune follows it.  
Safely it grazes in a place apart,  
A thing of sanctity shut in by stone<sup>2</sup>.

Atreus' golden lamb was regarded by some ancient writers as a silver bowl or cup enriched with a gold lamb in the centre of it<sup>3</sup>.



Fig. 302.

Others perhaps identified it with the sceptre 'which Hephaistos made for Zeus, and Zeus gave to Hermes, and Hermes to Pelops, and Pelops bequeathed to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, and Thyestes passed on to Agamemnon<sup>4</sup>.' For an *olpé* by the painter Amasis (550—530 B.C.) shows Herakles holding bow and arrow in his left hand and extending his right towards a king, whose

<sup>1</sup> Simonid. *frag.* 200 A Bergk<sup>1</sup> *ap.* Tzetz. *chol.* i. 430 f. Bergk *ad loc.* cites Schneidewin's opinion that Tzetzes is importing into the story of Atreus a statement that Simonides really made about the Colchian fleece (see *infra* p. 419 n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Sen. *Thyest.* 225 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotos of Herakleia *frag.* 61 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* n. 41 Muller) *ap.* Athen. 231 c *φιάλη*, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 868, 49 f. *φιάλιον*, *ib.* p. 1319, 47 f. *ποτήριον*. For royal gold cups adorned with special animal forms see *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 168 n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 9. 40. 11, on which see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 371.

## The Golden or Purple Lamb of Atreus 407

sceptre ends in a ram's head (fig. 302)<sup>1</sup>. This may be interpreted as Herakles with Eurystheus, whose successor was Atreus of the golden lamb.

But such *regalia* cannot explain the myth: at most they presuppose it. It seems certain that the golden lamb (or ram) belongs to a very ancient *stratum* of Greek religion. And in view of the ram-Zeus, whom we have found among the Graeco-Libyans and Thraco-Phrygians, I shall venture to suggest that the golden lamb was a theriomorphic epiphany of Zeus, the forefather of the Pelopidai. This might account for the repeated mention of a ram in connexion with the family. Pausanias, when describing the route from Mykenai to Argos, says:

'We come to the grave of Thyestes on the right. Over the grave is the stone figure of a ram, because Thyestes obtained the golden lamb, after he had committed adultery with his brother's wife<sup>2</sup>.'

A little further on he speaks of Thyestes' tomb as 'the Rams'<sup>3</sup> in the plural. At Olympia the annual magistrates used to slay a victim into a pit for Pelops, the father of Atreus and Thyestes, and the victim was a black ram, the neck of which was given to the 'woodman' of Zeus<sup>4</sup>. Pelops himself had won the kingdom from Oinomaos, king of Pisa, whose practice it was to sacrifice a ram to Zeus before starting on the chariot-race with the competitor for the hand of his daughter Hippodameia<sup>5</sup>. The scene is

<sup>1</sup> *Wien. Vorlegabl.* 1889 pl. 4.

Note that a ram's head was a frequent design on thrones, e.g. that of Zeus on the *krater* of the Villa Papa Giulio and on the Madrid *putal* (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (7)), or that of Damasistrate on her *stèle* (*Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*<sup>2</sup> p. 124 f. no. 743; Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 401 no. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 2. 18. 1. On ancient Phrygian and modern Armenian tombs marked by stone rams see J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 2. 18. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 5. 13. 2 f.

Cp. the black sheep, male and female, slain into a pit by Odysseus for Teiresias etc. (*Od.* 10. 516 ff., 11. 23 ff.): Polygnotos in the Unidian *Lêché* at Delphi represented the victims as black rams (Paus. 10. 29. 1): a vase at Paris shows a black-striped sheep and a ram's head by the mouth of the pit (Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 300 pl. 60; Reinach *Rép. Vasen* i. 126, 1 f., Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 671 f. fig. 10). So at Lebadeia a ram was sacrificed over a pit for Agamemnon (Paus. 9. 39. 6). Those who consulted the oracle of Kalchas on a hill called Dion in Daunia sacrificed to him a black ram and slept on its skin (Strab. 284). Near the foot of the same hill was a sanctuary of Podaleirios (Strab. *ib.*) and his tomb: Daunians who slept there on sheep-skins received oracles in dreams (Lyk. *Al.* 1050 ff., Timaios *frag.* 15 ap. Tzet. in Lyk. *Al.* 1050). At the sanctuary of Amphiaraos near Oropos enquirers slew a ram and likewise slept on its skin (Paus. 1. 34. 5). The nymph Albunea had a dream-oracle near Tibur: those who consulted it slept on the skins of slain sheep (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 81 ff.). See further Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 55 on a similar practice at Hierapolis, and Hieron. *comm. in Is.* 65 (xxiv. 657 Migne) on incubation in the cult of Aesculapius.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. 4. 73.

## 408 The Golden or Purple Lamb of Atreus

represented on a vase from Ruvo (fig. 303)<sup>1</sup>. Pelops in Phrygian attire clasps the hand of Hippodameia over a flaming altar. By the bride stands her father Oinomaos in full armour. Behind him a wreathed attendant, perhaps Myrtilos, brings the ram for the sacrifice: the wheel at his feet is a short-hand indication of the approaching chariot-race. The Fury on the right and Aphrodite with Eros on the left suggest the two alternatives of death or victory. A fine polychrome vase from S. Agata de' Goti, now in the Naples collection, depicts the scene as viewed a few moments later (fig. 304)<sup>2</sup>. Pelops and Hippodameia, already mounted on the four-horse car, are glancing backwards at Oinomaos, who,



Fig. 303.

helped by a couple of wreathed attendants, is about to sacrifice the ram at an altar burning before a high pedestalled statue of Artemis. The goddess carries in either hand a bow and a *phiale*; her head-dress is topped by three letters, which yield no intelligible sense. Behind the ram is a youthful, but unnamed, spectator with two spears and a shield; he too is wreathed and sits upon his *chlamys*. In the upper register Myrtilos, wearing a wreath and the long *chiton* of a charioteer, brings up the four-horse car of Oinomaos. The statue of Artemis is flanked by the figures of Poseidon and Athena, the remaining corner being filled in by a group of Zeus with the boy Ganymedes, hoop and hoop-stick in hand, and a daintily-dressed Aphrodite. P. Weizsacker suggests that the attitude of Zeus, who turns his back upon the sacrifice, is

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 XXIII. 298 ff. pl. Q—R. See also Remach *Rip. Vasen* 1. 290, 3, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 777 f. fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 XL. 49 ff. pl. 55. See also Remach *Rip. Vasen* 1. 379, 1, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 779 f. fig. 5.

meant to imply that the god will not hear the prayer of Oinomaos<sup>1</sup>. If so, the artist is guilty of some confusion; for the statue before which the offering is about to be made is certainly not a Zeus, but an archaic Artemis. However, other representations of the same scene—and they are fairly common—consistently show the pillar or statue in the central position to be that of Zeus<sup>2</sup>; and this agrees with the literary tradition.

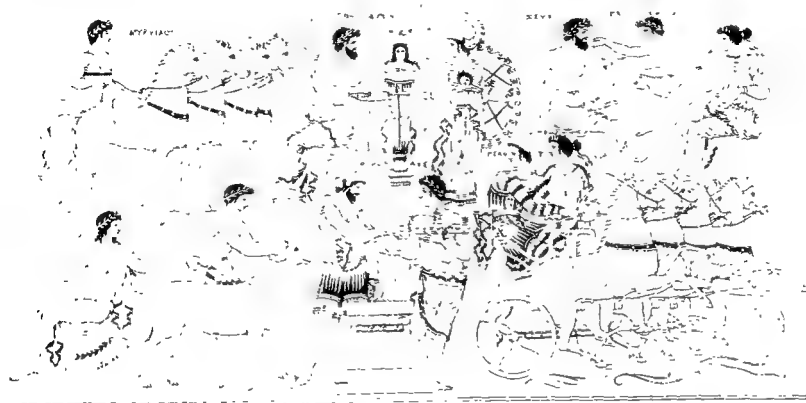


Fig. 304.

In the myth of Atreus' possession of the golden lamb and control of the sun's course were alike accepted as proofs of fitness to reign. Hence I formerly conjectured that the golden lamb symbolised the sun itself<sup>3</sup>. This, however, is an ill-supported guess: solar symbolism was at best a secondary development of the myth, not its primary meaning.

#### v. The Cattle of the Sun.

In Homeric times the Sun-god was looked upon as the owner of cattle both great and small. He had seven herds of oxen and seven fair flocks of sheep in the island of Thrinakia. In each herd

<sup>1</sup> P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 777.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 36 ff. pls. iii, iv, v.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. 4. 73. On the Argive identification of Apollon *Kádmētes* with Zeus see *supra* p. 373 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 184, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 271.

Later rationalists explained away the golden lamb and the reversal of the sun's course by saying that Thyestes discovered the constellation of Aries and that Atreus pointed out the difference between the real and apparent motions of the heavenly bodies: see Eur. *frag.* 861 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ap. Achill. Stat. *isag.* in *Arat. phæn.* 123 F., Polyb. ap. Strab. 23, Loukian. *de astrolog.* 12. Tzet. *chil.* i. 470 takes Hermes to be the planet Mercury and Artemis to be the moon.



or flock were fifty oxen or sheep, as the case might be. They were not subject to birth or death; and they were tended by Phaethousa and Lampetie, two nymphs, whom Neaira bore to the Sun-god himself<sup>1</sup>. Apollonios Rhodios describes Phaethousa as shepherding the sheep with a silver staff in her hand, while Lampetie kept the oxen with a crook of shining mountain-bronze: the oxen themselves were milk-white with golden horns<sup>2</sup>. Aristotle gave what the Greeks called a 'physical' explanation of this myth, referring the 350 (= 7 × 50) oxen to the days of the lunar year<sup>3</sup>: the scholiast on the *Odyssey* grasps at the clue and surmises that the 350 (= 7 × 50) sheep in like manner denote the corresponding nights<sup>4</sup>. F. G. Welcker half a century since defended and reinforced this view<sup>5</sup>. But are we prepared to interpret in the same way the oxen of the Sun-god, which the giant Alkyoneus drove from Erytheia<sup>6</sup> and kept at Phlegrai on the Thracian Isthmos<sup>7</sup>? And what of the cattle lifted by Hermes, which, according to one account, belonged to the Sun<sup>8</sup>? It is surely of more moment to observe that, even in historical times, actual flocks and herds were kept for the Sun-god in various parts of Greece. There were cattle of the Sun at Gortyna in Crete<sup>9</sup>. The Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollon, which cannot be later than the year 586 B.C. and may be much older<sup>10</sup>, relates that certain Cretans—

Passing Lakonis reached the sea-girt town  
And fields of the Sun that brings delight to men,  
Even Tainaron, where the deep-fleeced sheep are fed  
Of the kingly Sun and range a lovely land<sup>11</sup>.

Lastly, at Apollonia in Illyria the Sun-god had flocks about which we are better informed. Herodotos<sup>12</sup> in one of his delightful digressions gives us the following narrative:

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 12. 127 ff., 261 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 962 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Aristot. frag.* 167 *Rosc. ap. schol. Od.* 12. 129, *Eustath. in Od.* p. 1717, 32 ff. So too *Loukian. de astr. dig.* 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Schol. Od.* 12. 129.

<sup>5</sup> *Welcker Gr. Gotterl.* 1. 405 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Apollod.* 1. 6. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Pind. Isth.* 5 (6). 32 f., *schol. ad loc.* On the myth of Alkyoneus with the cattle of Helios as a parallel to that of Herakles with the cattle of Geryoneus see C. Robert in *Hermes* xix. 473 ff., M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 172 ff., K. Wernicke in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc.* 1. 1581 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Schol. Dionys. Thrac. gramm.* 2 in *Bekker anec.* ii. 752, 12 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Serv. in Verg. ael.* 6. 60.

<sup>10</sup> T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes *The Homeric Hymns* London 1904 p. 67.

<sup>11</sup> *H. Ap.* 232 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Hdt.* 9. 93 f. and *ap. Eustath. in Od.* p. 1717, 45 f. Konon the mythographer, who

\*At this same Apollonia are sheep sacred to the sun. By day they feed beside a river, which flows from Mount Lakmon through the district of Apollonia and enters the sea near the harbour of Orikos. But by night they are guarded by certain chosen men, the richest and noblest of the citizens, each guardian keeping watch for a twelvemonth. For the Apolloniates set great store by these sheep in consequence of an oracle. And the flock is folded in a cave at a distance from the town. Here then on the occasion of which I speak this man Euenios, chosen for the post, was mounting guard. One night he fell asleep while on duty; and wolves, creeping past into the cave, destroyed some sixty of the sheep. He, when he saw what had happened, kept his counsel and told no man, intending to buy other sheep and substitute them. However, the Apolloniates discovered the facts, and, on ascertaining what had occurred, brought him before a tribunal and condemned him to forfeit his eyesight, since he had slept at his post. But, as soon as they had blinded Euenios, their sheep ceased to have lambs and their land no longer bore crops as before. Responses were given them both at Dodona and at Delphoi, when they enquired of the priests the reason of their present misfortune, to the effect that they had sinned in depriving of his eyesight Euenios, the guardian of the sacred sheep, for that they (the gods) had sent the wolves, and now would not desist from avenging him till the citizens had paid for their misdeeds whatever penalty he himself chose and deemed right: but that, if this were duly done, the gods on their part would bestow upon Euenios a gift that would make many a man call him blessed. These were the oracles delivered to the Apolloniates. They kept strict silence about the matter, and entrusted the management of it to certain citizens, who acted in the following way. When Euenios was sitting on his seat, they came and sat beside him. They began to talk of one thing and another, and at last fell to sympathising with his calamity. Thus taking him in, they asked what penalty he would choose, supposing the Apolloniates were minded to promise reparation for their misdeeds. He, not having heard the terms of the oracle, made the following choice: if they would give him fields that belonged to such and such citizens—and here he named those whom he thought to possess the two finest plots in Apollonia—and in addition a house, which he knew to be the best in the town, why, once possessed of those, he said, he would have no grievance left and would be well content with that as a penalty. So he said his say, and the men sitting beside him replied: "Euenios the Apolloniates hereby pay you this as a penalty for the blinding of your eyes, in accordance with oracles that they have received." At this he was much put out, realising the whole plot, and how he had been deceived: but they bought the property from its owners and gave him what he had chosen. And from that time onwards he had prophetic powers implanted in him, so that his fame spread far and wide<sup>1</sup>.

The story of Euenios, who kept the sheep of the Sun-god in a cave and was blinded for losing them by sleeping at his post, bears a superficial resemblance to the myth of Polyphemos. But

lived in the time of Julius Caesar and dedicated his work to Archelaos, king of Kappadokia, told the same story, except that he spoke of *Εὐήριος* as *Πειθήριος* (Konon *narr.* 30 *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 136 a 6 ff. Bekker).

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 9. 95 states that Delphonos, the son of this Euenios, was seer of the Greek fleet before the battle of Mykale (479 B.C.), but adds, on hear-say, that the former was a pretender who travelled through Greece usurping the name and fame of the latter.

## 412 The Golden Lamb in Epeiros

the inference that I wish to draw from it is this. If, about the year 500 B.C., the inhabitants of Apollonia jealously guarded a flock of sheep under the belief that they belonged to the Sun-god and ensured the fertility of their own flocks and fields, it seems highly probable that the myth of the golden lamb presupposes a similar custom in the heroic age. The luck of the Pelopidai depended on the safe-guarding of a particular sheep, believed to be—if I am right in my surmise—not merely the property, but the visible embodiment, of Zeus.

### vi. The Golden Lamb in a folk-tale from Epeiros.

This connexion between the golden lamb and Zeus goes far towards explaining a remarkable folk-tale heard by Dr J. G. von Hahn at Kapéssovo, a village in the district of Zagóri to the north-east of Jánnina in Epeiros<sup>1</sup>:—

“There was once a king, who had three sons and great riches: and, before he died, he divided his substance among his sons. The two elder sons lived a merry life, year in year out, squandering and scattering their father's treasures till there was nothing left and they were reduced to poverty. The youngest on the other hand kept house with his share, took a wife, and had by her a most beautiful daughter. When she grew up, he built for her a big underground palace, and killed the architect who had built it. Then he shut up his daughter in it, and sent heralds throughout the world to announce that, whosoever could succeed in finding the king's daughter, should have her to wife: but that, if he failed to find her, he must be put to death. So many young men came to essay the adventure. But all their efforts were in vain: they could not find the princess, and they lost their heads.

After many had already met their deaths, there came one young man, as clever as he was handsome, bent on pursuing the quest. He went therefore to a herdsman and begged him to hide him in a sheep-skin with a golden fleece and to bring him in this disguise before the king. The shepherd agreed to do so, took a sheep-skin which had a golden fleece, sewed up the fellow inside it, gave him also food and drink and sheep's-droppings, and so brought him before the king. The king, on seeing the golden lamb, asked the herdsman “Have you got that lamb for sale?” But the herdsman rejoined: “No, sire, not for sale: but, if it takes your fancy, I will gladly do you a service and lend it you without pay for three days. But you must then give it back to me.”

The king promised to do so, and repaired with the lamb to his daughter. Having led it into his castle and through many chambers, he came to a door and cried: “Open, Tartara Martara of the earth!” Thereupon the door flew

<sup>1</sup> The modern Greek text is printed from J. G. von Hahn's manuscripts by J. Pro NEOEΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ *Folktales popularis graecis* Copenhagen 1879 p. 52 ff. There is a German translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 124 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀνοίξτε τάρταρα μάτταρα τῆς γῆς! For the phrase τάρταρα τῆς γῆς cp. A. Passow

open of itself; and, after they had gone through many more chambers, they came to a second door. Here the king again cried: "Open, Tartara Martara of the earth!" Then the door flew open of itself; and they came to the room, where the princess lived. Its floor, walls, and ceiling were of solid silver. The king, when he had greeted the princess, gave her the lamb. She was delighted with it: she stroked it and fondled it and played with it. But when, shortly afterwards, the lamb eased itself, the princess said to the king: "Father, the lamb has eased itself!" And he replied: "It is just a lamb, why should it not?" Then he left the lamb with the princess and went his way.

During the night the young fellow drew off the skin. And the princess, seeing that he was so handsome, fell in love with him and asked: "Why did you hide in the skin and come here?" He replied: "When I saw that so many failed to find you and lost their lives, I contrived this trick and came to you." Then the princess exclaimed: "Ah, you have done well!" But you must know that, even if you have found me here, your wager is not yet won. For then my father changes me and my maidens into ducks and asks you: "Which of these ducks is the princess?" But I will turn my head round and plume my feathers with my beak, so that you can recognise me."

When they had prattled away for three days together, the herdsman came back to the king and demanded his lamb. And the king went to his daughter to fetch it. She was woe-begone at her sporting with the lamb being so soon over. But the king said: "I cannot leave it with you, for it is only lent." He took it away and returned it to the herdsman.

The young fellow now pulled off the skin, went to the king and said: "Sire, I can find your daughter." The king, seeing the handsome lad, answered him: "I'm sorry for your youth, my boy. This adventure has already cost so many their lives, and it will be the death of you too." "I stand by my word, sir king; I will either find her or lose my head." So saying, he went in front of the king, and the king followed him till they came to the great door. Then said the young man to the king: "Speak three words, and it opens." And the king made answer: "What words are they? Shall I say: Lock, Lock, Lock?" "No," cried he, "say: Open, Tartara Martara of the earth!" The king did so, and the door opened. They went in, and the king bit his moustache for anger. Then they came to the second door, where the same thing happened over again. They entered, and found the princess.

Next the king said: "Well done, you have found the princess. But now I am going to turn her and her maidens into ducks; and, if you can guess which of them all is my daughter, then you shall have her to wife." And without more ado the king changed all the maidens into ducks, brought them before the young man, and said to him: "Now show me, which is my daughter." Then the princess, as she had agreed to do, plumed her wings with her beak; and the young man answered: "The one yonder, pluming her wings, is the princess." There was then no help for it; the king had to give her to him for a wife, and he lived with her in grandeur and in happiness.

*Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 no. 368. 1 Κάτω στὰ Τάρταρα τῆς γῆς, κάτω στὸν κάτω κόσμος, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 98. The same word Τάρταρα survives in Rhodes as a name for the deepest part of Hades (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neuzeit* 1. 235 citing Benetoklis in the *Ἐφημερίς τῶν Φιλομαθῶν* 1860 p. 1257). Μάρταρα is a meaningless jingle formed on the analogy of Τάρταρα (J. Pio *op. cit.* p. 238).

## 414 The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos

Dr J. G. von Hahn points out—and indeed it is sufficiently obvious—that the folk-tale recalls the myth of Danae<sup>1</sup>. It is instructive to summarise the two in parallel columns:—

### *The myth of Danae.*

Akrisios, king of Argos, kept his daughter Danae shut up in an underground chamber of bronze.

Despite the king's precautions, Zeus visited her in a shower of gold, and became by her the father of Perseus.

The king enclosed Danae and Perseus in a chest, and flung them into the sea.

### *The folk-tale from Epeiros.*

A certain king kept his daughter shut up in an underground chamber of silver.

Despite the king's precautions, a young man visited her in the fleece of a golden lamb, and won her for his wife.

A comparison of the myth, localised at Argos, dated in the reign of king Akrisios, and throughout marked by definite names, with the folk-tale, which, like so many *Marchen*, is placeless, timeless, nameless, shows at once that the former is more developed than the latter. In particular, the whole episode of Danae and Perseus in the chest, which forms so striking a feature of the myth, is a sequel added to the original tale. It re-appears in quite a different connexion in another folk-tale from the same village of Kapéssovo<sup>2</sup>. But the first part of the Danae-myth is strictly parallel to the first folk-tale, and the gold-showering Zeus of the one is comparable with the golden lamb of the other. This variation is intelligible, if, as I have supposed, the golden lamb of Atreus and Thyestes was the epiphany of Zeus himself.

## vii. The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos.

The golden lamb of the Pelopidai, with its relations to Zeus on the one hand and to the sun on the other, can hardly be discussed without reference to the golden ram of Phrixos and Helle. The myth in question has come down to us through a large number of channels, good, bad, and indifferent: The oldest version

<sup>1</sup> J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* n. 206. Other resemblances to the Danae-myth are noted *ib.* n. 201, 310 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ο μισος ἀνθρώπου, 'The Half-man': text in J. Pro NEOEΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ p. 21 ff., German translation in J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanische Märchen* n. 102 ff. The princess, her child, and the Half-man, who is suspected of being its father, are enclosed together in an iron vessel with a lid and sent adrift on the sea, but are rescued by magic means. The situation is that described by von Hahn as the 'Danae-formula' and illustrated by him from Walachian and Italian tales (see J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* i. 49).

<sup>3</sup> The evidence, literary and monumental, is put together by J. Fischer-Burk in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* n. 1929-1931; K. Sedgiger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 669-675, 2028-2029; Türk *ib.* iii. 2458-2467.

## The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos 415

accessible in its entirety is that of Sophokles, who told the tale in the following form<sup>1</sup>. Athamas had two children, Phrixos and Helle, by the goddess Nephele. Afterwards he deserted her and took to him a mortal woman in her stead. Nephele out of jealousy flew up to the sky, and punished him by sending a drought upon his realm. Envoys dispatched to consult the Pythian Apollon were bribed by the step-mother to bring back word that the drought could be stayed only if Athamas sacrificed Phrixos and Helle. Athamas, on hearing this, sent to fetch his children from the flocks, when a ram speaking with human voice warned them of their danger. They fled with the ram. Helle, in crossing the strait at Abydos, fell from the ram and was drowned in the sea, called after her *Helléspontos*, 'Helle's sea.' But Phrixos, riding on the ram, got safely to the country of the Kolchoi. Here he sacrificed the ram, which by the agency of the gods had become golden-fleeced, to Ares or to Hermes. Phrixos settled in these parts, which in memory of him were named *Phrygiá*, 'Phrixos' land.' Meantime Nephele proceeded to avenge her children. Athamas in his turn, garlanded like a victim, was led out to be sacrificed at the altar of Zeus. But in the nick of time Herakles appeared and rescued him.

In Sophokles' version the step-mother is anonymous. But names were easy to supply. Pindar called her Demodike, Hippias Gorgopis, and Pherekydes of Leros Themisto<sup>2</sup>. More popular, however, than any of these was Ino, the daughter of Kadmos and Harmonia, king and queen of Thebes. Her story was linked with that of Athamas at least as early as the fifth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> The resultant myth is thus set out by Apollodoros<sup>4</sup>:

'Of the sons of Aiolos Athamas, ruler of Boiotia, became by Nephele the father of two children, Phrixos a boy and Helle a girl. Again he married Ino, of whom were born to him Learchos and Melikertes. Ino, plotting against the

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 257, Apostol. 11. 58, Eudok. *zool.* 28, cp. schol. Aisch. *Pers.* 70.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 288. For the MSS. *Δημοτικήν* (*Δημοτικήν* (Gott.) A. Boeckh *ad loc.* (=Pind. *frag.* 49 Christ. 49 Schroeder) restores *Δημοδίκην*, cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20 *Crethea autem habuisse Demodiceen uxorem, quam alii Biadiceen dixerunt.* On the name *Πορύγιος* (Hippias *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* II. 62 Muller)) see E. Wiltsch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* I. 1727 f. *Θεμίστω* (Pherekyd. *frag.* 52 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* I. 86 Muller)) occurs in several versions of the myth (as first wife in Herodotos *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 2. 1144, Athen. 560 D, as second wife in Eur. *ap. Hyg. fab.* 4, Hyg. *fab.* 1, as third wife in Apollod. 1. 9. 2, Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 302 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. 7. 197, Eud. *ap. Hyg. fab.* 4, Eur. (?) *frag.* 399 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap. Plout. d. sca. num. zind.* 11.

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. 1. 9. 1 f. An almost identical account is given by Iretz. in Lyk. *II* 22, Zenob. 4. 38, Eudok. *zool.* 342, 478, Hyg. *fab.* 2 f. Ap. Rhod. 2. 654 ff., 1143 ff. utilises the same version. Eudok. *zool.* 954 blends this with the Sophoclean form of the myth.

## 416 The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos

children of Nephele, persuaded the women to parch the wheat. They took it without the knowledge of the men and did so. The earth receiving wheat that was parched failed to give her yearly crops. Consequently Athamas sent to Delphoi to ask how he could be rid of this barrenness. But Ino induced the messengers whom he had sent to declare that, according to the oracle, the curse upon the crops would be removed, if Phrixos were sacrificed to Zeus. Athamas, hearing this, was compelled by the inhabitants of the land to obey, and set Phrixos beside the altar. But Nephele caught him up along with her daughter, and, having obtained from Hermes a ram with a golden fleece, gave it to them. Carried by the ram through the sky, they traversed land and sea. But, when they were over the sea that lies between Sigeton and the Cherronesos, Helle slipped off into the deep: and, as she perished there, the sea was called Hellespontos after her. Phrixos came to the Kolchoi, whose king was Aietes, son of the Sun-god and of Perscis, and brother of Kirke and Pasiphae the wife of Minos. Aietes welcomed him and gave him Chalkiope, one of his daughters. Phrixos slew the ram with the golden fleece as a sacrifice to Zeus *Phrixios* and gave its skin to Aietes: he nailed it round an oak-tree in a grove of Ares. Phrixos moreover had by Chalkiope the following children, Argos, Melas, Phrontis, and Kytisoros. At a later date Athamas, owing to the wrath of Hera, was deprived of his children by Ino also. For he himself went mad and shot Learchos, while Ino flung herself and Melikertes with her into the sea. Driven out of Boiotia, Athamas enquired of the god where he should dwell. The oracle replied that he should dwell wherever he was entertained as a guest by wild beasts. So he travelled through much country, till he fell in with wolves dividing sheep among themselves: they, when they caught sight of him, left their shares and fled. Athamas settled there, called the land Athamantia after his own name, married Themisto, the daughter of Hypseus, and begat Leukon, Erythrios, Schoineus, and Ptoos.

The myth of the golden ram was connected with two cult-centres of Zeus *Laphystios*, one at Halos in Thessaly<sup>1</sup>, the other near Orchomenos in Boiotia<sup>2</sup>. In both localities there was an Athamantine Plain; and it is reasonable to assume that a Thessalian tribe, of whom Athamas was the eponymous king, had migrated into Boiotia<sup>3</sup> and that there the story of Athamas had been blended with that of the Boeotian heroine Ino. Another cult-centre brought into connexion with the same myth was in the territory of the Moschoi, at the eastern end of the Black Sea where Strabon records a sanctuary of Leukothea (that is, Ino) founded by Phrixos and possessing an oracle once wealthy but plundered by Pharnakes and Mithridates: there, he says, no ram is offered in sacrifice<sup>4</sup>. Tacitus adds that the neighbouring tribes

<sup>1</sup> Append. B Thessalia.

<sup>2</sup> Append. B Boiotia.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. Rhod. 2, 516 ἀμ πεδίων Φθίης Ἀθαμαντίων with schol. ad loc. ἐν Ἀλφ and *εὐμας*, p. 24, 10 ff.: Paus. 9, 24, 1 ἐξ Ἀκραφρονίων δεῖοντι εἰθεῖαν ἐπὶ Νύμφῃ τῇν Κηφισίδα πεδίων καλούμενόν ἐστιν Ἀθαμαντίων.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Paus. 9, 34, 6 f.

<sup>5</sup> Strab. 498.

## The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos 417

of Hiberi and Albani regarded themselves as descended from Iason and his Thessalians<sup>1</sup>.

But, without attempting to determine the ethnology of this myth, for which task the data available are hardly sufficient, we may at least note that the golden ram has something to do with Zeus. Athamas is about to sacrifice Phrixos to Zeus, when the ram appears and carries him in safety through the air to a land in the far north-east<sup>2</sup>. Much the same thing happened to Iphigeneia, when she was on the point of being sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis<sup>3</sup>: the goddess suddenly substituted for her a stag, according to the usual tradition, or a bear<sup>4</sup>, or a bull<sup>5</sup>, or an old woman<sup>6</sup>, and carried off the intended victim in a cloud to be her own priestess among the Tauroi. Now these animals, the stag, the bear, the bull, are precisely those that were regarded as most sacred to Artemis herself<sup>7</sup>. It is therefore highly probable that the golden ram was the sacred animal—whatever that implies—of Zeus *Laphystios*. This accounts for the belief, current in the vicinity of the Boeotian Mount Laphystion, that it was Zeus who sent the ram with the golden fleece<sup>8</sup>. The commonly received version of the myth makes Phrixos sacrifice the ram that has saved him to Zeus *Phýxios*, 'the god of escape'. Hyginus says simply 'to Zeus,' and adds that the hero 'fastened the skin in the temple'<sup>9</sup>, that is, in the temple of Zeus<sup>11</sup>. The Latin commentary on the *Aratea* of Germanicus Caesar states that Phrixos 'sacrificed the ram, and dedicated its golden fleece to Zeus'<sup>12</sup>. Finally, we are told by Apollonios that Aietes would not have received Phrixos in his halls, had not Zeus himself sent Hermes from heaven to prepare the way before him<sup>13</sup>. Clearly Zeus had his share in the action throughout<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *ann.* 6. 34, *Iust.* 42. 2. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 415 f.

<sup>3</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 298 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 183, cp. schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 645.

<sup>5</sup> Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 183, Ant. Lib. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 183, 194.

<sup>7</sup> Pauly—Wisowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1436 f. *Hirschkuh*, 1434 Baun, 1399 f. *Tauropolis*, *Taurópolis*.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. 9. 34. 5, cp. *Myth. Vat.* 3. 15. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 22, Ap. Rhod. 2. 1150 with schol., 4. 119, Eudok. *viol.* 342, 478, 954, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 428, Eratosth. *ap.* schol. *Arat. Phaen.* 225.

<sup>10</sup> Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Turk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2462.

<sup>12</sup> Schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 401. 1 ff. Eyssenhardt.

<sup>13</sup> Ap. Rhod. 3. 584 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Other deities involved are Ares, Hermes, and Poseidon. The fleece was hung on an oak in the grove of Ares (Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 22, Val. Flacc. 5. 228 ff., cp. 1. 528 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 1147 f., Hyg. *fab.* 188) or in the temple of Ares (Hyg. *fab.* 3, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 23, 2. 134). Hermes supplied the ram (Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 22), or gilded its fleece (Ap. Rhod. 2. 1146 f. with schol.): it was sacrificed to Zeus



## 418 The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos

But, while recognising that the golden ram was intimately related to Zeus, we have yet to ask—what was the significance of the ram itself? In ancient times this question called forth an amazing crop of rationalistic replies, stupid, stupider, and stupidest<sup>1</sup>. The only one worth weighing at all is that put forward by Strabon, who, in his account of Kolchis, writes as follows of the Soanes, a tribe inhabiting the heights of Mount Kaukasos above Dioskourias:

‘In their country, so it is said, the torrents bring down gold, which is caught by the barbarians in vats pierced with holes and on fleecy skins; from which practice arose the myth of the golden fleece’.<sup>2</sup>

But religion in general, and mythology in particular, has suffered much at the hands of would-be rationalists. The only really reasonable method of solving such problems is to abjure ingenious guesses, get back to the earliest ascertainable form of the myth and seek to understand it in comparison with other analogous myths. Now the earliest ascertainable form of the myth in question is that utilised by Sophokles. In his version Phrixos and Helle were with the flocks of Athamas, when they were warned

Φύξιος at his bidding (Ap. Rhod. 4. 119 ff.), or to Ares or Hermes (Sophoclean version: *supra* p. 156, cp. Eudok. *evol.* 954): Phrixos was brought home to Athamas by Hermes (Hyg. *foet. a tr.* 2. 20). The ram was the offspring of Poseidon and Theophane (Hyg. *fab.* 3. 188), daughter of Bisaltis; when she was besieged by a multitude of suitors, he carried her off to the island of Crumissa, changed her into a sheep, himself into a ram (cp. Ov. *met.* 6. 117, Paus. 8. 8. 2, and see further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon pp. 344–347), the inhabitants of Crumissa into flocks, the suitors into wolves, and consorted with her in animal form (Hyg. *fab.* 188). he also rescued and had intercourse with Helle (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1. 2028).

<sup>1</sup> Dionysios of Mytilene, an Alexandrine grammarian of the second century B.C., in his mythological novel *The Argonauts* represented the ‘Ram’ as a *paidagogós* named *Ἄρνις*, who warned Phrixos of Ino’s plot (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 256, 2. 1144, 4. 177, Eudok. *evol.* 262, cp. Palaiph. 30, Apostol. 11. 58, Eudok. *evol.* 342, 954). When Phrixos was captured by the Kolchot, Krios was sacrificed to the gods, and his skin, in accordance with an old custom, was nailed to the temple; Aietes, being warned by an oracle that he would perish as soon as strangers landed and carried off the skin of Krios, built a wall about the precinct, established a guard there, and covered the skin with gold to make it seem worth guarding (Diod. 4. 47). Others preferred to suppose that the ram was the figure-head of Phrixos’ ship, and that Helle, while suffering from sea-sickness, leaned overboard and fell into the sea (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 256, Diod. 4. 47, Eudok. *evol.* 954). This must surely have been the theme of some farcical performance such as the *Athamas*, a satyric play by Xenokles (Ail. *var. hist.* 2. 8), or the pantomimes written about the flight of Phrixos and Helle etc. (Loukian. *de saltat.* 42, 67). Further choice samples may be found in Eudok. *evol.* 262: the golden fleece was a treatise on alchemy written on skins, or, according to Charax of Pergamon *frag.* 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii 639 Muller), a hand-book on the art of writing with gold ink bound in parchment (cp. Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 689). See further Soud. s.v. *δέπας*, anon. *de moichib.* 3 p. 321 f. Westermann, *Favorin. lex.* p. 1877, 5 f.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. 499, cited by Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 689. My friend and colleague Prof. W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* Cambridge 1892 p. 70 finds this explanation ‘extremely plausible.’ ‘Plausible,’ yes, ‘probable,’ no.

## The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos 419

and rescued by the miraculous ram<sup>1</sup>. In fact, the golden, or subsequently gilded, ram was found among the flocks of Athamas, just as the golden lamb was found among the flocks of Atreus<sup>2</sup>. Another point of resemblance between the two is that Simonides, who spoke of Atreus' golden lamb as purple<sup>3</sup>, spoke also of Athamas' golden ram as white, and again as purple<sup>4</sup>. I am therefore disposed to see in the golden ram of Athamas, as in the golden lamb of Atreus a theriomorphic epiphany of Zeus. This, in fact, is definitely stated by the first Vatican mythographer, who says that Pelias sent Iason to Kolchis 'in order that he might fetch thence the golden fleece *in which Zeus climbed the sky*'<sup>5</sup>. The words that I have italicised are indeed, as G. H. Bode observes, foreign to the usual tradition<sup>6</sup>; but they are not on that account open to suspicion, and they must be accepted as a record of the belief that the golden ram, when he ascended the sky, was none other than Zeus in animal form.

Again we may suspect a solar interpretation as a secondary development of the myth. Thus the analogy between Helle, who fell from the golden ram into the Hellespont, and Phaethon, who fell from the sun's chariot into the river Eridanos<sup>7</sup>, becomes intelligible. And the elevation of the ram to a position among the signs of the zodiac<sup>8</sup> is seen to be appropriate. It is noticeable that the constellation of Aries 'rules the season of the year when wheat is sown' or 'when all things are born anew'. Medeia the grand-daughter of the Sun-god, naturally chose a ram for her experiment in rejuvenation<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 405 n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 406.

<sup>4</sup> Simonid. *frag.* 21 Bergk *ap.* schol. *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 177, cp. schol. *Eur. Med.* 5 *πάγχρυσον δέρας· τὸ δέσμα. τοῦτο οἱ μὲν δόχρυσον εἶναι φασιν, οἱ δὲ πορφυροῦν. καὶ Σίμωνιδης δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἕμνῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ πορφυρῶν κεχρῶσθαι αὐτὸ λέγει.* Eudok. *trist.* 262.

<sup>5</sup> *Myth. Vat.* 1. 24 ob hanc causam eum Colchos misit, ut inde detulisset pellem auream, in qua Iuppiter in caelum ascendit.

<sup>6</sup> G. H. Bode *Scriptor. rerum mythicarum* etc. Cellis 1834 ii. 12 *ad loc.*

<sup>7</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2175 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Hes. and Pherekyd. *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *cat. ast.* 19, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20, cp. schol. *Caes. Germ. Aratea* p. 400. 16 ff. Eysenhardt.

<sup>9</sup> Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20 arietis ipsius effigiem ab Nube (*ab Iove* Scheffer) inter sidera constitutam habere tempus anni quo frumentum seritur, ideo quod hortum (*quod id Intestum* Muncker) severit ante, quae maxime fugae fuit causa.

According to Hermippus *ap.* Hyg. *loc. cit.*, the constellation is the ram that once led the army of Liber, when perishing of thirst in Africa, to the spring of Iupiter Hammon. Liber 'arietem inter sidera figuravit ita ut, cum sol in eius foret signo, omnia nascentia recrearentur, quae veris tempore conflunt, hac re maxime quod illius fuga Liberi recreavit exercitum.'

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 245. In *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 325 n. 1 I have compared this incident with the boiling of Pelops in a caldron. Again, *ἡ Θέτις εἰς λέβητα ὕδατος ζέοντα ἐνέβαλε τοῖς*

viii. Zeus *Aktaïos* or *Akraïos* and his Fleeces.

But, if the myth of the golden lamb and that of the golden ram imply animal epiphanies of Zeus, we are encouraged to look round for further evidence of him as a ram-god in the actual rites of the Greek area.

And here we must first turn our attention to Mount Pelion in Magnesia. On the summit of this mountain there was a sanctuary of Zeus *Aktaïos*, to which once a year a peculiar procession wended its way. When the dog-star rose and the heat was at its greatest, the priest of Zeus chose out the chief men of the district, being careful to select only those that were in the prime of life. They proceeded to make the ascent of the mountain, clad in fleeces that were thick and fresh<sup>1</sup>. Why they did so, they probably could not have explained. *Dikaiarchos*, the disciple of Aristotle, thought that they wore the skins as a protection against catching cold on the mountain heights<sup>2</sup>. But it is certain that the details of the rite were determined by religious, not hygienic, considerations. I would suggest that those who took part in the procession were originally endeavouring to assimilate themselves to Zeus the ram-god: Zeus scaled the sky as a ram with a golden fleece, and his worshippers put on thick new fleeces when they mounted to his abode. If I am

ἐκ Πηλείως γενομένοις αὐτῇ παῖδας, βουλομένη εἰδέναι, εἰ θνητοὶ εἰσιν Ἀκταῖος, *frags.* 2 Kinkel *op. schol.* Ap. Rhod. 4. 816). Lastly, a dedication found at *El-Burjd* below *Kidā el-Jundal* on the east slope of Mt. Hermon runs: ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοκράτορος Τραυνοῦ Νέρονα Σεβαστοῦ | υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικοῦ | Δακίλος Μέννεας Βεελιάδου | τοῦ Βεελιάδου πατρός Νε τεύρον, τοῦ ἀποθεωθέντος ἐν τῷ λέβητι δι' οὗ αἱ ὀρταὶ ἀγώνται, ἐπισκοπος πάντων τῶν ἐν θάλασσῃ γηγενῶν ἐργῶν κατ' εὐσεβείας ἀνέθηκεν θεῷ Λευκὸν θεῷ Σεγείρων Ω (C. Clermont-Ganneau *Revue d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1898 II 74 f., 1901 IV 250 sees in this a survival of human sacrifice: C. Fossey in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 XVI. 303-306 thinks that ἀποθεοῦν means merely 'enterrer' and that the ashes of Neteias were 'déposées dans un vase sacré': Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. vol.* no. 611 follows Fossey, but refers δι' οὗ κ.τ.λ. to the man, not to the caldron). These passages might be used to support the conclusions of Mr F. M. Cornford, who detects in the Pelops-myth the ritual of a New Birth (J. E. Harrison *Thomis* Cambridge 1912 p. 243 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Append. B. A possible parallel to this rite in the Naxian cult of Zeus *Μηλωπιος* ('Clad in a sheep-skin'?) has been already noted (*supra* p. 164 f.). Mr A. J. B. Wace in his interesting account of 'The Mayday Festival on Pelion' (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909-1910 XVI. 244-249) observes that the γέρος or 'old man,' who is killed and brought to life again, wears a black sheep-skin mask. Mr Wace (*ib.* p. 251) holds that this character 'is in all probability the representative of Dionysos, of whose worship these festivals are to be regarded as a survival.'

<sup>2</sup> *Dikaiarch* 2. 8 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* I. 107 Muller)

<sup>3</sup> Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 148 thinks that the fleeces were worn on the mountain in order to imitate, and thus produce, the fleecy rain-clouds for which the country-side was thirsting. If so, cp. the means by which the ram-maker elsewhere assimilates himself to ram (Frazer *Golden Bough*: The Magic Art 1. 260 f., 269 f.) and the use of a fleece in the modified ram-charm (?) of Judges 6. 36-40. But Gilbert's whole explanation of the rite is precarious.

right in holding further that the golden ram came to symbolise the sun, it is easy to see why the procession made the ascent of the mountain at the hottest season of the year.

The Zeus of Mount Pelion was honoured, not only as *Aktaïos* 'He of the Point,' but also as *Akraïos*, 'He of the Summit.' It appears from an inscription that white victims without blemish were sacrificed to him as *Akraïos*, and further that their skins were sold on the sixteenth day of the month Artemision by sundry important officials including his priest<sup>1</sup>. The sixteenth of Artemision, according to the Attic calendar, would be the sixteenth of Mounichion<sup>2</sup>. Hence we might look to find fresh light on the cult of Zeus *Akraïos* from ceremonies observed in Attike on Mounichion the sixteenth. It is therefore of interest to remark that the day was considered as in some respects critical for the sun and moon. Cakes called *amphiphōntes* were then brought to the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichia*<sup>3</sup> and to the shrines of Hekate at the cross-roads<sup>4</sup>. They were called *amphiphōntes*, 'shining on both sides,' because they were made when the sun and moon were both shining in the morning<sup>5</sup>, moon-set being, so to speak, caught up by sun-rise and the sky lit with a two-fold illumination<sup>6</sup>. Apollodoros preferred to derive the name from the fact that the cakes, which were made of cheese<sup>7</sup>, had small torches stuck in them round about and kindled for the occasion<sup>8</sup>—a custom surviving still in the be-candled loaves of the Greek Church<sup>9</sup>. The festival of Artemis *Mounichia* was so far analogous to that of Artemis *Brauronia* that A. Mommsen treats the two as one and the same<sup>10</sup>. It is, then, noteworthy that at the Brauronian celebration girls between

<sup>1</sup> Append. B.

<sup>2</sup> H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 114 s.v. Ἀρτεμισίων.

<sup>3</sup> Soud. s.v. ἀνάστατοι, Poll. 6. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Philochoros *ap.* Athen. 645 A, Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 95, 1 ff. The last-named authority states that they were sent to Hekate when the moon was full, cp. Plout *de glori. Ath.* 7 τὴν δὲ ἑκτὴν ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Μουνυχίωνος Ἀρτέμιδι καθιέρωσαν, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς Ἑλλησι περὶ Σαλαμίνα νικῶσιν ἐπέλαμψεν ἡ θεὸς πανσέληνος.

<sup>5</sup> Soud. s.v. ἀμφιφῶντες, ἀνάστατοι, Pausanias *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Philochoros *ap.* Athen. 645 A.

<sup>7</sup> Pausanias *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 14.

<sup>8</sup> Soud. s.v. ἀμφιφῶντες, ἀνάστατοι, cp. Pausanias *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 12 ff. Hesych. s.v. ἀμφιφῶν, *et. mag.* p. 95, 1, Poll. 6. 75.

<sup>9</sup> Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1062, citing Goetz *de Pistrin. Vet.* p. 317. S. Xanthoudides in the *Ann. Brit. Sch.* Ath. 1905—1906 xii. 20 ff. fig. 6 describes and illustrates the loaves decked with seven lighted candles (and sometimes, like the ancient κέρνος or κέρχνος, furnished with receptacles for corn, wine, and oil), which are blessed by the priest as first fruits of the earth in the Ἀποκλασία of the Orthodox Greek Church.

<sup>10</sup> Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 453 ff.

the ages of five and ten, selected for the purpose, acted as bears before the goddess and in that capacity wore saffron robes<sup>1</sup>. For we are thus enabled to complete the correspondence of the Attic with the Thessalian cults. The parallel traits are as follows:—

## THESSALY

*Ram-cult.*

Zeus, once regarded as himself a ram, wears the golden fleece belonging to the ram.

Men clad in new fleeces honour Zeus with a procession. The skins of white victims rams<sup>2</sup> slain for Zeus are sold on Artemision the sixteenth.

Solar significance probable.

## ATTICA

*Bear-cult.*

Artemis, once regarded as herself a bear<sup>3</sup>, is called *Chiton* or 'She who wears the *chiton*'<sup>4</sup>.

Girls clad in saffron robes honour Artemis with a mimicry of bears. The festival takes place apparently on Mounichion the sixteenth

Lunar significance probable.

On this showing the saffron robes of Artemis' devotees would hold to the cult of the moon-goddess the same relation that the new fleeces of Zeus' worshippers held to the cult of the sun-god. It seems possible that in both cases the colour of the ritual-garb was determined by the colour of the celestial body. However, other views are tenable<sup>5</sup>, and the point cannot be pressed.

### ix. Zeus *Meilichios*, Zeus *Ktésios*, and the Fleece of Zeus.

The skin of a victim sacrificed to Zeus was used by the Greeks in various purificatory rites. Individuals, who wished to be purified, stood upon it supporting themselves on their left foot only<sup>6</sup>. When a multitude or a locality was to be cleansed, it is more probable that the skin was carried round in procession<sup>7</sup>. This was done towards the close of the month Maimakterion, the victim having been slain for Zeus *Meilichios*<sup>8</sup>. Further, the skins of

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. *Lys.* 645 with schol., Souda, s.v. ὄρετος ἢ Βραχωνίους.

<sup>2</sup> Harrison *Myth. Mon. Ann.* 174, p. 402 ff., Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 284, iv. 224, and especially Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* ii. 434 ff. See also Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* v. 942 n. 8 *sub fin.*

<sup>3</sup> Pauly - Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1401 f., Farnell *op. cit.* ii. 444, 568.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 44 n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Hesych. s.v. Διὸς κώδιον, cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 7, 18 f., Souda, s.v. Διὸς κώδιον.

<sup>6</sup> So P. Stengel in Pauly - Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1084 (relying on Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1935, 8 ff.), E. Pöhl *de Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 p. 93 n. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1935, 8 ff. καὶ οἱ το διοπομπεῖν δὲ ἐρμηνεύοντες φασὶν ὅτι διὸν ἐκάλουν κώδιον ἱερεῖον τυθέντος (leg. τυθέντος) Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ ἐν τοῖς καθαρμῶσι φθινοῦτος Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνός, ὅτε ἤγοντο τὰ πομπαῖα. καὶ καθαρμῶν ἐκδοῦναι εἰς τὰς τριόδους ἐγίνοντο εἶχον δὲ μετὰ χειρὸς πομπῶν· ὅπερ ἦν, φασί, κηρικιον, σέβας Ἑρμοῦ. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον πομποῦ καὶ τοῦ ρηθέντος διὸν το διοπομπεῖν καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐξ ἱστορίας. ἄλλως δὲ κοινότερον διοπομπεῖν καὶ ἀποδιοπομπεῖν ἐφαίνετο τὸ Διὸς Ἀλεξικάλου ἐπιτελεσσεῖν ἐκπεριεῖν τὰ φαῦλα.

animals sacrificed to Zeus *Meilichios* and to Zeus *Ktésios* were kept and used by those who marshalled the procession of the Skirophoria, by the torch-bearer at Eleusis, and by others who directed rites of purification<sup>1</sup>. It follows that this purificatory skin, though used in a variety of ceremonies, was in every case the skin of a victim sacrificed to Zeus<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, it was regularly called the 'fleece of Zeus' or the 'Zeus-fleece!'. These names may be taken to imply that Zeus was originally believed to be, not merely the god to whom as to an owner the fleece belonged, but the very animal from which the fleece was stripped. Hence to stand upon the fleece, or to have the fleece carried round one, was to claim identification with the deity and consequent freedom from guilt. The same idea may underlie the old Roman custom that a man who had unwittingly perpetrated a homicide must take his stand upon a ram<sup>3</sup>. The Romans themselves derived their custom from that of the Athenians<sup>4</sup>.

A few representations of the 'fleece of Zeus' have come down to us in Greek vase-paintings and Roman reliefs. A red-figured *hydria* in the Lambert collection (fig. 305)<sup>5</sup> shows a scene of initiation, probably at Eleusis. In the centre a nude youth crouches beside a large shallow bowl with his left foot on a spotted object. This object is plausibly regarded by F. Lenormant<sup>6</sup> and J. de Witte<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Soud. s.v. Διὸς κώδιον. οὐ τὸ ἱερεῖον Διὶ τέθνηται· θύουσι τε τῷ τε Μελίχῳ καὶ τῷ Κτησίῳ Διί. τὰ δὲ κώδια τούτων φυλάσσουνσι, Δία (δία J. E. Harrison, Διὸς T. Gaisford) προσαγορεύοντες. χρῶνται δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ τε Σκιροφορίων τὴν πομπὴν στέλλοντες καὶ ο ἁθαοῦχος ἐν Ἐλευσίνι καὶ ἄλλοι τινες ὑποστορνύντες αὐτὰ τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot, therefore, but regard as somewhat misleading Miss J. E. Harrison's statement (*Proleg. Gr. Rel.* p. 24). 'this fleece was by no means confined to the ritual of the Skirophoria'. Indeed, I dissent wholly from her view (*ib.* p. 23) that the Διάσια of Zeus Μελίχιος and the Δίον or Διὸς κώδιον of Zeus Μελίχιος and Zeus Κτησίος had originally nothing whatever to do with Zeus, but are rather to be referred to the root that appears in Latin as *dīro-* (Greek *\*dīso-* *dīo-*) and denote consequently a 'festival of curses' with its associated 'rites of placation and purgation.' True, we cannot derive Διάσια from Διὸς; but we can and ought to derive it from Διός, the adjective meaning 'of' or 'belonging to Zeus' (*supra* p. 3 n. 3). I would explain in the same way the Δία of Teos (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1318, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 33) and the Πάνδια of Athens (Phot. *lex. s.v.* Πάνδια, Bekker *anecd.* i. 292, 10 f., Harpokr. s.v. Πάνδεια, Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 432 f.). The termination of the word Διά-*σια* may be due, as my friend Dr P. Giles suggests, to the analogy of Διονύσια, Πενήσια, Νεκύσια, Νεμέσια, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Διὸς κώδιον or Δίον κώδιον. The latter phrase gave rise to the verbs διοποιεῖν, ἀποδιοποιεῖν (*supra* p. 422 n. 7), 'to send away evil by means of the Zeus-fleece': see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1528 D—1529 A, i. 2, 1420 D—1421 C.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *top.* 64, Serv. in Verg. *ae.* 4. 43, *georg.* 3. 387.

<sup>5</sup> Cincius *ap.* Fest. p. 347 b 2 ff. Müller, *cp. ib.* p. 351 a 8 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 265 fig. 2450 (E. Pottier).

<sup>7</sup> F. Lenormant in the *Contemporary Review* 1880 ii. 137.

<sup>8</sup> J. de Witte *Description des collections d'antiquités conservées à l'Hôtel Lambert* Paris 1886 p. 68 pl. 22.

as the skin of the sacrificed ram. Behind the youth are three women holding torches and a *plemochœ* (a top-shaped vase used for libations in the Eleusinian ritual<sup>1</sup>); before him are two others



Fig. 305.

with uncertain objects in their hands, a pot on a brazier and a pitcher in a high receptacle. Another red-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (fig. 306)<sup>2</sup> has a somewhat similar



Fig. 306.

design. A nude youth, wearing a string of amulets, kneels upon his right knee and seems about to catch a mouse in the presence of two women. Monsieur S. Reinach<sup>3</sup> has suggested that we have here a fragmentary scene resembling that of the Lambert *hydria*, i.e. the purification of an *iphebos* before the Eleusinia by means of the fleece of Zeus.<sup>4</sup> Since, however, the mouse figured among

<sup>1</sup> C. Michel in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 509 f. fig. 5708.

<sup>2</sup> Tischbein *Hamilton Vase*, n. 42 ff. pl. 17. Inghinami *Vas. pitt.* iv. 117 pl. 387. Lanormant-de Witte *Ll. mon.* i. n. 353 ff. pl. 107 (= my fig. 306).

<sup>3</sup> Reinach *Rep. Vase*, n. 297, 2.

the attributes of Zeus *Sabázios*<sup>1</sup>, I would rather suppose the scene taken from the mysteries of that god<sup>2</sup>. Nor do I feel at all confident that the line upon which the youth kneels is meant for the contour of a fleece<sup>3</sup>.

The Roman evidence is less shaky. Terra-cotta reliefs of the Augustan age exhibit the initiation of Herakles into the Eleusinian

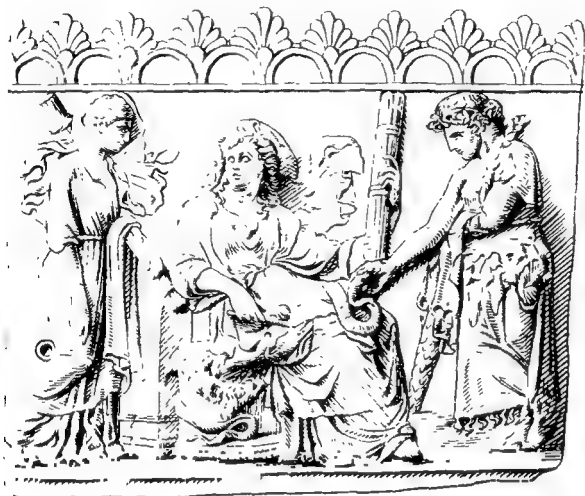


Fig. 307.

mysteries as a pair of pendant panels<sup>4</sup>. In one we have the assembled deities. Demeter is seated on a *kiste*, which is covered with a fleece<sup>5</sup>; round the goddess and her seat twines the sacred snake. Behind her stands Kore; before her, Iakchos<sup>6</sup> in fringed *chiton* and *nebris*, leaning upon his leafy *baccchos*<sup>7</sup> and caressing the snake (fig. 307). In the other panel we have the purification of Herakles.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 391 f. pl. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Sabázios* was sometimes confused with the κύριος Σαβαώθ (*supra* p. 234 n. 4; see O. Hofe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 231 and especially Eisele *ib.* iv. 263 f.); hence presumably the cult-title μεγά[λω] κυρί[ω] Σαβαζίω ἀγ[ί]ω (*supra* p. 400 n. 61).

My friend and colleague Prof. R. H. Kennett *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah* (The Schweich Lectures 1909) London 1910 p. 61 suggests that ritual mouse-eating (Isa. 66. 17) was a heathen practice introduced into Jewish worship, in the days of Menelaus, perhaps from the Greek area. Possibly it was derived from the *Sabázios*-mysteries of Asia Minor.

<sup>3</sup> I have reproduced the line as it appears in Lenormant—de Witte *loc. cit.*; but Tischbein and Inghirami *loc. cit.* show a mere ground-line.

<sup>4</sup> Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Tirnakotten* iv. 1. 7 f., 261 f. pls. 45 f.

<sup>5</sup> F. Hauser in the *Rom. Myth.* 1910 xxv. 288 n. 1 cp. *h. Dem.* 195 f. πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ οἱ εἰηκέν' ἱαμβὴν κέδον' εἰδὼτα | πηκτόν' ἔδος, καθύπερθε δ' ἐπ' ἀργύφρον βάλε κώας.

<sup>6</sup> So Hauser *ib.* p. 289.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 220 n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> I figure the example in the Louvre no. 4154 after G. P. Campana *Antich. ofere in*



He sits on a stone seat spread with a skin, which in the most authoritative examples of the type appears as a lion-skin<sup>1</sup>. At his feet is a ram's head, representing—as F. Hauser has pointed out—the 'fleece of Zeus'; and recalling—as we may add—the Sabazian foot-stool<sup>2</sup>. The hero holds a torch in his left hand. Above his bowed and veiled head a priestess raises the *liknon*. A priest bears



Fig. 308

poppy-capsules in a *phiale* and pours a libation over a pig held by an attendant. Later variants in marble modify the figures to right and left (figs. 308<sup>3</sup>, 309). They also combine the two panels in a

*Plastina* Roma 1842 p. 70 ff. pl. 17, reversing his design in accordance with the photograph published by Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 8 fig. 9. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter-Kora pp. 510, 564, 579 Atlas pl. 16, 10 and F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1070 fig. 1311 perpetuate Cimpana's error. The lower part of Kora belongs to another relief of the same type; and the middle part of her is a faulty modern restoration. The best specimen, that in the *Museo delle Terme* at Rome no. 4378 (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* pl. 47), is unfortunately defective as regards Demeter's seat.

<sup>1</sup> G. E. Rizzo in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1910 xvi. 121 ff. claims this skin as the Διὸς κώδιον. But see F. Hauser *ib.* p. 287 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 288, cp. Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.* p. 547.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 391 f.

<sup>4</sup> Here again the best specimen in terra-cotta, that of the *Museo delle Terme* no. 4357 (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* pl. 46), fails us at the critical point—the ram's head. Indeed, all terra-cotta examples are fragmentary. I have therefore figured a marble relief at Naples (*Guida del Mus. Napol.* p. 167 no. 568), of post-Augustan date, perhaps part of a sarcophagus-front, which was published in reverse by G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1821 ii pl. 104 and with extensive modern restorations in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1829 v pl. 23, *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comm. di Roma* 1879 pl. 4—5, 2 (see Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 8 n. 1 *bis*, G. E. Rizzo in the

single frieze of ample dimensions. This is the case with an urn of Greek marble found in 1878 near the Porta Maggiore at Rome and perhaps derived from the *columbarium* of the *gens Statilia*<sup>1</sup>. But the finest example of the frieze is the front of a splendid sarcophagus of Pentelic marble found in 1903 at Torre Nova on the *via Labicana* (fig. 309)<sup>2</sup>. With regard to the prototype of the whole series, H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld assume a date not earlier than the second century B.C.<sup>3</sup>, while Schreiber<sup>4</sup>, Pringsheim<sup>5</sup> and others argue that it represented the Alexandrine rather than the Attic Eleusinia<sup>6</sup>. Recently, however, J. N. Svoronos has made a most ingenious attempt to prove that the Torre Nova sarcophagus



Fig. 309.

together with certain Athenian reliefs, coins, etc. preserves the types of the Eleusinian triad (Demeter, Kore, Iakchos) designed by Praxiteles for the *Iakheion* at Athens<sup>7</sup>.

*Rom. Mitth.* 1910 xvi, 103 ff. figs. 5 ff., and J. N. Svoronos in the 'Eφ. 'Apx. 1911 p. 44 fig. 2).

<sup>1</sup> Helbig *Guida Class. Ant. Rom.* ii. 261 ff. no. 1108, first published by Countess E. Caetani-Lovatelli in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1879 vii. 5 ff. = *ed. Antichi monumenti illustrati* Roma 1889 p. 23 ff. See also G. E. Rizzo in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1910 xvi, 106, 130 fig. 9, pl. 7, Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.* p. 546 ff. figs. 153-155, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Eφ. 'Apx. 1911 p. 44 fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> G. E. Rizzo in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1910 xvi, 89-167 pls. 2-5, F. Hauser *ib.* pp. 273-292, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Eφ. 'Apx. 1911 p. 42 ff. fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Von Rohden-Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Schreiber in the *Verh. d. 40 Philologenversammlung in Göttingen* 1889 p. 310.

<sup>5</sup> Pringsheim *Archaeologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Cults* p. 9 ff. The vertical plume of wheat-ears worn by Demeter resembles the head-dress of Isis; and the flowery fillet of the priest is quasi-Egyptian; etc.

<sup>6</sup> See, however, G. E. Rizzo *loc. cit.* p. 140 ff.

<sup>7</sup> J. N. Svoronos in the 'Eφ. 'Apx. 1911 pp. 39-52.

## 428 The Significance of the Ram

Analogous customs are still observed here and there on Greek soil. Sir Arthur Evans in his remarkable account of a pillar-shrine at Tekekioi, a Turkish village between Skopia and Istib in Macedonia, says: 'The floor is strewn with the fleeces of sacrificed rams<sup>1</sup>.' And Dr W. H. D. Rouse, describing another Moslem shrine on the highest point of the citadel at Mytilene, notes: 'They keep *sheepskins* here, and the worshippers *wrap themselves in these* when they pray<sup>2</sup>.' He justly suggests comparison with the 'fleece of Zeus.'

It will be seen that these scattered indications of a 'divine ram' in the cults of Zeus *Meilichios* Zeus *Ktésios*, etc fit on to and corroborate the evidence already adduced of a Graeco-Libyan<sup>3</sup> and Thraco-Phrygian Zeus<sup>4</sup>, who appeared sometimes as a ram, sometimes as a snake. For both Zeus *Meilichios* and Zeus *Ktésios* were likewise anguiform, as we shall have occasion to note when we come to discuss their cults. Moreover, just as Zeus *Ámmon*<sup>5</sup> and Zeus *Sabázios*<sup>6</sup> had a secondary Dionysiac form, so Zeus *Meilichios* was replaced in Naxos by Dionysos *Meilichios*<sup>7</sup>.

### x. The Significance of the Ram in the cults of Zeus.

We have now passed in review the various cults in which Zeus appears as a ram-god, and it is time to draw conclusions. From the welter of detail and local divergence two or three facts of constant import emerge. In the first place it is clear that over a wide area of the ancient world, from Meroe in the south to Moesia in the north, Zeus was intimately associated with the ram: the Graeco-Libyan Zeus *Ámmon*, the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios*, the Thessalian Zeus *Laphýstios*, the Zeus *Aktaios* or *Akraios* of Mount Pelion, the Zeus *Meilichios* and the Zeus *Ktésios* of Athens, are cases in point. Secondly, it would seem that in the long run most of these cults took on a solar character; but that

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 200—204 figs. 69 f.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1896 vii. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 358 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 390 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 371 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 395 n. 3, p. 398 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Andriskos *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 304 Muller) and Aglaosthenes *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Muller) *ap.* Athen. 78 c, Plout. 7. *Ant.* 24, *de estu cann.* 1. 2, *quest.* *conv.* 1. 1. 3, *non poss.* *suav.* *vari.* *ser.* *Epic.* 22, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 18 f., P. Creuzer *Meletemata e disciplina antiquitatis* Lipsiae 1817 p. 22, Scholl-Studemund *anc. d.* 1. 268, 276, 282.

this aspect of them was usually late<sup>1</sup>, seldom early<sup>2</sup>, and never original. Thirdly, it will not be denied that there was a well-marked tendency for the ram-Zeus to mate with the earth-mother and to beget a son in his own likeness—a god commonly known as Dionysos.

These are the broad facts; and they do not countenance the idea that the ram was a solar animal and on that account associated with Zeus. Rather it was the principal beast of a pastoral population, an obvious embodiment of procreative power<sup>3</sup>, and as such

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the cult of Zeus Helios *Schweins* belongs to Roman times (*supra* pp. 390, 400).

<sup>2</sup> Zeus was already identified with Amen-Ra in the sixth century B.C. (*supra* p. 3501.).

<sup>3</sup> K. Schwenck *Etymologische mythologische Andeutungen* Elberfeld 1823 p. 41, A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 400 ff.

The curious statement that the ram sleeps on its left side from the autumnal to the vernal equinox, but on its right side during the other half of the year (Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 18, Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 21. 18, Myth. Vat. 3. 15. 1, cp. Plout. *terrestr. an. aquat. anim. sint callidiora* 21), at most proves that a bond of sympathy was believed to unite the earthly ram with its heavenly counterpart, the constellation Aries.

<sup>4</sup> To the Greeks, as to others, the ram was *von Haus aus* a fertilising force. On the amatory propensities of the creature see Aristot. *hist. an.* 6. 19. 573b 17 ff., Varr. *rer. rust.* 2. 1. 17, 2. 2. 13 f., Colum. *de re rust.* 7. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 188. A strip of ram's skin was used in a love charm (Plin. *nat. hist.* 30. 141); ram's wool, as an aid in child-birth (*id. ib.* 20. 6) and female disorders (*id. ib.* 29. 32). A ram was said to have been enamoured of Glaucus a Chian citharist (Theophr. *ap. schol. Theokr.* 4. 31, Ail. *de nat. an.* 1. 6. 5. 29, 8. 11, *var. hist.* 9. 39, Plout. *terrestr. an. aquat. anim. sint callidiora* 18, Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 51). The tomb of Lais at Corinth was surmounted by a lioness standing over a prostrate ram (Paus. 2. 2. 4, cp. Imhoof-Blumer and F. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 19 pl. E, 73—76, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 92 pl. 23, 11, *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 405). The same idea probably underlies the wide-spread use of the ram as a decoration of tombs in general (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 187). Its employment for fountain-jets etc. (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pet.* 1862 p. 138, cp. *supra* p. 370) is of like significance: the spring at the monastery of Kaisariani on Mt Hymettos, which has been identified with the Κελλοῦ Πήρα of the ancients (Soud. s.v. Κελλός, Κελλοῦ Πήραν, Hesych. s.v. Κελλεῖα, κελλου πήρα, Phot. *lex.* s.v. Κελλεῖα, Κελλου πήραν, Makar. 5. 41, Append. prov. 3. 52, *Ov. ars am.* 3. 687 ff.), still gushes out through an old ram's head of marble and as of yore is believed to aid conception, pregnancy, and delivery (L. Ross *Archaeologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 i. 220—222, Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 151 f.).

Hence the ram was associated with the deities of generation, Hermes, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Attis, etc. The evidence, literary and monumental, has been collected by E. Gerhard 'Widdelgöttheten' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 vin. 149—160 pl. 15, 1—7, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pet.* 1869 pp. 18—139 Atlas pl. 1, 13, 15, S. Litrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* i. Die vor-dionische Widdelgötter Christiania 1910 pp. 1—24.

Conclusive is the fact that the *phallós* itself is sometimes made to terminate in a ram's head. So with a bronze pendant representing Hermes found at Herculaneum (*Antiqua di Ercolano* Napoli 1771 vi (De' Bronzi di Ercolano) p. 389 ff. pl. 96, Roux—Barré *Her. et Pomp.* viii Musée Secret p. 197 ff. pl. 46) and a bronze statuette of the pantheistic Khnemu at Marseilles (G. Maspero *Catalogue du musée égyptien de Marseille* p. 131 no. 562, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1257).

Thus combination of ram with snake in the cults of Zeus (*supra* pp. 358 ff., 390 ff.,

## 430 The Bull and the Sun in Egypt

associated both with the fertilising sky-god<sup>1</sup> and with the all-generating sun<sup>2</sup>. The ram thus supplied the *tertium comparationis*, which on occasion served to bring together the Hellenic Zeus and the barbaric sun-god.

Nor need we hesitate to admit that the Greeks themselves, quite apart from foreign influence, regarded the ram as a possible manifestation of Zeus. Theriomorphic epiphanies of this god are of frequent occurrence in mythology. And the myths, though manipulated as so much artistic material by the poets of a literary age, indubitably attest the serious beliefs of the past. We are therefore well within our rights in maintaining that the golden lamb of Atreus and the golden ram of Phrixos were but animal forms of Zeus.

### (g) The Sun and the Bull.

#### i. The Bull and the Sun in Egypt.

As Zeus was related to the ram, so or nearly so was he related to the bull. There is indeed a curious parallelism between the two animal-cults, which must have existed side by side from a remote Indo-Europæan past<sup>3</sup>. Shepherds and neatherds expressed their religious beliefs in closely analogous forms, of which many similar traces have survived in ancient literature and art. It is therefore both desirable and possible in dealing with Zeus and the bull to adhere to the same lines that we followed in dealing with Zeus and the ram. As before, we shall begin by noticing certain Egyptian, and therefore non-Indo-Europæan, cults, which were at an early

428) is likewise appropriate to a fertilising god (*supra* p. 396 n. 11). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 n. 210 ff. and in his *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 n. 58 ff. regards Zagreus as a horned serpent and compares him with the horned serpent that occurs repeatedly on monuments of the continental Celts (*ibid. Bronzes Figurés* p. 195 ff.). The Celtic serpent is regularly ram-headed. Hence a more certain classical parallel is a broken limestone pillar, found at the village of *εσ τα Φίχθια* near Mykenai, round which twines a raised band, probably meant for a serpent, ending in a ram's head: a mutilated inscription of the fourth century B.C. mentions 'Εσάτη and Φερσάφονη (*Uth. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 141 ff.; Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 187 wrongly speaks of *two* ram's-heads). F. Baumbarten, who first published the pillar, *cp.* a bronze *caduceus* with ram's-heads instead of snake's-heads (Müller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 255 pl. 30, 337).

<sup>1</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 8 and § 9.

<sup>2</sup> Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 144 ff. γένετηρ, γενέτης, γενέτωρ, γεννητής, γεννώων, γονοεὺς, ζωογόνος, παγγενέτωρ, πατήρ, προπατωρ, τεκνοποιός, τοκεὺς, τρέφων, τροφεὺς, φερέσβιος, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>3</sup> O. Schrader *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* trans. F. B. Jevons London 1890 p. 358, *id. Reallex.* pp. 708, 917, H. Hult *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1905 - 1907 i. 283 ff., ii. 646 ff., S. Müller *Urgeschichte Europas* Strassburg 1905 pp. 24, 102, M. Hoernes *Natur- und Völkergeschichte des Menschen* Wien u. Leipzig 1909 i. 565 ff.

## \* The Bull and the Sun in Egypt 431

date more or less assimilated by the Greeks. As before, we shall end by showing that the Greeks themselves had inherited from their own Indo-European ancestors ideas so similar that they were readily fused with those of surrounding foreigners.

We begin, then, with Egypt. Here from a remote past bulls and cows had been regarded as objects of peculiar veneration. Evidence of their divinity is forthcoming even in the predynastic age<sup>1</sup>. The two most famous bulls of Egypt were *Ur-mer* at Heliopolis and *Hāp* at Memphis. The Greeks, who transliterated these names as *Mnevis* and *Āpis* respectively, describe the former as sacred to the Sun, the latter as sacred to the Moon<sup>2</sup>. Mnevis was the biggest of bulls: he was jet-black, for exposure to the sun blackens the body: the hairs of his tail and of his whole body stood erect, unlike those of other bulls, just as the sun runs counter to the sky: his testicles were very large, since desire is aroused by heat, and the sun is said to engender nature<sup>3</sup>. His cult was established by king Kaiechos of the second dynasty, according to Manetho<sup>4</sup>, and lasted on into Ptolemaic times, as appears from the Rosetta stone<sup>5</sup>. After death he was identified with Osiris as *Osiri-Ur-mer*, the Greek *Osorómnēus* or *Osórmmēnis*<sup>6</sup>. Egyptian monuments represent him as a bull with the solar disk and the *uraeus* between his horns<sup>7</sup>, or as a human figure with a bull's head<sup>8</sup>. Of myths connected with him we know little. Indeed, Ammianus Marcellinus remarks that 'nothing worth mentioning is said of him'. Aelian, however, relates that a certain Bokchoris, king of Lower Egypt, who had a reputation for justice and piety that he did not deserve, being minded to annoy the Egyptians, brought in a wild bull to fight with Mnevis. Both bellowed, and the wild bull charged, but, missing his aim, struck his horn into the trunk of a *persœa*-tree, where Mnevis gored him to death. Bokchoris

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 24 f., *A History of Egypt* London 1902 i. 84 no. 32124 flint cow's head, *ib.* i. 185, 187 Hathor-heads on green slate relief, *Man* 1902 p. 17 pl. B, 8 16 bull-heads as amulets.

<sup>2</sup> *Al. de nat. an.* 11. 11, Porphyrios *ap. Eus. præp. ev.* 3. 13, 1 f., Souda. s.v. Ἀπιῶδες, *Amm. Marc.* 22. 14. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Porphyrios *ap. Eus. præp. ev.* 3. 13. 1, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 33.

<sup>4</sup> Maneth. *frag.* 8, cp. 9 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 542 ff. Muller).

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4697, 31 f. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 90, 31 f. *Cp. Dittenberger ib.* 56, 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii. 304. See further W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3081 f. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 33 describes Mnevis as 'sacred to Osiris.'

<sup>7</sup> Lanzoni *Diction. di Mitol. Egiz.* pl. 55, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. ib.* pl. 55, 3. On Greek and Roman representations of Mnevis see W. Drexler *loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> *Amm. Marc.* 22. 14. 7.

## 432 The Bull and the Sun in Egypt

thereupon did reverence to the victor, but he had earned for himself the hatred of the Egyptians. And—to conclude in the words of Aelian—if any one thinks it a scandal to drop from a zoological discussion into an occasional folk-tale, he is a fool!'

Apis too (fig. 310)<sup>1</sup> had to be black beyond other bulls. He was moreover distinguished by as many as twenty-nine bodily marks<sup>2</sup>, of which a few are reported by classical authors. Thus Herodotos<sup>3</sup> states that Apis had a white triangle on his forehead<sup>4</sup>, a beetle under his tongue<sup>5</sup> an eagle on his back, and double hairs in his tail<sup>6</sup>. Various marks brought him into connexion with the sun and moon. Since he was sacred to the moon rather than the sun<sup>7</sup>, this twofold characterisation might have been thought superfluous. But some persons regarded Mnevis as the father of Apis<sup>8</sup>. And Porphyrios explains that, as the moon gets her light from the sun, so Apis must needs have the tokens of both luminaries: the sun, he adds, is evidenced by the blackness of the bull's body and by the beetle under his tongue, the moon by the halved and



Fig. 310.

the gibbous signs<sup>11</sup>. Others say that the most important mark of all

<sup>1</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 11. *Id. ib.* 12. 3 (cp. Maneth, *frag.* 65 (*frag. lit. t. Gr.* ii. 592 f. Muller) and G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 246 n. 5) states that in the reign of this Bokchoris a monstrous lamb with two heads, four horns, eight legs and two tails spoke in human speech and predicted that Upper and Lower Egypt would be disgraced by the rule of a stranger.

<sup>2</sup> Drawn from a bronze statuette in the possession of Mr F. W. Green. Total height 3½ inches.

<sup>3</sup> Porphyrios *ap. Eus. praef. ev.* 3. 13. 2, cp. Hdt. 3. 28, Strab. 807.

<sup>4</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. 3. 28.

<sup>6</sup> For λευκόν τετραγώνον of the MSS. we should read, with Stein, λευκόν τετράγωνον. The description of the historian is thus brought into agreement with extant figures of Apis: see Stein *ad loc.* Strab. 807 says merely διαλευκός τὸ μέτωπον.

<sup>7</sup> For ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ κόμην of the MSS. we should read, with Jablonski and Stein, ἐπὶ δὲ κτλ.: cp. Porphyrios *ap. Eus. praef. ev.* 3. 13. 2 ὁ ὑπο τῇ γλώττῃ κόμην. *Plin. nat. hist.* 8. 184 nodus sub lingua quem cantharus appellant.

<sup>8</sup> Mela 1. 9 cauda linguaue dissimilis aliorum. Soud. *ev.* Ἀπίδος: σημεῖον ἔχοντες περὶ τὴν οὐρανὴν καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν. Lacher cites from schol. Ptolem. *geograph.* p. 2 the statement that a cow's tail waxes and wanes with the moon: cp. *infra* p. 429 n. 3 of the ram.

<sup>9</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 21. 20 bos Apis in civitate Memphis solus instar excipitur is a partial and misleading assertion. See *infra* p. 431 n. 2. But cp. *infra* p. 435 f. Kynillos in *Oeum* 5. 8 f. (cp. 10. 5) states that the Egyptians regarded Apis as σελήνης μὲν τέκνον, ἡλίου δὲ ἐκγονόν.

<sup>10</sup> Plaut. *di. Is. et O.* 33.

<sup>11</sup> Porphyrios *ap. Eus. praef. ev.* 3. 13. 2, Kynillos in *Oeum* 5. 8 f.

## The Bull and the Sun in Egypt 433

was a white crescent on his right side, which denoted the moon<sup>1</sup>. Apis was the calf of a cow not suffered again to conceive offspring<sup>2</sup>. It was believed that this cow had been impregnated by a ray of light from heaven<sup>3</sup>, or, according to some, from the moon<sup>4</sup>. When a new Apis was discovered, the Egyptians put on their best clothes and fell to feasting<sup>5</sup>; for his appearance portended good crops and other blessings<sup>6</sup>. Aelian states that honours were heaped upon the lucky man in whose herd he had been born. Sacred scribes with hereditary knowledge of the requisite signs came to test his credentials. A special house was built for him in accordance with the most ancient prescriptions of Hermes (that is, Thoth), a house facing the sun-rise and large enough to contain stores of milk, on which for four months he was reared. After that time, he was, during the rise of a new moon, taken by the sacred scribes and prophets, in a barge yearly adorned for this purpose, to Memphis<sup>7</sup>. Diodoros gives a somewhat different account of what took place. According to him, the Apis-calf was first brought to Neiloupolis, where he was kept for forty days. During this period, but never afterwards, women came into his presence and exposed their persons before him. Then he was put on board a barge with a gilded cabin and conveyed as a god to the precinct of Hephaistos (that is, Ptah) at Memphis<sup>8</sup>. Once at Memphis, he was maintained in the lap of luxury<sup>9</sup>. His stall had a window in it, through which strangers could see him. But, since they desired a better view, the Egyptians had arranged an adjoining court-yard, into which he was driven on stated occasions. The court-yard contained another stall for his mother. The shrine of Apis stood beside the large and wealthy temple of Hephaistos (Ptah). The latter had a *drómos* or 'approach,' in which stood a colossus made of a single block of stone. Here bulls, bred for the purpose, were pitted against each other, a prize being awarded to the victorious bull<sup>10</sup>. Apis had his own well and spring of drinking water, for

<sup>1</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10, Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 184, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7, Solin. 32. 17, Myth. Nat. 1. 79, cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 43 τοῖς τῆς σελήνης σχήμασιν εἴκει πολλά τοῦ Ἀπίδος, περιμελουμένον τὰ λαμπρὰ τοῖς σκιεροῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. 3. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. 3. 28, Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10, Mela 1. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 43, Soud. s.v. Ἀπίδες.

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. 3. 27, cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. 1. 85 ὁρῶσιν αὐτὸν αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ πρόσωπον ἰστάμεναι καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἀναστράμεναι τὰ αὐτῶν γεννητικὰ μύρια. The passage is quoted by Eus. *h. eccl.* 2. 1. 50.

<sup>9</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10, Diod. 1. 84.

<sup>10</sup> Strab. 807. A description of the court-yard built for Apis by Psammetichos is given in Hdt. 2. 153.



## 434 The Bull and the Sun in Egypt

attendants and priests declared that Nile-water was too fattening. He had also a seraglio of fine cows<sup>1</sup>. Once a year a cow, distinguished by a special set of signs, was exhibited before him: tradition said that she was always found and destroyed on the self-same day<sup>2</sup>. During one week in the year Apis' birthday was celebrated: a gold and a silver bowl were sunk in the Nile at a place in Memphis called from its configuration *Phuala*, 'the Saucer'; and the crocodiles of the river harmed no one till noon on the day following the birthday week<sup>3</sup>. The *stèle* of Palermo records the first celebration of another festival the 'Running round of Apis, but gives us no indication as to its character<sup>4</sup>. Omens and oracles were drawn from the bodily movements of Apis<sup>5</sup>. When he licked the *himétion* of Eudoxos the Cnidian, the priests averred that the astronomer would be famous but short-lived<sup>6</sup>. When he turned away from Germanicus Caesar, who was offering him food, that meant that Germanicus was a doomed man<sup>7</sup>. Apis had two chapels called bridal-chambers: if he entered the one, it was a good sign; if the other, mischief was brewing<sup>8</sup>. He was attended by choirs of boys, who sang his praises and then, suddenly becoming possessed, would burst out into predictions of the future<sup>9</sup>. Omens were also drawn from the first words heard on quitting his sanctuary<sup>10</sup>. Thus Apis lived for the mystic number of five times five years<sup>11</sup>. After his allotted span, the priests drowned him in their sacred spring, and mourned with shorn heads till they found his successor<sup>12</sup>. Large sums of money were spent on his obsequies<sup>13</sup>; his burial place was kept a profound secret<sup>14</sup>, and all Egypt lamented his

<sup>1</sup> *Ait. de nat. an.* 11. 10, Diod. 1. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Plin. nat. hist.* 8. 186, *Annu. Marc.* 22. 14. 7, *Solin.* 32. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Plin. nat. hist.* 8. 186, *Solin.* 32. 21, *Annu. Marc.* 22. 15. 17. According to Timaëus the mathematician *ap. Plin. nat. hist.* 5. 55, *Phuala* was the source of the Nile.

<sup>4</sup> L. A. Wallis Budge *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* London and New York 1911, 398.

<sup>5</sup> *Laet. Plac. in Stat. Thea.* 3. 478 *motu corporis sui*, *cp. Claud. de quatuor cens. Hen.* 576 *submissis admittit cornibus Apis*.

<sup>6</sup> Favonius *Arelatensis praef.* 16 (*Just. hist. Gr.* iii. 579 Muller) *ap. Drog. Laet.* 8. 90.

<sup>7</sup> *Plin. nat. hist.* 8. 185, *Annu. Marc.* 22. 14. 8, *Solin.* 32. 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Plin. loc. cit.*, *Annu. Marc. loc. cit.*, *Solin. loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ait. de nat. an.* 11. 10, *Plin. nat. hist.* 8. 185, *Solin.* 32. 20, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 79.

<sup>10</sup> *Paus.* 7. 22. 3 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Plout. de Is. et Os.* 56. See, however, R. Pietschmann in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc.* 1. 2808.

<sup>12</sup> *Plin. nat. hist.* 8. 184, *Annu. Marc.* 22. 14. 7, *Solin.* 32. 18, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 79.

<sup>13</sup> *Diod.* 1. 84 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Amob. adv. nat.* 6. 6 but see *Aug. de cit. Dei* 18. 5. *Hdt.* 3. 29 *καθ' ἑσπεριν* is inclusive. On the Apis-tombs of the *Σαπάρων* (*Strab.* 807) of Sakkara see A. Mariette *Le Sarcophagum de Memphis* Paris 1857 rev. by G. Maspero 1882 or the brief accounts in

## The Bull and the Sun in Egypt 435

death<sup>1</sup>. So the cult of Apis went on from the days of Menes (*Ménès*)<sup>2</sup>, the first king of the first dynasty, to the downfall of paganism<sup>3</sup>. Apis was commonly<sup>4</sup> identified with Osiris<sup>5</sup>. Most of the priests taught that the former must be regarded as a comely image of the soul of the latter<sup>6</sup>. More exactly, on the death of Osiris his soul passed into Apis and was re-incarnated in the succession of bulls that bore that name. Others said that, when Osiris was slain by Typhon, Isis gathered up his remains and deposited them in a wooden cow (*boûs*) wrapped about with fine linen (*byssos*), from which fact the town of *Boûsirîs* was supposed to have drawn its name<sup>7</sup>. Osiris-Apis (*Āsâr-Ĥāpî*) under the name of Sarapis was worshipped far and wide throughout the countries bordering on the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic age<sup>8</sup>, till Tertullian exclaimed indignantly: 'It is not Egypt nowadays, no, nor Greece, but the whole world that swears by this African!' He was regarded as lord of the underworld, an Egyptian Hades<sup>9</sup>. But his powers were not merely chthonian, as appears from the fact that he was frequently identified with Zeus and with Helios<sup>10</sup>. This last identification squares with the opinion of those who assert that Apis, if we could but recover the Egyptian conception of him and get rid of the comparatively recent classical tradition, would prove to have been a solar before he became a lunar deity. That is the view of O. Gruppe<sup>11</sup>, of E. Meyer, and of W. H. Roscher<sup>12</sup>, who all lay stress on the disk

G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1910 p. 501 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 n. 350 f.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. 1. 85, Loukian. *de var. rif.* 15, *di dea Syr.* 6, Tib. 1. 7. 28, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7, Solin. 32. 18, Myth. Vat. 1. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10. The Apis-cult, like the Mnevis-cult, was founded by king Kaiechos of the second dynasty, according to Manethon (*supra* p. 431 n. 4).

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* n. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Apis was also compared with Horos, whom the Egyptians deemed the cause of good crops and prosperous seasons; and the diverse colouring of Apis was taken to symbolise the diverse crops (Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10).

<sup>5</sup> Strab. 807.

<sup>6</sup> Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 29, cp. *iv.* 20. 43. At Memphis Apis was regarded as the 'second life of Ptah' (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* n. 350).

<sup>7</sup> Diod. 1. 85.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 188 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Tertull. *ad nat.* 2. 8.

<sup>10</sup> C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1. 1803 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 188 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rd.* p. 1572 n. 9: 'Nun ist dies allerdings eine Neuerung; der altägyptische Apis trägt zwischen den Hörnern die Sonne und scheint dieser geweiht gewesen zu sein.'

<sup>13</sup> E. Meyer and W. H. Roscher in *Lex. Myth.* 1. 420. 'Daher hat auch Apis (wie übrigens alle Stiergottheiten Ägyptens) eine solare Natur; als Symbol wird ihm der Sonnendiskus zwischen die Hörner gesetzt. [Die Scheibe zwischen zwei Hörnern ist in Ägypten immer die Sonne, nie der Mond.]'



styled the "living soul of Rā,"...and the "bull of the Mountain of the Sunrise (Bakhaū), and the lion of the Mountain of the Sunset." He wears between his horns a disk, from which rise plumes, and a uraeus; on his forequarters is a peculiar growth of hair, and 'over his hindquarters...a vulture with outspread wings (fig. 311)<sup>1</sup>.'

The Egyptians worshipped a black bull called *Ōnouphis* at a place whose name was too awkward for Aelian<sup>2</sup> to transliterate. He tells us, however, that this bull was the largest of bulls, that its peculiarity was the unique direction taken by its hairs, and that it was fed on Median grass. E. A. Wallis Budge identifies it with the bull of Hermonthis, and thinks that *Ōnouphis* 'is probably a corruption of some Egyptian name of Osiris Un-nefer<sup>3</sup>.'

At Momemphis, in the Delta, there was a cult of Aphrodite (*Hathor*) and a sacred cow<sup>4</sup>. Aphroditopolis, in the Heptanomis, on the east side of the Nile, was originally called *Dephet*, that is, the 'Cow's head<sup>5</sup>'; its inhabitants kept a sacred white cow<sup>6</sup>. Many other Egyptian towns, both in the Delta and outside it, kept a sacred bull or cow, as the case might be<sup>7</sup>.

## ii. Zeus, Io, and Epaphos.

Now the Greeks at an early date came into contact with all this Egyptian zoolatry and were much impressed by the cattle sacred to the sun and moon.

Herodotos, the first student of comparative religion, boldly identifies Dionysos with Osiris<sup>8</sup> and asserts that the so-called Orphic and Bacchic rites were in reality Egyptian and Pythagorean<sup>9</sup>. Whatever the precise value of such generalisations may be, we can at least infer that there were substantial points of agreement between the Dionysiac religion and its Egyptian counterpart<sup>10</sup>. Among these would be (as the whole of the present section attests) the worship of a great fertilising bull, which tended to

<sup>1</sup> Lanzoni *Diction. di Mitol. Egiz.*, p. 201 f. pl. 70. 4. cp. K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2802 f. Coins of the Hermonthite nome show the bull Bakis butting; or, a bearded god with *himation* and sceptre, who holds on his extended left hand a small figure of the bull Bakis butting (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 363).

<sup>2</sup> Ael. *de nat. an.* 12. 11.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 352.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. 803.

<sup>5</sup> R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2793.

<sup>6</sup> Strab. 809.

<sup>7</sup> Strab. 803.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 376 n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Hdt. 2. 81 τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 35 with the judicious remarks of P. D. Scott-Moncrieff in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 87 f. and the more hazardous speculations of Miss G. Davis in *The Classical Association of Ireland Proceedings for 1911-12* p. 13 ff.

acquire solar powers. It is, therefore, allowable to conjecture that the obscure and presumably non-Greek<sup>1</sup> name *Bikchos* was in fact borrowed<sup>2</sup> from that of the Egyptian bull *Bakha*<sup>3</sup>. The name thus taken over, say by the Libyo-Greeks, appears to have passed into Crete<sup>4</sup> and Asia Minor<sup>5</sup>, thence finding its way into European Greece<sup>6</sup>. Hesychios' statement that *bikchos* was a Phoenician word for 'lamentation' is hardly more than an etymological guess<sup>7</sup>.

Less problematic is another and a better-known case—that of Apis. The Greeks named him *Épaphos*<sup>8</sup> and brought him into connexion with their own mythology<sup>9</sup>, declaring that he was the son of Io by Zeus, who impregnated her by a touch<sup>10</sup> at Kanobos. The story is summarised by Aischylos in the earliest of his extant plays, the *Suppliants*, where the fifty daughters of Danaos fleeing from the fifty sons of Aigypptos seek the protection of Pelasgos, king of Argos, on the ground of kinship. The passage was thus rendered by Prof. L. Campbell:

- Chorus.* 'Tis said that in this Argive land erewhile  
Io was doorkeeper of Hera's Fane.  
*King.* Certes she was: strong Rumour makes us know.  
Is't said that Zeus to mortal maid came near?  
*Cho.* Yea, and that Hera knew, and would prevent.  
*King.* How ended such a high-enkindled feud?  
*Cho.* Your goddess turned the woman to a cow.  
*King.* But was the horned heifer safe from Zeus?  
*Cho.* He took the likeness of a leaping bull.  
*King.* What then contrived the mighty Queen of Heaven?

<sup>1</sup> L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 78 'Etymologisch nicht verstandlich.' See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1417 f.

<sup>2</sup> The loan would be facilitated not only by the bovine form of the god and his fertilising function, but also by his snake and his sacred mountain.

<sup>3</sup> My suggestion has, I find, been anticipated by F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie* Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 203 f. *Bakha*, wozu vielleicht bedeutende Spuren liegen des Einflusses ägyptischer Vorstellungen auf die bacchische Religion der Griechen,' *op. cit.* 1842 iii. 641 n. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Eur. *Cycl. fr.* 472, 14 f. Nauck<sup>2</sup> *κοιμήτων βόαχος ἐκλήθην ὡσεὺς θεός*.

<sup>5</sup> Lamell *Cult. of Gr. Stat.* v. 300 n. 73.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Gruppe *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Hesych. *βάχων κλαυθύνει Φοεικας* (cp. the Hebrew *ba'ah*, 'he wept.' But it seems more probable that the name *βάαχος* hails from north Africa like *Bākhoris* = *Bukum*, inf. king of Lower Egypt (*op. cit.* p. 431), *Bóαχος* on *Bou. ins.* king of Mauretania (*ins. fr.* p. 502), etc.

<sup>8</sup> Hdt. 2. 38, 2. 153, 3. 28.

<sup>9</sup> See J. Escher-Baukh in Pauly *Wissow. Real-En.* v. 2708 f.

<sup>10</sup> Aisch. *Pr.* 849 *ἐπαφῶν ἀπαρτεῖ χεῖρὶ καὶ θεγῶν μόνον, σιροί.* 18 f. *ἐξ επαφῆς καὶ ἐπιπνοίας, Διός*, 45 f. *ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας* *Ἰννὸς ἐφαψεν*, 1066 *χεῖρὶ παύρῃ κατασχέθων*, *Apollon.* 2. 1. 3 *ἀφάμενος*, *Nonn. Dion.* 3. 284 ll. *αληθυσίων ὅτι κολῶν* | *Ἰναχίης θαμάλης ἐπαφήσατο θεὸς ἀκοίτης* | *χερσὶν ἐρωμανέσσει*, *schol. Eur. Phoen.* 678 *ἡ Ζεὺς ἐπαφῆσαντος τῆς Ἰοῦς* (B.C.M. 1.), *ἀπο γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἐπαφῆς πρὸς Ἰώ* *Ἐπαφος ἐγένετο* (Giu.), *Tzet. in Lyk. Al.* 630 *ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἐπαφῆς*.

- Cho.* She set a sleepless watch, with myriad eyes.  
*King.* What all-seeing herdman of one heifer? Say.  
*Cho.* Argus, the child of Earth,—whom Hermes slew.  
*King.* What framed she more for the poor cow's annoy?  
*Cho.* A goading gad-fly, giving her no rest.  
*King.* 'Tis called the "breese" by neighbours of the Nile.  
*Cho.* This drove her, banished, on a distant course.  
*King.* Your tale fits smoothly with the truths I know.  
*Cho.* Canopus and then Memphis saw her come.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
*Cho.* Zeus with a finger-touch begat a child.  
*King.* How then was named the heifer's birth divine?  
*Cho.* Named from the touch that gat him, Epaphus.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
*Cho.* Libya that holds a wide extent of earth.  
*King.* What other child of hers hast thou in mind?  
*Cho.* Bel, with two sons, sire of my father here.  
*King.* Of thrilling moment is this name. Declare it.  
*Cho.* Danaus, whose brother fifty sons begat.  
*King.* His name, too, let thy liberal words reveal.  
*Cho.* Egyptus. Now thou knowest my primal race.  
 Act therefore as toward Argive visitants.  
*King.* In truth ye seem to me to be of kin  
 Ancestrally to Argos<sup>1</sup>.

This version of the myth involves a sort of thrust and parry between Zeus and Hera, which appealed to the dramatic instinct of Aischylos and is well expressed in the rapid exchange of his short, sharp, single lines. Zeus deals the first blow by falling in love with Hera's priestess, Io. Hera thwarts Zeus by changing Io into a cow. Zeus outwits Hera, becoming a bull to prosecute his amour. Hera not yet vanquished, sets Argos *Panóptes*, the 'All-seeing,' to guard the cow. Hermes, presumably at Zeus' bidding, slays Argos. Hera, as a last resource, drives the cow by means of a gad-fly to the furthest limits of the world. Even at the furthest limits of the world Zeus touches her and gains his end. Thus the omnipotence of Zeus is vindicated: play-wright, performers, and audience return home well-content.

Not so we. Aischylos' plot is obviously put together out of old, indeed primitive, materials. And we are, for the moment, mainly interested in recovering the original form of the story. This may be, probably is, a task beyond our powers. Nevertheless it will not do to neglect divergent accounts that have reached us from other sources. They may at least help towards the reconstruction of an earlier version.

<sup>1</sup> Aisch. *suppl.* 291—325 trans. L. Campbell, cp. *P.* 7. 846 ff., Bakchyl. 18 *Io*, Eur. *Phoen.* 676 ff., Apollod. 2. 1. 3 f., Hyg. *fab.* 145, 149, 155, 275, Ov. *met.* 1. 748 ff., *alt.*

More than one writer, for example, assumes that Io was changed into a cow by Zeus, not by Hera. According to Apollodorus<sup>1</sup>, who in his great 'Library' of Greek myths has preserved, so to speak, a *variorum* edition of this tale, Zeus attempted to divert Hera's suspicions from his own intrigue with Io by transforming the latter into a white-cow and swearing that he had never had intercourse with her. Hera thereupon asked Zeus to make her a present of the cow and stationed Argos Panóptes as its guardian. Argos bound the cow to the olive-tree<sup>2</sup> that was in the sacred grove of the Mycenaeans<sup>3</sup>. Zeus bade Hermes steal the cow. *Hírax*<sup>4</sup>, the 'Hawk,' revealed the design<sup>5</sup>. And Hermes,

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. 2. 1. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Ov. *met.* 1. 610f. inque intentem 'Inachidos vultus mutaverat ille iuveneam. Iuv. 6. 526 si candida missem Io, Val. Flacc. 4. 380 verbera candentes quotiens exhorruit amos.

<sup>3</sup> Hence the belief that lovers might perjure themselves with impunity (Hes. *frag.* 5 Flach *ap.* Apollod. 2. 1. 3. schol. Plat. *symp.* 183 B; Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀφροδίσιος ὄρκιος, cp. Kallim. *ep.* 27. 3f. Wilamowitz = Stob. *flor.* 28. 3 ed. Gaisford 1. 3831).

<sup>4</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 239 Argus olea etiamnum durare dicitur, ad quam Io in tauram

mutatam Argus alligaverit. This olive-tree is shown on a black-figured *amphora* at Munich (Sieveking—Hackl *Festsamml. München* 1. 58 fl. no. 585 fig. 69 pl. 21, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 474, T. Panofka 'Argos Panoptes' in the *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1857 Phil.-hist. Classe pl. 5), a red-figured *amphora* of the Coghill collection (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 466 f., Panofka *op. cit.* pl. 4. 1), a *stamnos* from Caere now at Vienna (Maspero *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 52 no. 338, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 477 f., *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 pl. I—K, Remach *Rep. Trav.* 1. 314, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 279 f.), a green jasper of which a replica in paste was in the Stosch collection (fig. 312, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 483 f., Panofka *op. cit.* pl. 3. 1), a wall-painting from the *Casa di Melagro* at Pompeii (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 470 f., Panofka *op. cit.* pl. 1. 6).



Fig. 312.

<sup>5</sup> Soph. *El.* 4 f. το γὰρ παλαιὸν Ἀργὸς οὐπόθεις τόδε, ἢ τῆς οἰστραπολήγης σῆτος Ἰνάχοι λόρης.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Poll. 4. 78 ἱερικὸν δὲ (νέλος) τοῦ Ἀργολικόν, ἡ ταῖς ἀνθεσφόροις ἐν Ἠπείρῃ ἐπιτίλιν.

<sup>7</sup> Two other birds were brought into connexion with the myth. (1) *Iynx* the 'wry-neck,' daughter of Lebo or Pentho, sacred to Nike and Aphrodite, by magic means inspired Zeus with love for Io, and was punished by Hera, who transformed her into a stone (Phot. *b. v.* *s.v.* Ἰνγξ) or into a wry-neck (Kallim. *frag.* 100. 8 Schneider *ap.* schol. Theokr. 2. 17, cp. schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 56). (2) When Argos was slain, Hera transformed him into a peacock (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 102, anon. *met. ell.* 6 in Myth. Graec. ed. Westermann p. 347, Nonn. *Dion.* 12. 70 f., Mart. 14. 85. 1 f., Myth. Vat. 1. 18. 2. 5, 2. 89) or decorated the tail of her peacock with his eyes (Ov. *met.* 1. 722 f.), or the peacock sprang from his blood (Mosch. 2. 58 ff.) or was sent up by the Earth where he fell (Opp. *de av.* 1. 24). The peacock appears on the gem mentioned above (n. 4), cp. Boetticher *Baumkultus* fig. 35 and the peacocks kept in the temple of Hera at Samos (Antiphaneas *Homopatri* *ap.* Athen. 655 B, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1035, 47 f., Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia pp. 369—372, 386, 390 f. pl. 36. 11, 13, 37, 15, Head *Hist. num.* p. 666). At the Argive Heraion Hadrian dedicated a peacock of gold and shining stones (Paus. 2.

## Priests and Priestesses with Animal Names 441

when he could not be hidden, slew Argos with a stone<sup>1</sup>. Hera then sent the gad-fly to drive the cow far away. The cow, after traversing the Ionian Gulf, Illyria, Mount Haimos, the Bosporos, Skythia, Kimmeria etc., at length reached Egypt, where it recovered human form and gave birth to Epaphos on the banks of the Nile.

Again, opinions differed as to the colour of the cow. Soudas identifies Isis with 'Io, whom Zeus carried off from (the town of) Argos and, fearing Hera, changed now into a white, now into a black, and now into a violet cow'.<sup>2</sup> Moschos, a bucolic poet of the third century B.C., adorns the golden basket of his Europe with a device representing Io as a golden cow<sup>3</sup>. And Virgil arms Turnus, king of the Rutuli, with a shield on which was a golden cow likewise denoting Io<sup>4</sup>.

### iii. Priests and Priestesses with Animal Names.

But, whether Io was transformed into a cow by Hera or by Zeus, and whether the colour of the said cow was white or black or violet or golden, are, after all, questions of minor importance. What we want to know is the original relation subsisting between the principal figures of the myth, Zeus, Hera, Argos, Io, and the significance of the bull and the cow in regard to each.

Io, the *kleidonchos* or 'key-keeper' of Hera, was changed by her goddess into a cow. This, the Aeschylean form of the myth, suggests, if I am not mistaken, that the priestesses of the Argive Hera were known as 'cows.' Examples of priests and priestesses bearing animal titles are fairly frequent. Dionysos often had a bovine character, and Dionysiac mysteries were celebrated by a class of priests called 'cow-herds'.<sup>5</sup> Their name presupposes that

17. 6, *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) viii 13 and 70) and an antefix of terra-cotta found by Finlay was painted to imitate the tail of a peacock (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 169). Sir Charles Waldstein *The Argive Heraeum* Boston and New York 1902—1905 i. 24, 64 f., states that General Gordon of Carness in 1831 found there the tail of a peacock in white marble. *Id.* ib. ii. 205 f. pl. 77. 46—48 publishes some votive bronze cocks (? peacocks) that he discovered on the same site.

<sup>1</sup> So *cf. met.*, p. 136, 52. According to the usual version, Hermes approached Argos as a herdsman playing on his pan-pipes, charmed him to sleep with music and his magic wand (*Ov. met.* i. 671 ff., Val. Flacc. 4. 384 ff.), and then slew him by cutting his throat with the *harpe* (*Ov. met.* i. 717 f., Lucan 9. 663 f., Val. Flacc. 4. 390), or by putting out his eyes with it (*Myth. Vat.* 3. 9. 3) or with his wand (*Nönn. Dion.* 13. 25 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Soud. s.v. 'Ισις ποτὲ μὲν εἰς λευκήν βοῦν, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς μέλαιναν, ποτὲ δὲ ἰάστοσαν (probably to suit the name Ἰώ).

<sup>3</sup> Mosch. 2. 44 f.

<sup>4</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 7. 789 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The evidence is cited by Rohde *Priester* p. 15 n. 3 and more fully by O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1013—1017. The latter concludes: 'Βουκόλοι are sacred officials in the service of Dionysos. Their name refers to the bovine form under which



## 442 Priests and Priestesses with Animal Names

the god, or his worshippers<sup>1</sup>, or both, were 'cows.' Similarly Poseidon was sometimes a bull-god, and the young men who served as his cup-bearers at an Ephesian feast were 'bulls'.<sup>2</sup> A sanctuary of Artemis *Polō* 'the Colt,' constructed c. 200—150 B.C., has recently come to light in Thasos.<sup>3</sup> A Laconian inscription commemorates an 'Aurelia Epaphro, who was colt of the two most holy deities, Demeter and Kore'.<sup>4</sup> In a rite at some unspecified place, probably in Lakonike or Messene, two girls were called 'the colts of the Leukippides'.<sup>5</sup> And the term 'sacred colt' was applied to a priest or priestess in Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>6</sup> Among the Iobacchoi of Athens officials appointed by the priests to act as 'chuckers-out' were named 'horses'.<sup>7</sup> At the Peiraieus one Chryseros, a man of humble estate, was 'horse' for the *orgeōnai* or 'worshippers' of Euporia *Belēla*, *Oraia*, Aphrodite, and the Syrian goddess. The girls who, clad in saffron robes, joined in the ritual of Artemis *Brauronía* were 'bears'.<sup>8</sup> Those

their god was originally worshipped. They are found occasionally in other cults too, e.g. in Crete in the cult of the chthonian Zagreus and the Kouretes and in the service of Hekate. An *ἀρχιβουκόλος* of Apollon *Smínthios* in mythical times is mentioned by Polemon *frag.* 31 Preller.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3605, 32 f. Bunarhashi *tás te βόες καὶ τοὺς βουκόλους* was thus interpreted by R. Scholl *Satura philologa in hon. H. Sauppe* p. 177 and A. Dieterich *De hymnis Orphicis* Marburg 1891 p. 5 (= *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 71 f.). They were probably mistaken: see M. Frankel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 n. 485. O. Kern, however, in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1014 infers the existence of human *βόες* from that of the priestly *βουκόλοι*. See also *infra* ch. 186 (g) xx (5) on children called *βόες* at Hierapolis Bambyke.

<sup>2</sup> *Amerias ap.* Athen. 425 c *ταῦροι*. Cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 129 f.

<sup>3</sup> T. Macridy 'Un hieron d'Artemis Πωλώ à Thasos' in the  *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch.* 1912 xxvii. 1—19 pls. 1—4 with inscr. no. 2 *Φίλων Φανόλειω, τὴν εαυτοῦ γυναικα ῾ Κόδιον Διονισσοῦρου ῾ Ἀρτεμίδι Πωλοῖ* and no. 3 *Ἀντιφῶν Εὐρυμενίδου τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα ῾ Ἀρὴν Νέωνος Ἀρτεμίδι Πωλοῖ ῾ Φιλίσκος Πολυχάρμου ῾ Ρόδιος ἐποίησεν*.

<sup>4</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1449. Wide *Lakon. Kult.* pp. 79 n. 1, 179, 331 regards this *πῶλος* as a priestess or attendant of the goddesses.

<sup>5</sup> Hesych. *στ.* *πῶλια*: *χαλκοῦν πῆγμά τι. φέρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰς τῶν Λευκιππιδῶν πῶλους. ὃνο δὲ εἶναι παρθένους φασίν*. The first part of this notice remains enigmatic. Wide *Lakon. Kult.* p. 331 f. conjectures that the Leukippides themselves were once conceived as *πῶλοι*, and compares the description of the *Tho-kourai* at the close of Eur. *Ion* (cf. *Hermithena* 1891 p. 47, *Hermis* 1891 xxvi. 242) *Λευκαὶ δὲ πῶλω τῷ Διὸς κεκλη- αῖνοι ῾ τιμὰς μεγίστας ἔξετ' ἐν Κάδμου πόλει*. Cp. also Hesych. *στ.* *πῶλος* *εταῖρα. πῶλος ῾ γὰρ αὐτὰς ἔλεγον, οἶον Ἀφροδίτης. πῶλους τοὺς νεούς, καὶ τὰς νέας, καὶ παρμενοὺς* with J. Alberti *ad loc.*

<sup>6</sup> See G. A. Gerhald in the *Arch. f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 520—523.

<sup>7</sup> Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 737, 144 f. *ἵπποι*, J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 46, 144 f. The inscription is referred by L. Maass and W. Dittenberger to a date shortly before 178 A.D.

<sup>8</sup> Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 739, 17 f. *ἵππος*, who dates the inscription between 200 and 211 A.D.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 421 f.

## Priests and Priestesses with Animal Names 443

who were initiated into the *leontiká* or 'leonine' mysteries of Mithras adopted a variety of animal disguises and animal names. The men were called 'lions,' the women 'lionesses,' the attendants 'ravens.' The fathers were 'eagles' and 'hawks'.<sup>1</sup> The 'doves' at Dodona were by many of the ancients held to be priestesses<sup>2</sup>. The *histiátōres* or 'entertainers' of Artemis *Ephesia*, who observed rules of ceremonial purity for a year, were called by the citizens *essēnes*<sup>3</sup>, a title that properly denotes 'king bees'<sup>4</sup>. Aischylos in his *Priestesses* spoke of the 'bee-keepers,' who opened the temples of Artemis<sup>5</sup>. The priestesses of Demeter were known as 'bees'<sup>6</sup>. So too were women initiated into her mysteries<sup>7</sup>. Pindar

<sup>1</sup> Porph. *de antr.* 4. 16 ὡς τοῖς μὲν μετέχοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ὀργίων μύστας λέοντας καλεῖν, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας λέαινας (Felicianus c). Λαίνας), τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετοῦντας κόρακας. ἐπὶ τε τῶν πατέρων ἄετοί γάρ καὶ ἱεράκες οὔτοι προσαγορεύονται. ὃ τε τὰ λεοντικά παραλαμβάνων περικυβήσεται παντοδᾶπας ὥσων μορφάς. See further *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 117 f., and especially F. Cumont *Traité et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1899 i. 314 ff., 1896 ii. 535 Index, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*<sup>2</sup> trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 138 ff., and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3062, who cites much additional evidence from inscriptions etc. and arranges the initiates from lowest to highest in the following order: *corax*, *gryphus*, *miths*; *leo*, *Perses*, *heliodromus*, *pater*; *pater patrum* or *pater patratus*. A relief from Konjica in Bosnia shows a Mithraic communion attended by a *corax*, a *Perses*, a *miths*, and a *leo*; the first and the last of these wear masks representing a raven's head and a lion's head (F. Cumont *Die Mysterien des Mithra*<sup>2</sup> p. 139, pl. 3, 7, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1949 fig. 5087).

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. 2. 55-57. Strab. 7. *μας* 1 p. 73 Kramer, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1760. 431., Paus. 10. 12. 10. schol. Soph. *Trach.* 172. But the evidence is far from conclusive. Herodotus offers it only as his personal opinion that the *πελειάδες* were barbarian women who chattered like doves; Strabon remarks that in the language of the Molottians and Thesprotians old women were called *πέλαι*, old men *πέλαι*, and surmises that the *πελειάδες* were three old women, Eustathios quotes Strabon's view; Pausanias has τὰς Πελειάδας λέγουσι ἅσαι γυναικῶν πρῶτας κ.τ.λ.; and the scholiast on Sophokles prefixes a vague οἱ δὲ οἱ τῶ.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 8. 13. 1. Dittenberger *Syll. insc.* no. 175. 6 f. [θῦειν δὲ καὶ εὐ]αγγελία τῇ Ἀρτεμίδι τοὺς ἐσσηνας κ.τ.λ., no. 548. 81. ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐσσηνας εἰς φιλήγ καὶ χλιαστὴν κ.τ.λ., J. T. Wood *Demetrius at Ephesus* London 1877 Append. 4. 2 ἐσσηνεύσας ἄγῳρας καὶ εὐσεβῶς, cp. F. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* ii. 2. 85 Oxford 1890 nos. 447, 448. 451, 457, 467, 578.

<sup>4</sup> Soud. s.v. ἐσσην, cf. *μας* p. 383. 30 ff., cf. *Gud.* p. 213. 6 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Aisch. *ἱερεῖαι μάς*, 87 Nauck<sup>2</sup> εὐφραμίτε μελισσονόμοι δομον Ἀρτεμίδος πέλας αἰγεῖν. See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 106 c μελισσας δὲ τὰς ἱερείας, κυρίως μὲν τὰς τῆς Δήμητρος, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰς πάσας, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ζῶνι καθαρὸν, Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18 καὶ τὰς Δήμητρος ἱερείας ὡς τῆς χθονίας θεᾶς μυστίδας μελίσσας οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλεον αὐτὴν τε τὴν Κόρην μελιτώδη, Theokl. 15. 94 μελιτώδης with schol. *ad loc.* μελιτώδη δὲ τὴν Περσεφόνην φησὶ κατ' ἀντιφρασιν, ὡς καὶ Κόρην. ἡ - διὰ τὸ τὰς ἱερείας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος μελίσσας λέγεσθαι.

<sup>7</sup> Hesych. s.v. μελίσσαι αἱ τῆς Δήμητρος μυστίδες, Kallim. *h. Ap.* 110 f. Διοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντός ἰδους φορέουσι μελίσσαι, ἅλ' ἡτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει κ.τ.λ., Pind. *μάς* 158 Christ (158 Schroeder) *ap. schol.* Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 106 a τὰς περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ μυστικά μελίσσας καὶ ἐτέρωθεν ταῖς ἱεραῖς μελίσσαις τέρεται.

alludes to the Pythian priestess as a 'Delphic bee'.<sup>1</sup> And, lastly, the chief-priestesses of the Great Mother (Kybele) were still being called 'bees' at the commencement of our era<sup>2</sup>. Such titles imply that the deity worshipped was originally believed to appear in animal form, and that the worshipper, from motives that cannot readily be proved and must not hastily be assumed, pretends to be the animal in question.

#### iv. Hera and the Cow.

Now Hera had much to do with cows. The word *βοόπις*, which strictly signifies 'cow-eyed, cow-faced, of cowlike aspect,' had already in Homeric days come to be used as a complimentary epithet meaning 'large-eyed, fine-eyed' applicable to nymphs<sup>3</sup> and even to mortal women<sup>4</sup>. But it is noticeable that fourteen times in the *Iliad*—for the word is never found in the *Odyssey*—occurs the phrase 'cow-eyed lady Hera'. This stereotyped description always occupies the second half of the hexameter line, and is in fact a tag from a pre-Homeric system of versification, in which it formed a complete dactylic line<sup>5</sup>. It is, therefore, a reasonable conjecture that *βοόπις* as an epithet of Hera had come down to the epic minstrel from a distant past, when it was used in the sense of 'cow-eyed' or 'cow-faced' and presupposed the primitive conception of Hera as a cow<sup>7</sup>.

Traces of the same conception appear at the principal cult-centres of the goddess. Thus at Samos her image, to judge from coin-types of imperial date (figs. 313<sup>n</sup>, 314<sup>n</sup>), was a dressed up wooden

<sup>1</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 102 f. χρῆσιμος ὤρθωσεν μέλισσας | Δελφίδος αἰτουάτῃ Κελάδῳ with schol. *ad loc.* See further *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 4 f.

<sup>2</sup> Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22 Melissam vero a patre primam sacerdotem Matri Magnae constitutam, unde adhuc eiusdem Matris antistites Melissae nuncupantur. Lactantius is quoting from a commentary on Pindar written by Didymos, who lived in the second half of the first century B.C. and in the beginning of the first century A.D. (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 445). See further *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 3, W. Robert-Tornow *De aptum mellisque apud veteris significatione* Berolm 1893 p. 91 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 18. 40 Ἀλὶν τε βοώπις the Nereid. In the late Homeric hymn 31. 2 the mother of Helios is Εὐρυφάεσσα βοώπις.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 3. 144 Klymene, 7. 10 Phylomedousa. On βοώπις in the sense of 'large-eyed' see a recent article by A. Reichel in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 9—12.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* 1. 551, 568, 4. 50, 8. 471, 14. 159, 222, 263, 15. 34, 49, 16. 439, 18. 239, 357, 360, 20. 309 βοώπις πότνια Ἥρη.

<sup>6</sup> W. Christ *Metrik der Griechen und Romer*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig 1879 p. 158, O. Riemann and M. Dufour *Traité de Kythmique et de Métrique grecques* Paris 1893 p. 34 ff.

<sup>7</sup> For the analogous case of θεία γλαυκώπις Ἀθήνη see *infra* ch. II § 9 (h) in (A).

<sup>8</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 393 no. 375 Gallienus (wrongly described—'serpent' coded round modus of Hera).

<sup>9</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 381 pl. 37, 6 Gordianus Pius (wrongly described—

post with a pair of cow's horns attached near the top of it. Hera, in fact, bore some resemblance to the horned Astarte of the Semites<sup>1</sup>. And her originally bovine character doubtless facilitated the later identification of her with Isis<sup>2</sup>—witness the Ovidian story that, when the gods fled before Typhoeus into Egypt<sup>3</sup>, Hera became a snow-white cow<sup>4</sup>. Again, the great Argive Heraion was situated at the foot of a mountain (1744 ft in height), which in ancient times was called *Eúboia* and is still known as *Έτνια*<sup>5</sup>. Pausanias was told that the neighbouring river Asterion had three daughters *Eúboia*, *Prósymna*, and *Akraia*, that they were the nurses of Hera<sup>6</sup>, and that the ground about the Heraion, the district below it, and the mountain opposite to it were named after them<sup>7</sup>. Dr Farnell, however, points out<sup>8</sup> that *Prósymna*, 'She to



Fig. 313.



Fig. 314.

whom the hymn is raised<sup>9</sup>, and *Akraia*, 'She who is worshipped on the summit'<sup>10</sup>, were two cult-titles of Hera in the Argolid, and

'modius, round which serpent twines'<sup>11</sup>. The notion that Hera's head is surmounted by a snake seems to be based on a few examples (e.g., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 380 pl. 37, 5; Julia Mamaea), which show one horn pointing up and the other down—as on coins of Lappa (J. N. Svoronos *Nu vismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 211 f. pl. 19, 28, 36). It must, however, be admitted that the head-gear of the Samian Hera is very variously represented on the coins (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 15; Munz et al. i. 3, 59).

<sup>1</sup> W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup> London 1907 p. 310, S. R. Driver *Mediterranean Religions as recorded in the Bible* (The Schweich Lectures 1908) London 1909 p. 58 fig.

<sup>2</sup> W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 513 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ov. met.* 5. 330 *nivea Saturnia vacca flatuit*.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 2. 17. 1 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*

<sup>5</sup> Plout. *εμφ.* 3. 9. 2 makes *Έτνια* the sole nurse of Hera, cp. *cf. met.* p. 388, 54 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. 2. 17. 1. On *Prósymna* see further A. Ficklenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 118–120.

<sup>7</sup> Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* i. 182.

<sup>8</sup> Strab. 373 *ταύτη δ' ομοίως Προσψύματι ὡς ἐστὶ, καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπὸν ἐχούσα* Ηρας, Plout. *de fluv.* 18 *ἡ κείναι δὲ πολλαὶ (stones like beryls, which turn black when the man holding them is about to forswear himself) ἐν τῷ πεδίοντι τῆς Προσψύματις* Ηρας, καθὼς ἰστροπεῖ Τυφώϊος ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπταίοις (*Ides*, p. 125, iv. 522 Muller), Stat. *Lib.* 1. 383 *ecclae Iunonia templa Prosymnae* with Laet. *Plac. att.*

<sup>9</sup> Paus. 2. 24. 1 states that on the way up to the akropolis of Argos there was a

suggests that *Eúboia*, 'She who is rich in oxen,' was a third. *Neméa*, a few miles away from the Heraion, was said by some to have taken its name from the cattle sacred to Hera, which were there 'herded' by Argos<sup>1</sup>. The first systematic exploration of Tiryns and Mykenai yielded an extraordinary number of small terra-cotta cows, as many as 700 being found on the akropolis of the latter town alone<sup>2</sup>. These Schliemann took to be figurines of Hera herself in the form of a cow, Hera *boôpis*<sup>3</sup>; but more critical investigators regard them as votive substitutes for actual cattle<sup>4</sup>. Sir Charles Waldstein, on the site of the Heraion, discovered some interesting examples of bronze cows, one of which, as Mr D. G. Hogarth observed, shows markings indicative of a sacrificial fillet<sup>5</sup>. In Seneca's *Agamemnon*<sup>6</sup> the chorus, consisting of Mycenaean women, chant to their goddess Hera:

At thy fane the bull's white wife  
Falls, who never in her life  
Knew the plough nor on her neck  
Bore the yoke that leaves the flock.

At Argos the festival of Hera was known as the *Héraia* or *Hekatombaia* or as 'The Shield from Argos'. The first name explains itself. The last refers to the fact that, at the accompanying athletic contest, the prize was a bronze shield<sup>7</sup>. The festival was

sanctuary of Hera Ἀκραιά, cp. Hesych. s.v. Ἀκρία. On the cult of Hera Ἀκραία at and near Corinth, and also on the Bosphoros, see G. Wentzel in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i, 1193. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 128 n. 8, 183 n. 7, thinks that the Corinthian cult was modelled on the Argive.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Pind. *Nem.* argum. 3 p. 425 Boeckh, cp. *et. mag.* p. 176, 35 ff. Loukian. *dial. dóor.* 3.

<sup>2</sup> H. Schliemann *Mycenae* London 1878 p. 73 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 19 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi, 819.

<sup>5</sup> C. Waldstein *The Argive Heraeum* Boston and New York 1905 n. 201 ff. pl. 75, 23-27.

<sup>6</sup> Sen. *A.g.* 364 ff. In Kos a choice heifer was sacrificed to Hera Ἀργαία, Ἐλαια, Βασίλεια (Dittenberger *Syll. metr. Gr.*² no. 617, 5 f.)

<sup>7</sup> Nilsson *Gr. Fest.* p. 42 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 7, 83 ο τ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ χαλκὸς ἔγρω νιν. The schol. vet. *ad loc.* 152 a explains that the prizes were not bronze in the mass, but tripods, cauldrons, shields, and bowls. *Id. ib.* 152 b says simply, 'the bronze that is given at Argos as a prize to the victor.' *Id. ib.* 152 c: 'The prize was a bronze shield, and the wreaths were of myrtle.' *Id. ib.* 152 d: 'Bronze is given as the prize, because Archinos king of Argos, who first established a contest, being appointed to look after the supply of arms, made the award of armour from his store.' Polyam. 3, 8 states that Archinos was put over the armoury at a time when the Argives were arming: he offered a fresh weapon to each citizen, receiving in exchange the old weapons, so as to dedicate them to the gods; but, having collected all the old without supplying the new, he armed a mob of mercenaries, aliens, etc., and so became tyrant of Argos. If this is rightly referred (Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* n. 541) to the period of the Chremonidean War (266-263 B.C.), it is clear that the scholast on

called *Hekatombaia* because it included a great procession headed by a hundred oxen, which were killed, cut up, and distributed to all the citizens<sup>1</sup>. Was it as devotees of Hera *Argéia* that the Coan women, when Herakles left Kos, 'wore horns'<sup>2</sup>?

#### v. Kleobis and Biton.

Further details concerning the Argive cult may be gathered from Herodotos' tale of Kleobis and Biton<sup>3</sup>. These were two Argive youths of exceptional strength. When Hera's festival came on, their mother had to be drawn in a car to the temple. But the oxen did not arrive in time from the field. So the young men harnessed themselves to the car and drew their mother five and forty furlongs to the temple. The Argives stood round about and congratulated them on their strength, the women complimenting the mother on her sons. She, over-joyed, stood before the statue of the goddess and prayed her to grant the lads, who had shown her such honour, that which was best for man to obtain. After this prayer, when they had sacrificed and feasted, the young men were put to sleep in the temple itself and never woke again. The Argives had statues of them made and dedicated at Delphoi on account of their valour<sup>4</sup>.

Herodotos' account is supplemented in some points by that of others, for the story was a favourite one with ancient writers. Thus we learn that the mother's name was Kydippe<sup>5</sup> or Theano<sup>6</sup>; that she was priestess of the Argive Hera<sup>7</sup>; that it was not lawful

Pindar is guilty of an anachronism. See further Pind. *Nem.* 10. 40 f. ἀγών τοι χαλλεος δαμον ὅτρυνε ποτι φοιθισαν Ηρας αεθλων τε κρίσιν with schol. vet. *ad loc.* χαλλεον δέ φησι τὸν ἀγωνα, ητοι ὅτι ἰσχυρος εστιν, η ὅτι χαλλοῦν σπλον τὸ ἐπαθλον and the passages cited *infra* ch. iii s 1 (a) vii (7).

<sup>1</sup> Schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 152 d. M. P. Nilsson ep. Parthen. *narr. am.* 13. 3 (the story of Harpalyke). The festival is called Εκατομβαια in the *Corps. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1717. 4. Εκατομβαια in the *Corps. inscr. Att.* iii. 3 no. 1367, *Corps. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1515 b 8 (*iv.* a 9 Εκατομβαια *sup.*).

<sup>2</sup> *Ox. metr.* 7. 363 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Hdt.* i. 31.

<sup>4</sup> The French excavators of Delphoi found to the west of the Athenian Treasury two nude male figures which, as Homolic at once conjectured (*Bull. Corr. Hll.* 1900 xiv. 445-462 pls. 18-21, ep. *Levesq. et Delphos* iv. 1. 5-18 pls. 1 f.) and as A. von Premierstein subsequently proved (*Jahrbuch. d. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiv. 41-49 ff.), are the very statues mentioned by Herodotos. On them see further Perrot-Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 452 ff. pls. 9 f. fig. 226.

<sup>5</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18. 2 with arg. Sound. *sc.* Κροῖστος, Philag. *in* Veig. *scor.* 3. 532 (*v. l.* Chrysode).

<sup>6</sup> Sound. *sc.* Κροῖστος.

<sup>7</sup> Plout. *consej. ad Apol.* 14. Loukian. *Comment.* 10. arg. *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18. Palaeph. 50 (51). Eudok. *ritol.* 435. Sound. *sc.* Κροῖστος, Cic. *Tusc.* i. 113. Serv. and Philag. *in* Veig. *scor.* 3. 532. Myth. Vat. i. 29. 2. 66.

for her to go to the temple except on an ox-car<sup>1</sup> drawn by white oxen<sup>2</sup>; that, if she had not performed the rite to time, she would have been put to death<sup>3</sup>. Kleobis and Biton, otherwise called Kleops and Bitias<sup>4</sup>, when no oxen could be had because a plague had killed them all<sup>5</sup>, are said to have stripped off their clothes, anointed themselves with oil, and stooped their necks to the yoke<sup>6</sup>. After sacrificing at the temple they drank<sup>7</sup> and feasted with their mother<sup>8</sup> before going to sleep. In another version they bring the car and their mother safely home, and then worn out with fatigue succumb to their fatal sleep, while Kydippe, having learnt wisdom from their example, puts herself to death<sup>9</sup>.

A second tale of Biton's prowess was told in verse by Lykeas, an antiquary of Argos<sup>10</sup>. It was to the effect that once, when the Argives were driving certain beasts to Nemea in order to sacrifice to Zeus, Biton full of vigour and strength caught up a bull and carried it himself. A statue of him bearing the bull was set up at



Fig. 315.



Fig. 316.

Argos in the sanctuary of Apollon *Lykios*<sup>11</sup>. Biton's exploit has commonly been regarded as a mere athletic feat; but, as we shall see later<sup>12</sup>, it is highly probable that a definite ritual practice lay behind it.

Returning to the joint performance of the two brothers, we note that at Argos opposite the sanctuary of Zeus *Némios* there was a stone relief of Kleobis and Biton in the act of drawing their mother to the Heraion<sup>13</sup>. An imperial Argive coin, now in the Berlin collection (fig. 315)<sup>14</sup>, shows the scene and may perhaps be

<sup>1</sup> Philarg. *in Verg. Georg.* 3. 532, cp. Serv. *in Verg. Georg.* 3. 532, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 29, 2. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Palaeph. 50 (51), Eubolus, *vitul.* 435<sup>a</sup>. Plout. *consol. ad Apoll.* 14 wrongly says 'mules'.

<sup>3</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 254. Cp. Fest. *ad nat.* 2. 9 ne in sacris piaculum committeret.

<sup>4</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 254.

<sup>5</sup> Serv. and Philarg. *in Verg. Georg.* 3. 532, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 29, 2. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 113.

<sup>7</sup> Plout. 7. *Sol.* 27.

<sup>8</sup> Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 113.

<sup>9</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 254.

<sup>10</sup> Paus. 1. 13. 8f.

<sup>11</sup> Paus. 2. 19. 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (g) xvi.

<sup>13</sup> Paus. 2. 20. 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 98 pl. 23.

considered a copy of this relief<sup>1</sup>. An ancient glass-paste, however, also at Berlin (fig. 316)<sup>2</sup>, differs from it in several points. The eighteenth column of the temple erected at Kyzikos to Apollonis, wife of Attalos i and mother of four sons distinguished for their filial affection<sup>3</sup>, was adorned with reliefs of Kleobis and Biton<sup>4</sup>; but how the subject was treated we do not know. The only representation of importance that has survived to modern times is carved on a sarcophagus in the library of S. Marco at Venice (fig. 317)<sup>5</sup>. The scene, enclosed by a grove of oak-trees, falls into four divisions. On the left Kydippe, erect in her car, is apparently drawn by two diminutive oxen, while Kleobis and Biton grasp the pole. The moment depicted is that of their arrival at the Heraion, as is clear from the rising rocky ground and the position of the

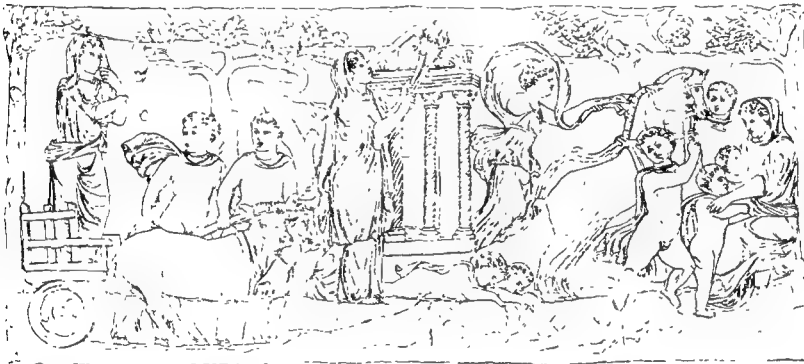


Fig. 317.

human and animal figures. In the centre stands the temple with four Corinthian columns spirally fluted: the pediment is decorated with a basket of fruit and a couple of snakes. Before the temple Kydippe raises two torches in an attitude of prayer. In front of her, face downwards on the ground, lie the two boys asleep, if not already dead. The third division represents a goddess, probably Selene, whose two-horse chariot is escorted, not as usual by Hesperos or the Dioskouroi, but by Kleobis and Biton. This implies that the Argive Hera was conceived by the artist of the sarcophagus as a moon-goddess, who took with her through the midnight sky the

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Vien. Comm. Paus.* i. 37 pl. K. 34, *Ueber Farnassus* iii. 193 fig. 32, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> *Dr. Z. Zeit.* 1869 xxxv. 98 pl. 23, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Polyb.* 22. 20 f. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18.

<sup>5</sup> H. Dutschke 'Kleobis und Biton' in the *Leipzig Mitth.* 1883 vii. 153-167 pl. 2.



souls of the two lads. On the right we see them reunited to their mother in heaven<sup>1</sup>.

#### vi. Trophonios and Agamedes.

Another celebrated example of euthanasia, coupled with this by the author of the Platonic *Axiarchos*<sup>2</sup>, by Plutarch<sup>3</sup>, and by Cicero<sup>4</sup>, was that of Trophonios and Agamedes. The Platonist tells us that, after building the precinct of the god at Pytho, they went to sleep and never rose again. Plutarch, or rather Pindar from whom Plutarch got his information, states that Agamedes and Trophonios, having built the temple at Delphoi, asked Apollon for their reward. He promised to give it to them on the seventh, or, as Cicero has it, on the third day from that time. Meanwhile he bade them feast. They did his bidding, and on the fateful night went to sleep, but woke no more. Philosophers and moralists of course made capital of such stories. But to the dry critic there is something decidedly sinister about the plot. The heroes are first feasted not to say fattened, in a temple, afterwards put to sleep there, and then found dead next morning. The Homeric *Hymn to Apollon*, our earliest<sup>5</sup> source for the tradition, asserts that Phoebos Apollon himself laid the foundations of his Pythian fane both broad and long; that on these Trophonios and Agamedes, the sons of Erginos, loved by the deathless gods, placed a threshold of stone; and that the building was finished by throngs of men with wrought stones to be a minstrels' theme for ever<sup>7</sup>. Taken in connexion with the Platonic and Pindaric story, this narrative has to my ear very much the sound of a foundation-sacrifice, such as are still in a modified form practised by Greek builders<sup>8</sup>. True,

This relief was correctly interpreted by Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. H. Campbell (London 1721 i. 36 pl. 13 nos. 22—24 (after Beger *Symphonium ant.* p. 146, 149), though I do not know whether he had any ground for saying: 'Other Authors relate the Story, that the two Brothers finding the Oxen did not draw the Chariot fast enough placed themselves in the Yoke, and drew their Mother.'

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *loc. cit.* 370.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *loc. cit.* 370.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Tusc.* i. 114.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *loc. cit.* 370 (cf. Schaefer, *op. frag.* 2 ap. schol. Loukian. *dial. mort.* 10 p. 254, 255 n. Rabe).

<sup>5</sup> The priority can be claimed for the *Iliad* of Eugammon (*Eric. Gr. frag.* i. 57 Kinkel), which does not, however, appear to have dealt with the Delphic myth (O. Kern in Peab. Wissowa *Klass. Phil.* i. 720).

<sup>6</sup> *Il. II.* 294—299. See further Steph. Byz. s.v. Δελφοί, Paus. 9. 37. 5, 10. 5. 13.

<sup>7</sup> B. Schmidt *Die Trophonios und Agamedes* Leipzig 1871 i. 195 ff., G. (Georgeakis and L. Pinar) *Les Trophonios et Agamedes* (Literatures populaires de toutes les nations xxxi) Paris 1894 p. 346 f., Frazer *Golden Bough*: Taboo p. 89, L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Gordon *Greek Literature* London 1896 i. 70 ff., 390 f., J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 264 ff., *supra* p. 66 f.

Agamedes and Trophonios are described by the Homeric poet as 'loved by the deathless gods.' But we do not forget Menander's significant line:

Whom the gods love, dies young<sup>1</sup>.

The same euphemistic meaning probably attaches to the peaceful end of Kleobis and Biton. But we need not pursue the subject further, as we are at present concerned to show that Hera was essentially connected with cows. Her Homeric epithet 'cow-eyed', her legendary transformation into a snow-white cow<sup>2</sup>, her image with cow's horns at Samos<sup>3</sup>, her probable cult-title 'She who is rich in oxen', her sacred herd at Nemea<sup>4</sup>, her numerous votive cattle<sup>5</sup>, the white cow<sup>6</sup> or the choice heifer offered to her in sacrifice<sup>7</sup>, the Argive festival of the hundred oxen<sup>8</sup>, the white steers that drew her priestess to the Heraion<sup>9</sup>, amount to a conclusive proof that Hera had much to do with cattle, and furnish some support for my conjecture<sup>12</sup> that in Io, the priestess changed by the goddess into a cow, we should recognise an attendant of the animal deity called by her animal name<sup>13</sup>.

## vii. The Proitides.

Confirmation of this view may be sought in the myth of the Proitides or daughters of Proitos, king of Tiryns and the surrounding district. A. Rapp in a careful discussion of their myth has shown that the troubles which befell them were, in different versions, ascribed to Dionysos, to Aphrodite, and to Hera<sup>14</sup>. Confining our attention to the Argive goddess, we find that Akousilaos, the logographer of Argos in Boiotia, who lived in the second half of the sixth century B.C. and provided a mythological quarry for Pindar<sup>15</sup>, associated the Proitides with Hera. They went mad, he

<sup>1</sup> Menand., *dis exapaton frag.*, 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 105 Meineke).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 444.

*Supra* p. 445.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 444 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 445 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 446.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 446.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 446.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 446 n. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 446 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 447 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* p. 441 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Is this the ultimate significance of Kleobis and Biton acting as oxen to draw the car of the priestess? The schol. Bernens. in Verg. *Æneid.* 3. 532, who drew from the stores of the fifth-century writers Titus Gallus, Claudius, and Junius Philargyrius (M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*<sup>2</sup> München 1899 ii. 1. 91), says: *Sacerdotes Junonis id est Cleobis et Biton curus sollempnibus sacris deducere solebant, verum deficientibus bobus etiam collo sacra portasse dicuntur. Junonis sacris animalia defecerunt, id est, aut Romanorum expleta sunt funera quos illa persecuta est, aut restituta sunt sacra, quam infesta Junone defecerant.* It would perhaps be rash to infer from this muddle-headed notice that Kleobis and Biton were themselves priests or priestly attendants.

<sup>14</sup> A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3001 ff.

<sup>15</sup> A. and M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* Paris 1890 ii. 539 f.

said, 'because they made light of Hera's wooden statue<sup>1</sup>.' Pherekydes of Leros, another logographer, who c. 450 B.C. wrote a work on mythology resembling that of Akousilaos but ampler in scope<sup>2</sup>, agreed in this matter with his predecessor<sup>3</sup>:

'Melampous, the son of Amythaon, effected many miracles by means of his seer-craft, but his most famous exploit was this. Lysippe and Iphianassa, the daughters of Proitos, king of Argos, had owing to youthful imprudence<sup>4</sup> sinned against Hera. They had gone into the temple of the goddess and derided it, saying that their father's house was a wealthier place. For this they were driven mad<sup>5</sup>. But Melampous came and promised to cure them completely, if he received a reward worthy of his cure. For the disease had now lasted ten years and brought pain not only upon the maidens themselves, but also upon their parents. Proitos offered Melampous a share of his kingdom and whichever of the daughters he desired to wed. So Melampous, by means of supplications and sacrifices, appeased the wrath of Hera and healed their disease. He received in marriage Iphianassa, obtaining her as the reward<sup>6</sup> of his cure.

We hear no more of the Proitides and Hera till Roman times. Then, fortunately for our understanding of the myth, Virgil had occasion to compare Pasiphae with the Proitides:

Ah, luckless maid, what madness seized thee? Once  
Did Proitos' daughters fill with lowings false  
The fields; yet none pursued so base a love  
For cattle, though she had feared for her neck the plough  
And oft-times sought on her smooth brow the horns<sup>7</sup>.

The Latin commentators explain that the daughters of Proitos had boasted themselves to be more beautiful than Hera<sup>8</sup>, or had entered her temple in a solemn service and preferred themselves to her<sup>9</sup>, or, being her priestesses had stolen gold from her raiment and used it for their own purposes<sup>10</sup>. In consequence of this

<sup>1</sup> Akousilaos *frag.* 19 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* 1. 102 Muller) *ap.* Apollod. 2. 2. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A. and M. Croiset *op. cit.* n. 548 f.

<sup>3</sup> Pherekyd. *frag.* 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* 1. 74 f. Muller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 15. 225 (p. Baechyl. 10. 43 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> διὰ τὴν ἐκ νεότητος (διὰ τὴν ἀκασιότητος cod. V.) ἀνεπιλογιστίαν. Muller *ad loc.* thinks that the Proitides contrasted their own beauty with the ugliness of Hera's *ύψηλον*.

<sup>5</sup> For the manuscript reading καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάντις ὧν παραγενόμενος οὐ Μελαμπόου, κ. τ. λ. I have, with W. Dindorf, accepted P. Buttmann's brilliant emendation *μανισσῶν*.

<sup>6</sup> ἐδόνον αὐτὴν τῶν ἱατρικῶν καρπωσάμενος. If the text is sound, *ἐδόνον* is used incorrectly for *μισθόν*.

<sup>7</sup> Verg. *id.* 6. 47—51.

<sup>8</sup> Serv. *in* Verg. *id.* 6. 48, Myth. Vat. 1. 85.

<sup>9</sup> Lact. *Plac. in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 45; hac enim scilicet templum Junonis intrasse et se praetulisse deae. This is repeated almost word for word in Myth. Vat. 2. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *id.* 6. 48 vel. ut quidam volunt, cum essent antistites, ausa sunt vestitus autem detractum in usum suum convertere.

offence Hera<sup>1</sup> sent upon them the delusion that they were cows: they dashed off into the woods and even bellowed aloud<sup>2</sup>, till Melampous cured them and married one of them, receiving along with her part of king Proitos' domains<sup>3</sup>.

Here, then, is a further trace of the attendants or priestesses of the Argive Hera being called 'cows.' In 1894 I ventured on the general statement that within the bounds of Hellenic mythology animal metamorphosis commonly points to a preceding animal-cult<sup>4</sup>. I am now disposed to add the surmise that in some cases at least, those of Io and the Proitides among them, animal-metamorphosis implies an animal-priesthood, in which the priest or priestess is supposed to be the animal specially connected with his or her divinity<sup>5</sup>.

### viii. Hera and Io.

It is usually assumed without any attempt at proof that Io was a hypostasis or by-form of Hera<sup>6</sup>. This somewhat vague and shadowy conception may pass muster, if by it we mean that the priestess of Hera was originally regarded as Hera incarnate. Io *Kallithýessa*, to give her the full title recorded by Hesychios<sup>7</sup>, of which sundry variants are extant elsewhere<sup>8</sup>, is consistently

<sup>1</sup> Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 2. 220 says: *furorē immisso a Iōnere*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Bakchyl. 10. 56 *σμερδαλεὰν φωνὰν ἰεῖσαι*.

<sup>3</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Æl.* 6. 48, Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 2. 220, 3. 453, Myth. Var. 1. 85, 2. 68. Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 3. 453 speaks of actual metamorphosis: *Iuno in iuvenas vertit puellas*.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 160.

<sup>5</sup> P. Friedländer *Argolica* Berlin 1905 p. 36 has already conjectured that Tiryntian girls were the *βόες* of Hera just as Athenian girls were the *ἄρκτοι* of Artemis.

<sup>6</sup> So Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1893 vii. 76, Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* 1. 182, 200, K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 797, F. E. Sikes on Aisch. *P. 7.* 561, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 183, 460, 466, 469, 505 n. 2, 1127, 1325 n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Hesych. *α. γ.* Ἰὼ καλλιθύεσσα καλλιθύεσσα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ πρώτη ἱερεῖα τῆς Ἀθηναίας. J. Scaliger's correction of the last word to *Hpas* (εν Ἀργεὶ *Hpas* Knaack) has won universal acceptance, cp. Aisch. *suppl.* 291 f., Apollod. 2. 1. 3, anon. *de imaginib.* 15 p. 324 Westermann.

<sup>8</sup> Καλλιθώη (*Phoronis fraz.* 4 Kinkel *ap. Clm. Al. Strom.* 1. 164. 2 p. 102, 23 ff. Stahlin Καλλιθώη κλυδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης. | Ἡρῆς Ἀργείης, ἡ στεμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισι πρώτη ἐκοσμήσῃ ν. περὶ κίονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης. cp. Hyg. *fab.* 145 *Καλλιθώη* for which Knaack cp. *Callithoe*), Καλλιθουα (Plout. *ap. Eus. praep. ev.* 3. 8. 1 λέγεται δὲ Ἡείρας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀργολίδος Ἡρας ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Καλλιθουαν ἱερεῖαν καταστήσας. εκ τῶν περὶ Τίρυνθα δένδρων ὄρχην τεύων εὐκτέανον (so the mss.: εὐκείανον c). Kaibel) Ἡρας ἀγαλμα μορφῶσαι κ.τ.λ., with which cp. Paus. 2. 17. 5 παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἔστιν ἐπι κίονος ἀγαλμα Ἡρας ἀρχαῖον. τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον πεποιται μὲν ἐξ ἀχράδος, ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐς Τίρυνθα ἐπὶ Περσάσου τοῦ Ἀργίου. Τίρυνθα δὲ ἀνελόντες Ἀργεῖοι κομισοῦσιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον.

described in all our sources as the priestess of Hera, never as a goddess in her own right. Still, that she was in some sense divine, appears from several considerations. Her second name *Kallithyessa* has the ring of a genuine cult-title. The learned Lykophron calls her *βοῦρῖς*, as though she were Hera<sup>1</sup>. And she was in Alexandrine times commonly identified with Isis<sup>2</sup>, the Egyptian cow-goddess<sup>3</sup>. She was thus at once a priestess and a goddess, human yet divine, a state of affairs best explained on the assumption that the deity was embodied in the ministrant.

The equation of Io with Isis, originally suggested by the cow-form common to them both<sup>4</sup>, and doubtless helped by the jingle of their names, seems to have led to a further identification of Io with the moon. For Isis, as queen of heaven and wife of the Hellenistic divinity Zeus the Sun, Sarapis<sup>5</sup>, was by the later Greeks regarded as the Egyptian counterpart of Hera<sup>6</sup>, Zeus and Isis being sun-god and moon-goddess respectively<sup>7</sup>. Hence Io, once identified with Isis, must be the moon as well. Indeed, Greek and Byzantine writers from the second century of our era onwards assert that *Ιὸ* in the Argive dialect denoted the 'moon'<sup>8</sup>—an assertion of very doubtful validity.

ο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, καθήμενον ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα and Plout. *griestl. Gr.* 51 Βαλλαχμαδας εἰσι τοὺς Ἀργείων παῖδες ἐν εὐρυτῇ τινι παιζόντες ἀποκαλοῦσιν κ.τ.λ. The same form of the name appears also in Synkell. *chron.* 149 D (n. 283 Dindorf), Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 376), Καλλιθέα (Aristeid. *περὶ ρητορικῆς* 6 Canter (n. 3 Dindorf) with schol. Aristeid. p. 361 Dindorf), Καλλιθέα (schol. Arat. *Phaen.* 161).

A. Fickenshaus in *Tiryns* i. 19 ff. follows Wilamowitz in restoring Καλλιθήη as the original name. Combining the fragment of Plutarch with that of the *Phoronis*, he argues that Kallithya was priestess of Hera at Tiryns (where he has identified her primitive temple and even the precise site of her 'long column' and 'seated image' on the floor-level of the ancient *μέγιστον*), but that Io was priestess of Hera *Προσημναία* at Argos. This distinction is more ingenious than convincing. It assumes that, when *Καλλιθέα* (Synkell. *loc. cit.*) or *Καλλιθέα* (schol. Arat. *loc. cit.*) is described as priestess *ἐν Ἀργεῖ*, the reference is to Tiryns, and that the epic fragment *Ἰὼ καλλιθέεσσα* (ad.) rests on a mere confusion.

<sup>1</sup> Lyk. *Al.* 1292. Yet see *supra* p. 444 n. 3 and n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod. 2. 1. 3. Diod. 1. 24, *et. mas.* p. 476, 50 ff., Soud. s.v. Ἰσις, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 18, *aitb.* See W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 439 ff., *supra* p. 237 n. 1 (where the identification of Io with Astarte also is noted).

<sup>3</sup> W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 362 f.

<sup>4</sup> The comparison is at least as old as Hdt. 2. 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 445 n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> On the Hellenistic Zeus-Πάρις see *supra* p. 186 ff. Isis was to the Greeks, though probably not to the Egyptians, a moon-goddess identified with Σελήνη; see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 437 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Hieron. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας* 12 (n. 347, 30 f. Lentz) Ἰὼ ἦτοί σελήνη. ἰὼ γάρ η' σελήνη κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων διαλεκτὸν, Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 28 Dindorf οἱ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μυστικῶς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς σελήνης τὸ ἀποκρῖνον Ἰὼ λέγουσιν ἕως ἄρτι. The same

In modern times various arguments have been adduced to connect both Io and Hera with the moon. L. Ross pointed to a Coptic word *ioh* meaning 'moon,' and thought that Io was a moon-goddess corresponding with Ioh a moon-god<sup>1</sup>. W. H. Roscher believes that Hera was essentially a lunar divinity, and rests his belief on three main grounds—the similarity subsisting between Hera and Iuno, whom he views as a moon-goddess, the fact that Hera was a patron of women, marriage, child-birth, etc.; and analogies that can be made out between Hera and other lunar deities such as Artemis, Hekate, Selene<sup>2</sup>. O. Gruppe<sup>3</sup> holds that in the seventh century B.C. oriental influence transformed the Argive cow-goddess, whom he calls Hera-Io, into a moon-goddess. The result, he supposes, was twofold. On the one hand, the wanderings of Io were perhaps compared with the apparently erratic course of the lunar goddess<sup>4</sup>, the horns of the cow being identified with the horns of the moon<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, the moon-goddess came to be described as *βοῶπις*, like the Argive Hera, and was sometimes represented as actually bovine<sup>6</sup>, or horned<sup>7</sup>,

statement is made by Io, Antioch *tr. v.* 6. 14 (*Eccl. hist. Gr.* iv. 544 Muller), Eustath. in Dionys. *fr.* 92, *Chron. Paschale* i. 74 Dindorf, Kedren. *hist. comp.* ii. 37 Bekker), Souda, s.v. *Io*, Exc. Sahmasi in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* n. 387, 22 ff., *supra* p. 237 n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> L. Ross *Haar und Graten* p. 84, cited by R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 269.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Roscher *Iuno and Hera* (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer in) Leipzig 1875, and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2075, 2087 ff. The unsatisfactory nature of these arguments is pointed out by Lanell *Cults of Gr. States* i. 1804.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Kelt.* p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> *Eccl.* Gruppe quotes Verg. *Aen.* i. 742 *errantem lunam*.

<sup>5</sup> Lact. *div. inst.* i. 21 *Lunae taurus mactatur, quia similiter habet cornua*.

<sup>6</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 17. 240, 32. 95 *βοῶπιδος Σελήνης*, 11. 185 *ταυρώπιδι Μηνι*, 44. 217 *ταυρώπις Μηνι*, *Lyd. de mens.* 3. 10 p. 44. 9 Wunsch, where Σελήνη is described in an oracle (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Myster.* 6. 193) as *ταυρώπις*, = Πορφυρ. *περί τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας ἀφ. Iul. Phil. ἀφ. α'* 4. 23. 7, *h. m. i.* iii. 16 Abel *ταυρώπι ταυροκαρνε*, 17 *οἶμα δέ τοι ταυρώπιον εἴχεις*, 32 *ταυρώπις, κερόεσσα*, *Synes. hymn* 5. 22 *ἃ ταυρώπις μῆνα*, Maximus *περί καταρχῶν* 50 *κεραῆς ταυρώπιδος* and 509 *ταυρώπις ἀνάσσα* of the moon. Hera is *ταυρώπις* in Nonn. *Dion.* 47. 711 (so Hecker for *γλαυκώπιδος*), *Anth. Pal.* 9. 189. 1; Io in Nonn. *Dion.* 32. 69.

<sup>7</sup> Porphyry *d. antip. nymph.* 18 *ταῦρος μὲν σελήνην καὶ ὕδωρα σελήνης ὁ ταῦρος*, Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Thib.* i. 720 *Luna veio, quia propriis taurum coeret adductique, ideo vacca [luna] figurata est*, Nonn. *Dion.* 23. 309 *ταυροφίης κερόεσσα βοῶν ἐλάτεια Σελήνη*. In Loukian. *phileos.* 14 the moon brought down by magic appears first in the form of a woman, then in that of a fine cow (*βοῆς ἐγένετο πάγκαλος*), and lastly in that of a puppy.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. 6. 24. 6 saw in the market-place of Elis stone statues of Helios and Selene, the former with rays on his head, the latter with horns. Selene in the poets is *ἀμφικερως*, *δίκερως*, *εὐκέρως*, *ἡκέρως*, *κεραή*, *κερατφόρος*, *κερατώπις*, *κερα-ψ*, *κερόεσσα*, *ταυροκέρως*, *νυκίκερος*, *χρυσόκερος*, as Luna is *dicornis*: see Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 204 ff., Carter *Epith. deor.* p. 62.

or riding on a steer<sup>1</sup>, or at least drawn in a chariot by white steers or cows<sup>2</sup>.

Whether Io or Hera had anything to do with the moon before this oriental influence began to operate, is a difficult question. E. Siecke has attempted to bring the story of Io into line with sundry other moon-myths, which he refers to a common Indo-Europæan stock<sup>3</sup>. But, if we abandon the argument from analogy, and confine ourselves to definite literary tradition relating to Argos and the Argive cult, we cannot satisfactorily prove either that Io or that Hera was originally connected with the moon. At most we can put together the following indications. The Argives in historical times associated the cult of Hera with that of Zeus *Némeios*<sup>4</sup>. Nemea, however, was not, as we should have expected, the daughter of Zeus and Hera, but the daughter of Selene and Zeus<sup>5</sup>. Again, whereas Hesiod spoke of the famous Nemean lion—

Whom Hera reared, the noble wife of Zeus,  
And placed on Nemea's knees, a bane to men<sup>6</sup>,—

Hyginus says 'the Nemean lion, whom the Moon had reared'<sup>7</sup>. Epimenides, in a passage quoted by Aelian, wrote:

For I too am a child of the fair-tressed Moon,  
Who with dread shudder cast the monstrous lion  
At Nemea, bearing him for lady Hera<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ach. Tat. i. 4 εἶδον ἐγὼ πρὸς ἐπὶ ταύρω γεγραμμένην Σελήνην. Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Thob.* i. 720 mire autem cornua posuit, ut Lunam manifestius posset exprimere, non animal (sc. taurum), quo illa veli figuratur. Cp. W. H. Roscher in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3137 with figs. 9 and 11.

<sup>2</sup> For evidence, literary and monumental, see W. H. Roscher *ib.* ii. 3137.

<sup>3</sup> E. Siecke *Beiträge zur genaueren Erkenntnis der Mondgöttheit bei den Griechen* Berlin 1885 p. 4ff., *Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels* Strassburg 1892 pp. 83, 104, 118. So too F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 189f., though he subsequently modified his opinion in his *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 p. 209 n. 3. Cp. also A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 264.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 2. 24 2. 1. 27. 6, cp. 2. 20. 3, schol. Soph. *El.* 6, Dittenberger *Syll. insc. Gr.* no. 291. 13 ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀργείων ἡ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ | καὶ θεωποδοκίᾳ τοῦ | Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου καὶ ἡ τῆς Ἥρας τῆς Ἀργείας = Michel *Revue d'Inscr.* 2<sup>e</sup> no. 1312, Lebas-Waddington *Ann. Musée* no. 1730a, *supra* p. 236 n. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Pind. *Nim.* p. 425 Boeckh. Zeus and Nemea appear together on the Archemoros-vase (Inghirami *Vas. att.* iv pl. 371). See further Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 115 f.

<sup>6</sup> Hes. *theog.* 328 f. γοννοῖσιν κατένασσε Νεμείης, πῆμ' ἀνθρώποις. The line was perhaps applied to Alkibiades, whom Aristophanes (*ran.* 1431 ff.) calls a lion, after his Nemean victory (Paus. i. 22. 6 f.); for Aglaophon (Plout. 7 *Alab.* 16 says Aristophon) painted a picture in which Νεμέα ἦν καθημένη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονατῶν αὐτῆς Ἀλκιβιάδης (Athen. 534 D).

<sup>7</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 30 leonem Nemeum, quem Luna nutrietat.

<sup>8</sup> Epimen. *frag.* 5 Kern ap. Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 7.

Anaxagoras told the same tale<sup>1</sup>, and others followed suit<sup>2</sup>, so that the lion came to be called the offspring of the Moon<sup>3</sup>. These references certainly lead us to suppose that from the time of Epimenides, that is to say from about 625 B.C.<sup>4</sup>, the Argive Hera was closely connected, if not identified, with the Moon. More than that it would be unsafe to maintain.

### ix. Zeus and Argos.

It may next be shown that, what Io was to Hera, Argos was to Zeus.

The ancient systematisers of mythology recognized a variety of Dionysoi. One of these is described by Diodoros as having been the son of Zeus by Io, as having reigned over Egypt, and as having discovered the mysteries<sup>5</sup>. Now in the Dionysiac mysteries, as celebrated in Asia Minor, Crete, Thebes, etc., certain priests were termed *boukôloi* or 'cow-herds,' presumably because they tended their god conceived as in bovine form or ministered to the worshippers who adopted his animal name<sup>6</sup>. The important inscription, which has preserved for us the regulations of the *iôbakchoi*, an Athenian sect worshipping the Dionysiac divinity *iôbakchos*,

<sup>1</sup> Anaxag. *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* i. 498.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 30 Muller) *ap. Tatian ap. Iust. Mart.* p. 267. Plout. *de fluxu in orbem lunae* 24. Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀπέρας, Nigidius *ap. schol. Caes. Germ. Arctura* p. 393. 20 ff. Gysenhardt.

<sup>3</sup> Euphronion *frag.* 47 Meimke *ap. Plout. symph.* 5. 3. 3 Μήνης παῖδα χάρανα, interpr. Sen. in Verg. *Aen.* 8. 295 Luna filius et invulnerabilis dictus est, cp. Sen. *Hor. iur.* 83 sublimis alias Luna concepiat feras, Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Thyb.* 2. 58 leonem de his polis ortum etc. According to Demodokos *ap. Plout. de fluxu* 18. 4 Mt Apasanton (in Argolis) used to be called Mt Selenation. For Hera, wishing to punish Herakles, got Selene to help her. Selene, using magic spells, filled a basket with foam, out of which a huge lion was born. Iris bound him with her own girdles and brought him down to Mt Ophelktion. He tore and slew a shepherd of the district named Apasantos. Hence Providence ordained that the place should be called Apasantos after his victim.

<sup>4</sup> H. Demoulin *Épiméride de Crète* Bruxelles 1901 p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. 3. 74. In Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 58 (Dionysus) quantum Iove et Luna, cui sacra Orphica putantur conferri we should perhaps read *Semela* for *Luna* and, with Moser *ad loc.*, suppose a confusion between Semela and Selene: cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 51 p. 107. 106. Wünsch (*Διονυσος*) τέταρτος ὁ Διὸς καὶ Σεμέλης κ.τ.λ., Ampel 9. 11 (Iaber) quartus ex Satarno et Semela. In Laisch. *privatf. ev.* 3. 13 18 τις γὰρ ἡ τοῦτον (sc. Διόνυσον) γεννήσασα, εἶτε Σελήνη τις λεγομένη εἶτε Περσεφόνη, G. Dindorf prints Σεμέλη, the emendation of Cuiusius *Vindob.* p. 255, but Lobeck *Asiarchamus* ii. 1133 defends Σελήνη, comparing Ulpius in *Mil.* p. 174 ἐνίοι δὲ παῖδα Σελήνης τὸν Διόνυσον. Plout. *de Is. et Osir.* 37 cites a letter of Alexarchos ἐν ᾗ Διὸς ἰστορεῖται καὶ Ἰσιδος υἱὸς ὧν ὁ Διόνυσος κ.τ.λ.

<sup>6</sup> *Asiarch.* p. 44 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Hesych. s. v. Ἰόβακχος ὁ Διονύσιος, ἀπὸ τῆς βαλκαίας, Maximus *περί καταρχῶν* 496 σφαλλόμενοι δῶροισι χορμιανέος Ἰοβάκχον. That the *iôbakchoi* acted the part of *iôbakchos*, appears probable from *Anth. Plan.* 4. 289. 1 ff. αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν Ἰοβακχον εἰδυσαμεν, ἦνικα κ.τ.λ. φεῖν θεῖης ἀνδρὸς ὑποκρισίνης.



mentions a priestly personage called the *boukolikós*<sup>1</sup>. His name is placed next to that of Dionysos, whose connexion with the bull is indicated by the bull's head carved above the Dionysiac symbols at the top of the inscribed column<sup>2</sup>. The derivation of the name *Ióbakchos* is unknown<sup>3</sup>. But Diodoros' statement that Io was the mother of Dionysos makes it probable that some ancient mythologists, no doubt wrongly, deduced it from Io and Bakchos. However that may be, we are, I think, justified in inferring from the analogy of the Dionysiac *boukólos* tending the Dionysiac bull, that Argos, who as *boukólos* tended the 'cow' Io, was but the mythical prototype of a priest tending an actual or nominal cow.

But, if Argos was human, he was also divine. We have already seen that his name *Árgos* 'the Glittering' is comparable with that of *Zeús* 'the Bright One' and marks him as 'a sort of Zeus<sup>4</sup>'. A mortal Zeus, however; for his grave was shown at Argos<sup>5</sup>, where he had a precinct and a sacred wood impiously burnt by Kleomenes<sup>6</sup>. He resembled Zeus in nature as well as in name. Zeus, says Aischylos, became a bull to consort with Io<sup>7</sup>. Argos too was not only regarded as a fertilising power<sup>8</sup>, but also connected by his exploits with cattle. Being of exceptional strength, he slew a bull that was laying waste Arkadia and himself put on its hide; he withstood and killed a Satyr, who was oppressing the Arcadians and taking away their herds; he managed to destroy Echidna, child of Tartaros and Ge, who seized passers by and carried them off, by waiting till she fell asleep; and, lastly, he avenged the murder of Apis by doing to death those who were guilty of it<sup>9</sup>. If

<sup>1</sup> Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 737. 123 = Michel *Revue d'Inscr. et d'Hist. nat.* no. 1564. 123. Roberts' Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 239 no. 91. 123.

<sup>2</sup> See S. Wile in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1894 xix. 249, Syroinos *Ath. Nat. v. arch. pl.* 234. J. L. Harrison *Primitive Athens* Cambridge 1906 p. 90 fig.

<sup>3</sup> Bentley on Hor. *sat.* i. 3. 7 *Io Bacche*, cp. Eur. *Bacch.* 576 ff. ΔΙ. ὦ, κλυτὰ τεύχεα κλυτὰν ἀνδρῶν, ἢ ὡς Βάκχαι, ὡς Βάκχαι, derives the name from the initial exclamation. And there is much to be said in favour of this view. But was ὦ merely an exclamation, or rather the broken down form of some old cult-title?

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 2. 22. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Hdt. 6. 78 ff., Paus. 2. 20. 7, 3. 4. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 438 f.

<sup>8</sup> Argos introduced agriculture into the Argive land; he sent for wheat from Libya and founded a sanctuary of Demeter Αἰβύσσα at a spot called Chanadra in Argos (Polemon *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 119 Muller) *ap. schol. Aristid.* p. 321 f. Dindorf). Kekrops, or some one else, sent Argos to Libya and Sicily for the wheat that grew there unrecognised, after which Triptolemos was the first to plough and sow (*Letz. in Hes. v. d.* 32). Apis removed from Argos to Egypt, sent cattle to the king in Argos, and taught him how to sow — he, having yoked (γεῖρας) the cows for that purpose, dedicated a sanctuary to Hera (ἱερ. Ζευθέα), and, when the corn shot up and flourished (ἀνθῆν), called it the flowers (ἀνθεα) of Hera (*et. mag.* p. 409, 38 ff.). In the reign of Argos, son of Apis, Greece imported seeds and began to till the fields and raise crops (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18, 6).

<sup>9</sup> Apollod. 2. 1. 2.

Argos was not, like Zeus, a bull, at least he wore a bull's hide And this was no unimportant detail of his myth: Apollonios Rhodios in his account of the Argonauts tells how—

Argos, Arestor's son, from foot to shoulder  
Had girt a bull's hide black with shaggy hair<sup>1</sup>.

And Hyginus describes the same hero as 'an Argive clad in a hairy bull's hide'. On the strength of this hide Miss Harrison, following an acute conjecture of H. D. Müller, suggested 'that Argos Panoptes is the real husband of Io, Argos who wore the bull-skin..., who when he joins the Argonautic expedition still trails it behind him..., who is the bull-god'. But we are never told by any ancient authority that Argos was either a bull or a god<sup>2</sup>. It seems wiser, therefore, to suppose that he wore the bull-skin in order to assimilate himself to the Argive bull-god Zeus<sup>3</sup>. On this showing Argos was to Zeus very much what Io was to Hera.

Again, as Io bore the further title *Kallithýessa*, so Argos was also *Panóptes*. *Kallithýessa*, 'She of the fair sacrifices,' was probably a cult-title of Hera<sup>4</sup>. *Panóptes*, 'He who sees all,' occurs repeatedly in the poets as a title of Zeus<sup>5</sup>, a fact which supports

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Rhod. i. 324 f.

<sup>2</sup> Hyg. *fab.* i. 4 p. 48. 4 Schmidt. Cp. Aristoph. *eccl.* 79 f. *πῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρ' ἐπιτῆδεώς γ' ἂν ἦν τῆν τοῦ Πανοπτοῦ διατῆραν ἐνημμένος*, Dionysios (Skylotnachion) *ap. schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1116 *ὄψαν αὐτὸν ἡμφιέσθαι φησί*.

<sup>3</sup> Miss J. F. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1893 vii. 76, after H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme*, Göttingen 1861 n. 273 ff. Miss Harrison has recently somewhat shifted her view-point and writes to me as follows (June 14, 1912): 'I now absolutely hold your position that Argos was a celebrant—only I go much further in thinking, not that Argos was the god, but that the god Argos arose out of the worshipper.'

<sup>4</sup> Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 6 states that Argos after his death began to be regarded as a god, being honoured with a temple and sacrifices. While he was reigning (as king at Argos), these divine honours were paid to a certain private man named Homogiros, who had first yoked oxen to the plough, and had been struck by lightning.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. *Journ. H.E. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120 f. On a *krater* from Ruvo, belonging to the Jatta collection, Argos is clad in a bull's hide (fig. 318 from *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 59. Lenormant—de Witte *L'annon. etc.* in pl. 101, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 274, Reinach *Reç. Vases* i. 111, 4), but Overbeek (*Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 593 n. 189) points out that on other vases he wears other hides, the artistic being less conservative than the literary tradition.

The Jatta *krater* shows a well-marked tendency to duplicate its figures. In the lower register the Satyr on the left is balanced by the Satyr on the right. In the upper register Eros and Aphrodite on the left are mirrored by almost identical forms (Peitho<sup>2</sup> and Pothos<sup>2</sup> according to S. Reinach) on the right. Zeus seated on the mountain next to Hera similarly corresponds with Argos seated on the mountain near to Io. The latter couple is the bovine counterpart of the former—witness the bull's hide of Argos, the cow's horns and cow's ear of Io.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 453 f.

<sup>3</sup> Aisch. *Eum.* 1045 *Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτας* (so Musgrave for MSS. *Ζεὺς παντόπτας*), Orph.

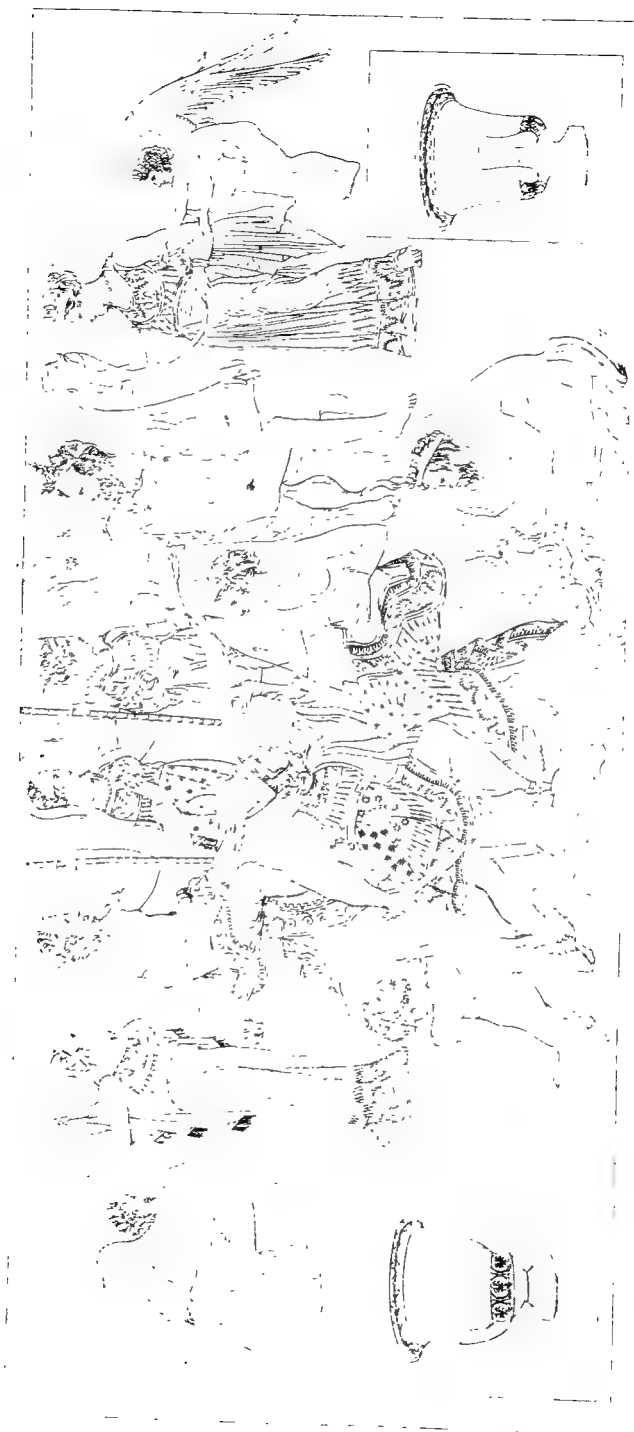


Fig. 318.

my contention that Argos was akin to Zeus. Hesychios, in one of his brief but illuminating glosses, observes: '*Panóptes*, "many-eyed," Zeus, the Achaeans!'. This I take to mean that the Achaeans (and the ruling house at Argos in heroic days was Achaean) recognised a Zeus *Panóptes*, whom they identified with the many-eyed Argos. A remarkable confirmation of Hesychios' words has recently come to light. Built into a Byzantine wall below the terrace of Apollon *Pythios* at Argos, W. Vollgraff has found a small altar of greyish limestone inscribed in lettering of the third century— $\Delta\text{ΙΦΟΞΠΑΝΟΠΤΑ}$ , 'Of Zeus the All-seeing!'

The title *Panóptes* is also used of the sun. Aischylos makes his Prometheus, bound fast to the mountain-peak and left alone, exclaim:

On the all-seeing (*panóptēn*) circle of the sun  
I call!

And Byzantine writers more than once apply the same epithet to the sun<sup>1</sup>. Hence it might appear that both Argos *Panóptes* and Zeus *Panóptes* had or came to have a solar character. An anonymous commentator on the *Phainomena* of Aratos remarks that the poet wrote—

And all the roads are full of Zeus<sup>2</sup>—

'because even the poets call Zeus all-seeing (*panóptēn*) everywhere: "O Zeus all-seeing (*panóptēn*)" and "Sun, who observest all things".' Since the commentator in question has just been discoursing on the view of those who identify Zeus with the sun<sup>3</sup>, it is obvious

<sup>1</sup> *μαζ*, 71 Abel *Zeús ó panóptēs*, cp. Aisch. *μηδ.* 139 *πατήρ ó παντόπτας*, Soph. *O.C.* 1085 f. *παντόπτα* Ζεύ, schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 435 *καὶ ó Ζεύς δέ παντεπόπτης λέγεται*.

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. *π.*, *πανόπτης*: *πολιόφθαλμος*. Ζεύς. 'Αχαιοί. Uilichs' *ej.* 'Αχαιός (*Τραγ.* *Gr. frag.* p. 758 Nauck<sup>2</sup>) and Nauck's *ej.* *Αίσχυλος (ib.)* are unconvincing. Cp. Phot. *βλ.* *π.*, *πανόπτης Ζεύς* *πολιόφθαλμος* with S. A. Naber *ad loc.*, Souda, *π.*, *πανόπτης*: *πολιόφθαλμος*.

<sup>3</sup> W. Vollgraff in the *Bull.*, *Cl. et. H.* 1909 xxxiii. 445 f.

<sup>4</sup> Aisch. *P.*, 91 *καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κεκλὸν ἡλίου καλῶ*. Cp. Aisch. *Προμ. Μήν.* *μαζ*, 192 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *αδ.* Statb. 33 *ο παντοπτίας Ἡλίου*.

<sup>5</sup> *Τελει.* *αδ.* 1. 306 *γὰρ, οἱ μανὼν μαρτύρομαι, καὶ ἡλίου πανόπτην*, Manuel Phile-  
*ταίου*, 33, 1 *τὸν πανόπτην φωτοφόρον*.

<sup>6</sup> *Αισχ.* *αδ.* 2.

<sup>7</sup> D. Pichanus *Γράμ. ὁρίων* Paris 1630 p. 275 C *ὅτι καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ πανόπτην καλοῦσι πανταχόρ, ὡς Ζεύς (π.) πανόπτης καὶ ἡλίου, ὡς παντ' ἐφορᾷς*. A. Meineke *Γράμ. Ἀριστοφ.* Lipsie 1865 p. 8 would read *πανόπτην καλοῦσιν*: 'ὡς Ζεὺ πανόπτης καὶ κατόπτης πανταχοῦ' καὶ 'ὡς ἡλίου, ὡς παντ' ἐφορᾷς, supposing that the first quotation is the Euripidean tag introduced in Aristoph. *Av.* 435 *ὡς Ζεὺ δούπτης καὶ κατόπτης πανταχοῦ*. See *Τραγ. Gr. frag.* p. 847 Nauck<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> D. Pichanus *αδ.* *αδ.* p. 274 A-B *οἱ δὲ Δία τὸν ἡλίου νοητάντες, λεγοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Δία τὸν ἡλίου καλεῖ Ἀγῶν ἢ ἡλίου κτίρριτι ἐνέ* *οἱ σοφοὶ λεγοῦσι γιννομένην αἰών, Πατέρα πάντων* (Nauck *αδ.* *αδ.* p. 355 f. *καὶ* *Ἡλ., οἰκτίροις ἐμὲ, ὡς οἱ*

that he interprets the title of Zeus *Panóptes* in a solar sense. Again, according to Pherekydes, Hera gave Argos an extra eye in the back of his head<sup>1</sup>. And the ancient statue of Zeus on the Argive Larisa was likewise three-eyed, having the third eye on its forehead<sup>2</sup>. Argos *Panóptes* and the Argive Zeus were on this account compared by M. Mayer<sup>3</sup> with the three-eyed Kyklops, whose abnormal eye not improbably denoted the sun<sup>4</sup>. In this connexion, however, it must be borne in mind that Empedokles speaks of Zeus *argéus*, 'the brilliant'<sup>5</sup>; that Hesiod names one of the Kyklopes *Írges*<sup>6</sup>; and that the same Kyklops is sometimes called, not *Írges*, but *Árgos*<sup>7</sup>. These titles, no doubt, ultimately refer to the brilliant sky-god, but as manifested in the burning *authér* or the blazing thunderbolt rather than in the shining sun.

The author of the Hesiodic poem *Argimios* associated the story of Argos and Io with Euboia and derived the name of the island from the cow into which the latter was transformed<sup>8</sup>. He represented Argos as four-eyed in a line borrowed by an Orphic writer to describe Phanes<sup>9</sup>. Strabon too mentions a cavern called The Cow's Crib on the east shore of Euboia, adding that Io was said to have given birth to Epaphos there and that the island drew its name from the fact<sup>10</sup>. The *Etymologicum Magnum* states that Euboia was so called 'because, when Isis was turned into a cow, Earth sent up much grass thitherwards...or because Io became a right beautiful cow and lived there<sup>11</sup>.' If Zeus changed Io into a *white* cow<sup>12</sup>, it was perhaps because 'in Euboia almost all the cattle are born white, so much so indeed that the poets used to call Euboia *argíboios*<sup>13</sup>, "the land of white cattle." *Árgoura* in Euboia, where Hermes was believed to have killed *Panóptes*<sup>14</sup>, was doubtless connected by the populace with *Írgos* the 'watcher' (*oûros*). These witnesses suffice to prove that Euboia had an Io-myth analogous to that of the Argolid<sup>15</sup>.

ποφροὶ Νεγροισι γεννητην θεῶν < και > πατέρα παντων). και ἐννοιαν τῆς δόξης ταύτης φασὶν εἶναι τὸν ποιητὴν, ὅταν λέγῃ· Ηχὴ δ' αὐφοτερων ἵκετ' αἰθέρα, και Διὸς αἰγῆς και τὸ, Ηελιὸς θ', ὃς παντ' ἐφορᾷς, και παντ' ἐπαλοίεις.

<sup>1</sup> Pherekyd. *frag.* 22 (*frag. hist. Gr.* i. 14 Muller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1113.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 2. 24. 3.

<sup>3</sup> M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 110 ff. *Supra* p. 320.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 313, 323. <sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 31 f. <sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 317.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Aisch. *Pers.* 321, schol. Eur. *Alc.* 5. *Supra* p. 32 n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Argim. frag.* 3 Kinkel *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀργοναῖς*, cp. Herodian. i. 104 Lentz.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 311 n. 6. <sup>10</sup> Strab. 445 Boüs *αὐλή*. <sup>11</sup> *Et mag.* p. 389, 2 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Apollod. 2. 1. 3. *Supra* p. 440 n. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 36.

<sup>14</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀργοναῖς*.

<sup>15</sup> On the relation of the Euboean to the Argive myth see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1130 n. 9, cp. 968 n. 2.

Coins of Euboia from the earliest times exhibit a variety of bovine types<sup>1</sup>, the interpretation of which is doubtful<sup>2</sup>. None of them can be proved to have any connexion with the cult of Zeus or Argos, Hera or Io. Still, the ox-head bound with a fillet, which appears at Eretria (?) (fig. 319)<sup>3</sup>, Histiaia<sup>4</sup>, and Karystos<sup>5</sup>, is best explained as a religious type; and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the allusion is to the cult of Hera<sup>6</sup>, who perhaps, as at Argos<sup>7</sup>, bore the title *Euboia*<sup>8</sup>. The head of Hera, likewise bound with a fillet and often mounted on the capital of an Ionic column, is found on coppers of Chalkis from c. 369 B.C. onwards<sup>9</sup>, and an inscribed figure of the goddess sitting on a conical stone with *phiale* and filleted sceptre occurs on a copper of the same town struck by Septimius Severus<sup>10</sup>. At Histiaia 'rich in grape-clusters'<sup>11</sup>



Fig. 319.



Fig. 320.

the bull stands before a vine (fig. 320)<sup>12</sup>, and we legitimately suspect a Dionysiac meaning.

From Euboia it is but a step to Thespiæ, where a boundary-

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 94 ff. pl. 17 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* n. 42 ff. pl. 33, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* n. 1. 677 f., 685 ff. pl. 31 f., Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 355 ff.  
<sup>2</sup> Prof W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, Cambridge 1892 pp. 5, 313, 322 holds that the bovine types of Euboia point to the ox as the original monetary unit. This view, which has been severely criticised by Mr G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 23 ff., does not to my thinking necessarily conflict with the religious interpretation put upon the same types by Dr B. V. Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 357, 361 and others; cp. *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 95 f. pl. 17, 5-8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* n. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 128 pl. 24, 8, p. 135 pl. 24, 15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* n. 48 f. pl. 33, 13, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 364.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 102 f. pl. 18, 13, 19, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 357: 'The Bull or Cow is possibly connected with the cult of Hera,' etc.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 445 f.

<sup>8</sup> See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. R.L.* p. 417 n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* pp. 18 f., 112 f. pl. 20, 15, p. 115 f. pl. 21, 5 f., cp. p. 117 pl. 21, 9-11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* n. 45 f., cp. p. 46 pl. 33, 8, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 359.

<sup>10</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 118 pl. 21, 12, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 360.

<sup>11</sup> *Il.* 2. 537 πολυσταφελὸν θ' Ἰστιαίαν.

<sup>12</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 125 f. pl. 24, 1, 2, 5, *Hunter Cat. Coins* p. 48 ff. pl. 33, 14, 16, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 364.

stone (fig. 321)<sup>1</sup> has come to light inscribed in late characters—

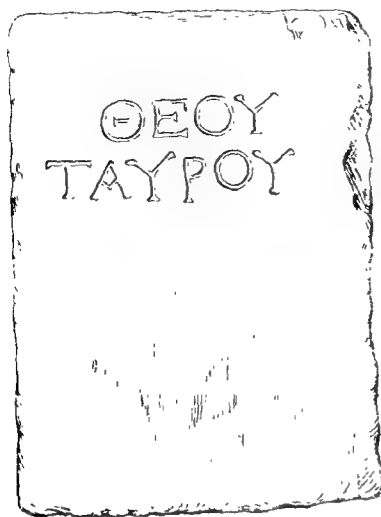


Fig. 321.

ΘΕΟΥ | ΤΑΥΡΟΥ, 'Of the god Bull?'. It has been conjectured that this god was the bovine Dionysos<sup>2</sup>, but definite proof is lacking.

#### x. The Myth of Pasiphaë.

Turning next to Crete, we may find the counterpart of Io and Epaphos in Pasiphaë and the Minotaur.

Two principal versions of their story are extant. Apollodoros<sup>3</sup>, after telling how Zeus for love of Europe became a bull and carried her off across the sea to Crete, how there she bore him three sons, Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys, how Asterion, ruler of Crete,

reared the lads, how they, when they were full-grown, quarrelled and scattered, Sarpedon to Lykia, Rhadamanthys to Boiotia, while Minos, staying in Crete, married Pasiphaë, daughter of Helios by Perseis, continues his narrative as follows:

'Now Asterion died childless, and Minos desired to become king of Crete, but was prevented. However, he asserted that he had received the kingdom from the gods, and by way of proof declared that whatever he prayed for would be vouchsafed to him. So he sacrificed to Poseidon and prayed that a bull might be sent up from the deep, promising that he would offer it in sacrifice when it appeared. Thereupon Poseidon heard him and sent up a magnificent bull; and Minos received the kingdom. But the bull he dispatched to join his herds and sacrificed another. He was the first to establish maritime sway and became lord of well nigh all the islands. But Poseidon, wroth with him because he had not slain the bull, maddened it and caused Pasiphaë to hanker after it. She, being enamoured of the bull, asked help of Daidalos, a master-craftsman who had fled from Athens by reason of a manslaughter. He made a wooden cow on wheels, hollowed it out inside, flayed a cow, sewed the hide round about his handiwork, placed it in the meadow where the bull was wont to pasture, and put Pasiphaë within it (fig. 322)<sup>4</sup>. The bull came and consorted

<sup>1</sup> Drawn from a photograph of the stone kindly taken for me in the Museum at Thebes by Mr P. N. Ure.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* sept. i no. 1787.

<sup>3</sup> *Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 76 n. 8, p. 1425 n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. 3. 1. 1 n. 1, cp. Diocl. 4. 77, *Trav. chad.* 1. 473 n.

<sup>5</sup> A wall-painting in a room of the *Casa del Vettre* at Pompeii (Herrmann *et al.* *St. Mus. et pl.* 38 Text p. 47 l. fig. 11), forming part of the same mural decoration with

with it as though it were a real cow. Pasiphaë then bore Asterios, who is called *Minótauros* (fig. 323)<sup>1</sup>. His face was the face of a bull (*tauros*), but



Fig. 322.

the painting of Ixion already figured (*supra* p. 203). The scene is laid in Daidalos' workshop, where an assistant is busy at the carpenter's bench. Daidalos lifts the lid from his wooden cow and explains its mechanism to Pasiphaë, who holds two golden rings—perhaps the price of his handwork. Behind Pasiphaë stand an old nurse and a younger maid. The painting is further discussed by A. Mau in the *Rom. Myth.* 1896 vi. 49 ff., A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 293 ff., and P. Herrmann *loc. cit.*

<sup>1</sup> A late red-figured *kylix* at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* n. 623 f. no. 1066) published by F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 33–37 pls. 3–5 as having (a) an inner design of Persephone with Zagreus on her knee, (b) two outer designs of omophagy—a Maenad holding a severed human leg between two Satyrs, and a Maenad with a severed human arm similarly placed. Lenormant's interpretation of (a), though accepted at least in part by De Ridder *loc. cit.*, must rest upon the assumed connexion



the remaining parts were those of a man. Minos in accordance with certain oracles shut him up in the Labyrinth and guarded him there. The Labyrinth



Fig. 323.

between (a) and (b). But Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 vi. 349 justly objects that 'in late r.f. kylikes such a relation of subject between the exterior and interior is rare; the usual practice being to have in the interior a definite subject, and to leave the exterior for meaningless athlete subjects or Bacchic subjects, as here; if these exterior scenes have any mythical significance, it is to the Pentheus rather than to the Zagreus legend. In any case the epithets *ταυρόκερος*, &c., applied to Dionysos are not sufficient to warrant us in identifying a definite Minotaur type with Zagreus; especially as on the one other distinct Zagreus scene (Müller—Wieseler, *Dankm.* ii. No. 413; see Heydemann, *Dionysos-Geburt*, p. 55) [cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 188 no. E 246 the *kydris* under discussion] he is represented as an ordinary human child.' In common, therefore, with Sir Cecil Smith and others (T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1837 Anz. p. 22\*, E. Braun in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1847 p. 121, J. de Witte in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 Anz. p. 213\*, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 148) I take the scene here figured to be Pasiphaë with the infant Minotaur. The basket and goose merely indicate the *gynaikonitis*.

## The Bull and the Sun in Crete 467

was the one made by Daïdalos, a building which by means of intricate windings led astray those that would escape from it.<sup>1</sup>

The other version of the myth connects the bull with Zeus, not Poseidon. The first Vatican mythographer tells it thus<sup>1</sup>:

Minos, the son of Zeus and Europe, once drew near to the altars to sacrifice to his father, and prayed the godhead to furnish him with a victim worthy of his own altars. Then on a sudden appeared a bull of dazzling whiteness (*nimio candore perfusus*). Minos, lost in admiration of it, forgot his vow and chose rather to take it as chief of his herd. The story goes that Pasiphaë was fired with actual love for it. Zeus, therefore, being scorned by his son, and indignant at such treatment, drove the bull mad. It proceeded to lay waste, not only the fields, but even the walls of the Cretans. Herakles, sent by Eurystheus, proved to be more than a match for it and brought it vanquished to Argos. There it was dedicated by Eurystheus to Hera. But Hera, loathing the gift because it redounded to the glory of Herakles, drove the bull into Attike, where it was called the bull of Marathon and subsequently slain by Theseus, son of Aigeus (fig. 324)<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 324.

Both Apollodoros and the Vatican mythographer are evidently concerned to present the reader with a consecutive and consistent story. The myth, as they relate it, is composite. I do not propose to discuss in detail its several parts, but rather to call attention to the fact that, taken as a whole, it bears a strong resemblance to two types of Greek tales, represented respectively by the golden lamb or ram and by the white cow that we have already considered.

### xi. The Bull and the Sun in Crete.

The golden lamb found among the flocks of Atreus and the golden ram found among the flocks of Athamas we regarded as a divine beast, the animal form of Zeus, which by a secondary development came to symbolise the sun<sup>3</sup>. The lamb of Atreus was for Simonides purple, the ram of Athamas purple or white<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Myth. Vat. i. 47. The same version is found in Myth. Vat. 2. 120, Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 5. 431.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* p. 106, E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 398 f. fig., Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 145 f. pl. DD, 7 f., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 522 fig. 79. The coin has been thought to represent a dedication by the township of Marathon on the *akropolis* at Athens (Paus. i. 27. 10 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*); but this notion is disproved by the extant fragment of the group (O. Benndorf 'Stuetorso der Akropolis' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 191 ff.), which agrees with the scene on a red-figured *kýlix* at Florence (L. A. Milam in the *Museo italiano di antichità classica* iii. 239 pl. 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 529).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 405, 409, 419 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 406, 419.

## 468 The Bull and the Sun in Crete

I would venture to offer the same explanation of the dazzling white bull that shone conspicuous in the herd of Minos<sup>1</sup>. Ovid, thinking perhaps of the marks that characterised the Apis-bull<sup>2</sup>, says of it:

Beneath the shady vales of wooded Ide  
Was once a white bull, glory of the herd,  
Signed with a line of black between the horns.  
That its one fleck: the rest was milk to see<sup>3</sup>.

As in Egypt<sup>4</sup>, so in Crete, the fertilising bull was in the long run identified with the sun. Apollodoros states that *Tálos* or *Talós*, the man of bronze, about whom we shall have more to say<sup>5</sup>, was by some called *Tairos*<sup>6</sup>. But *Tálos* or *Talós* means 'the sun'<sup>7</sup>, and *Tairos* means 'a bull.' It follows that some who wrote on Cretan mythology spoke of the Sun as the 'Bull.' Presumably, therefore, the Cretans, or at least certain Cretans, conceived him to be a bull. But, more than this, another lexicographer expressly asserts that the Cretans called the sun the 'Adiounian bull' on the ground that, when he changed the site of his city, he led the way in the likeness of a bull<sup>8</sup>.

A similar story is told of Ilos, son of Tros, who came to Phrygia, won a wrestling-match arranged by the king, and received as his prize fifty boys and fifty girls. The king, in accordance with an oracle, gave him also a dappled or variegated cow with instructions that wherever it lay down he should found a city. The cow went before him to the hill of the Phrygian Atc and there lay down. So Ilos founded his city and called it Ilion<sup>9</sup>. Or, as another authority told the tale, when Ilos (whose name appeared to mean 'Cow-herd'<sup>10</sup>) was feeding his cattle in Mysia, Apollon gave him an oracle to the effect that he should found a city wherever he saw one of his cows fall: one of them leapt away, and

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 432 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *ars am.* i. 289 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 430 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra* ch. i s 6 (th).

<sup>6</sup> Apollod. i. 9. 26. The editors print *ὁ Τάλος*, but the name was also accented *Τάλως*; see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1794 D.

<sup>7</sup> Hesych. s.v. *ταλῶς*· *ὁ ἥλιος*. So M. Schmidt: J. Albert prints *Ταλως*.

<sup>8</sup> Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίων κ.τ.λ. in Bekker *anacl.* i. 344. 10 ff. *Ἀδίουριος ταῖρος*· *ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ των Κρητῶν οὕτω λέγεται. φασὶ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν μετοικικόντα ταῖρῳ προσεκασθέντα προσηγείσθαι*. H. van Heurden *Leviion Giacum supplebitum et diabolitum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 18 v.2. *ἀδιούριος ταῖρος* says: 'Adiectivum non expeditio.' But may it not be a dialect-form from *Ἄδωνις*, whose name often appears on Etruscan mirrors as *Atunis* (c. g. Gerhard *Etr. Spr.* i in pls. 111, 114, 116, v pls. 24, 281 or *Atun* (c. g. v pl. 23)? On the Cretan Zeus as a sort of Adonis see *supra* p. 157 n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Apollod. 3. 12. 3, Tzet. *in Lyk.* 11. 29.

<sup>10</sup> The real origin of the name is uncertain; but the Greeks probably connected it with *ἄλγ*, 'hard' (see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 121).

he followed it till it bent its legs and fell down on the site of Ilion<sup>1</sup>. This cow was probably divine; for in Phrygia<sup>2</sup>, as elsewhere in ancient times<sup>3</sup>, to kill a plough-ox was a capital offence<sup>4</sup>. A third story of like character tells how Kadmos, in obedience to a Delphic oracle, followed a cow belonging to Pelagon, son of Amphidamas, and on the spot where it lay down founded the city of Thebes; but of this I must speak more in detail in a later section<sup>5</sup>.

## xii. The Cow and the Moon in Crete.

If the brilliant bull in the herd of king Minos had thus come to symbolise the sun, we can discover a meaning in another story told of the same monarch. Apollodoros<sup>6</sup> says of Glaukos, son of Minos:

Glaukos, while still an infant, was pursuing a mouse<sup>7</sup> when he fell into a jar of honey and was drowned. After his disappearance Minos had search made for him everywhere and consulted the oracles about the right way to find him.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀγσσης ὁ Λαυδακηνος αἴ. schol. vet. and αἴ. Tzet. in Lyk. *Il.* 29 "Ἀγης ἀπ' ἄκρων σοι πλανοκτιστῶν Λόφων

<sup>2</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34 Φρύγες δὲ ἐὰν παρ' αὐτοῖς τις ἀποτῆρα ἀποκτείνῃ βοῦν, ἢ ζημία θάνατος αὐτῷ. Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 128 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 461 Muller) ἐὰν δὲ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς (the Phrygians) γεωργικὸν βοῦν ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ σκεύος τῶν περὶ γεωργίαν κλέψῃ, θανάτῳ ἔρροισι.

<sup>3</sup> Vair *rer. rust.* 2. 5. 4 ab hoc (sc. bove) antiqui manus ita abstinere voluerunt, ut capite sanxerint, siquis occidisset. qua in re testis Attice, testis Peloponnesos. nam ab hoc pecore Athenis Buzuges nobilitatus, Argis Homogyros (*supra* p. 459 n. 4), Colum. *de rust.* 6 *praef.* cuius (sc. bovis) tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio ut tam capitale esset bovem necasse quam civem.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. the *βορφόνια* at Athens (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii), the sacrifice of a calf dressed in buskins to Dionysos Ἀνθρωποπαίστης in Tenedos (Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34), and analogous rites (W. Robertson Smith *Pictures on the Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup> London 1907 p. 304 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>1</sup>: Spirits of Corn and Wild in. 4 ff., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 327 ff.). Prometheus was said to have been the first to kill an ox (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 209): see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3055.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xviii.

<sup>6</sup> Apollod. 3. 3. 1, cp. Tzet. in Lyk. *Il.* 811, Aristeid. *or.* 46. 307 (ii. 398 Dindorf) with schol. Aristeid. p. 728. 29 ff. Dindorf.

<sup>7</sup> For μῦν, which is supported by Tzet. in Lyk. *Il.* 811, A. Westermann, after Commelin, reads μῦαν, 'a fly,' cp. *Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 152 Muller μῦαν.

The first part of the story implies the custom of preserving the dead in honey (W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* Berolimi 1893 p. 128 ff.) and burying him in a *pithos* (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 816 n. 5). Glaukos' pursuit of the 'fly' may be based on the art-type of Hermes evoking the dead from a burial-jar, while a soul in the form of a bee (Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 801 n. 6) hovers above it; the type is best represented by gems (figs. 325, 326 = Muller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 252 f. pl. 30, 333, 332, cp. *ib.* 332<sup>2</sup>). See further Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 43 f.



Fig. 325.



Fig. 326.

## 470 The Cow and the Moon in Crete

The Kouretes told him that he had in his herds a three-coloured cow<sup>1</sup>, and that the man who could offer the best similitude for the colour of this cow would also give him back his son alive. So the seers were called together, and Polyidos, son of Koïranos, likened the colour of the cow to the fruit of a bramble. He was therefore compelled to search for the boy, and by some prophetic art he found him.<sup>2</sup>

With the rest of the story we are not here concerned. It is, however, worth while to compare the opening of the tale as told by Hyginus<sup>3</sup>:

‘ Glaukos, son of Minos and Pasiphae, while playing at ball, fell into a big jar full of honey. His parents sought him and enquired of Apollon about the boy. To them Apollon made answer: “A portent has been born to you, and whoever can explain it will restore to you your boy.” Minos, having listened to the oracle, began to enquire of his people what this portent might be. They said that a calf had been born, which thrice in the day, once every four hours, changed its colour, being first white, then ruddy, and lastly black. Minos, therefore, called his augurs together to explain the portent. When they were at a loss to do so, Polyidos, son of Koïranos, showed<sup>4</sup> that it was like a mulberry-tree: for the mulberry is first white, then red, and, when fully ripe, black. Then said Minos to him: “The answer of Apollon requires that you should restore to me my boy.”’

It will be observed that, according to Apollodoros (and Tzetzes bears him out<sup>5</sup>), the task set to test the powers of the seer was, not to explain the significance of the three-coloured cow, but to find a suitable comparison for its colours. The cow did not signify a bramble-bush or a mulberry-tree, but in aspect or colour they might be taken to resemble it. Now a common folk-lore explanation of the moon's spots is that they are a thorn-bush carried by the man-in-the-moon<sup>6</sup>. It might therefore be maintained that the bramble-bush or mulberry-tree was a possible description of the moon. And, if so, then the three-coloured cow, or calf that changed its colour three times a day, was merely another way of describing the moon. I am the more disposed to advance this view because Io, who was so often identified with the moon<sup>7</sup>, became according to one account now a white cow, now a black, now a violet<sup>8</sup>, and because Bacis or Bacchis the sacred bull at

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. 3. 3. 1 *τρίχρωματον βοῶν*, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Il.* 811 ἡ *τρίχρωμος τοῦ Μίνως βοῦς ἣ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς*, schol. Aristeid. p. 728, 31 Dindorf *βοῶν τρίχρονον (τρίχρωμον) (Ιον.)*.

<sup>2</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 136.

<sup>3</sup> The text is uncertain. M. Schmidt prints: qui cum non invenirent, Polyidus Coerani filius Byzanti monstrum demonstravit, eum barbari moro similem esse, nam etc. T. Muncker ej. *rubi moro*, M. Schmidt ej. *colore moro*.

<sup>4</sup> Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Il.* 811 *ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἀναστήσειν αὐτὸν ὃς εἶπη τίνι ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ τρίχρωμος τοῦ Μίνως βοῦς κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 717 ff., P. Schollot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 11 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 454 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 441.

# The Sacred Cattle of Gortyna 471

Hermonthis which is known to have been consecrated to the sun, was said to change its colour every hour<sup>1</sup>.

A 'Caeretan' *hydria* in the Louvre (fig. 327)<sup>2</sup> represents Zeus as a three-coloured bull bearing Europe across the sea to Minos' as a three-coloured bull bearing Europe across the sea to Minos'



Fig. 327.

isle: but the coloration is here a matter of Ionian technique, not of Cretan mythology.

## xiii. The Sacred Cattle of Gortyna.

Further evidence of the Cretan cult of a solar bull and a lunar cow is forthcoming at Gortyna and at Knossos. A Cretan name for the Gortynians was *Kartemnides*<sup>3</sup>, which in all probability means 'Cow-men' or 'Cow-herds,' since the Cretans said *karten* for 'cow' and Gortynians *kartaĩpos* for 'ox' or 'bull<sup>4</sup>'. Special

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> Potter *Cat. Vases des Musées*, n. 535 f. no. E 696. *id.* *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3<sup>me</sup> Série Paris 1901 p. 65. *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 254. *Mon. et Inst.* vi.-vii pl. 77. W. Hellbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 210 ff., Reinach *R. v. vases* i. 162, 1 f.

<sup>3</sup> Hesych. s.v. *καρτην*: τὴν δοῦν Κρήτες. καὶ τὸν οἰκῆτὴν οἱ αὐτοί. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* hazards the suggestion that we should read *οἰκιστὴν* and explain it of an eponymous founder *Κάρτιν*=*Γόρτιν*. I. Voss *Critica* p. 203 would connect *Κρηνα* in Steph. Byz. s.v. *Γόρτιν* to *Καρτεμνίδες*: he cites Strab. 478 to prove that Gortyna lay 'in a plain' and could not therefore be called 'Precipitous'. J. Alberti on Hesych. *loc. cit.* quotes from Soping a comparison with the first element in *Carthago* and the story of the bull's hide (Roscher *L. v. Myth.* i. 1013; Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 426): this of course assumes a folk-etymology for *Carthago* as well as for the *Hyria*.

I would rather suppose a connexion with τὰ καρταίποδα, which occurs in the laws of Gortyna to denote 'oxen' (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr.* s.v. no. 1333 iv. 35 f. = Collitz-Bechtel *Gri. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 265 no. 4991 iv. 35 f. τὰ πρῶτα καὶ καρταί[ι]ποδα. *op. cit.* iii. 2. 282 no. 4998 i. 12 ff. αἱ δὲ καὶ οὗς καρταίπος παρώσει ἢ κατασκευῇ, τὸν τε πρὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πᾶσιντα ἡμῶν ὡς κ' ἢ τὸ καρταίπος κ.τ.λ.) and, in an all but identical form, was used by Pindar of 'a bull' (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 81 καρταίποδ' with schol. *ad loc.* καρταίποδα τὸν ταῦρον. οὕτω Δελφοὶ ἰδεὺς ἐκάλερον). Dedications to the Kouretes as guardians of kine (Κώρησι τοῖς προ καρταίποδων) have been found by Prof. De Sanctis at *Halai Boreia* (G. De Sanctis in the *Mon. d. Inst.* 1907 xviii. 346 f.) and at Plut near Gortyna (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908-1909 xv. 353).

herds of cattle belonging to the sun used to be kept at Gortyna<sup>1</sup>; and Virgil represents Pasiphae's bull, whose solar character we



Fig. 328.

have already considered<sup>2</sup>, as lying beneath an evergreen oak or following the Gortynian cows<sup>3</sup>. Bronze coins of Gortyna show Zeus as a bull galloping across the sea, which is suggested by a couple of dolphins<sup>4</sup>, or carrying Europe on his back (fig. 328)<sup>5</sup>; in both cases a surrounding circle of rays stamps him as a god of light.

#### xiv. The Labyrinth at Knossos.

At Knossos<sup>6</sup> was the Labyrinth built by Daidalos for the safe-keeping of the Minotaur<sup>7</sup>. Diodoros<sup>8</sup> and Pliny<sup>9</sup> state that it was an imitation of the yet more famous Egyptian Labyrinth. Mr H. R. Hall describes the latter building as follows: 'It was a great temple, with magnificent pillared halls, side-chambers, and out-buildings, erected by the greatest pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, Amenemhat III (circa 2200 B.C.), immediately in front of his pyramid at Hawara: there is no doubt that it was the funerary temple of the pyramid, erected by the king for the due performance of the funeral rites after his death<sup>10</sup>'. Classical writers had a more or less confused idea of the purpose served by the building.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 410 n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 467 f.

<sup>3</sup> Verg. *cat.* 6. 53 ff.

<sup>4</sup> J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 174 f. pl. 16, 4 and 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 45 pl. 11, 14.

<sup>5</sup> J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 173 pl. 15, 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 45, pl. 11, 11, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 462 Munz *af.* 6, 11. I figure from my collection a similar coin of Knossos, struck in alliance with Gortyna (cp. J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 81 pl. 7, 11—14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 22 pl. 6, 2 f.).

<sup>6</sup> Some late writers (Claud. *de vit. cons. Hon. Aug.* 634, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 1220 (i. 215 Bekker)) place the Cretan Labyrinth at Gortyna.

<sup>7</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1778 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. i. 61 and 97.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 84 ff.

<sup>10</sup> H. R. Hall 'The Two Labyrinths' in the *Journ. H. B. Stud.* 1905 xxv. 328. Prof. Flinders Petrie investigated the site of the Egyptian Labyrinth in 1888 with meagre results (W. M. Flinders Petrie *Hawara, Bahari, and Arwanah* London 1889 pp. 4—8 pl. 25 map of neighbourhood with conjectural ground-plan). In 1911 he was more successful, and at a depth of from 20 to 25 feet recovered the upper parts of half a dozen statues of the gods of the twelfth dynasty, especially of Sobek the crocodile-god, who seems to have been the principal deity of the precinct; he also found in the debris of the brick core of the pyramid traces of the 21 chapels for the Egyptian nomes, e.g. two large shrines of red granite each containing two life-size figures of Amenemhat III, besides many fragmentary wall-sculptures, including one which shows the king seated between goddesses holding fish, and another in which he is kneeling in a boat and opening the shrine of a holy tree (W. M. Flinders Petrie in *Records of the Past* 1911 v. 303—315 with figs., *id.*—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay *The Labyrinth Gizeh and Mazghunch* London 1912 pp. 28—35 with restored plan of western half of Labyrinth and pls. 23—32). Prof. J. L. Myres in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1910 iii. 134—136 has a restoration of the Labyrinth based on the description of Herodotos.

Herodotos speaks of its twelve courts as a memorial of the dodecarchy<sup>1</sup>. Strabon calls it 'a vast palace composed of as many palaces as there were formerly nomes,' and states that the nomes were accustomed to assemble in their respective courts 'with their own priests and priestesses for sacrifice, oblation, and judicial award on matters of importance<sup>2</sup>'. Diodoros thinks it the 'tomb' of the king who built it<sup>3</sup>, as does Manethon<sup>4</sup>. Pliny says: 'Different



Fig. 329.

interpretations are put upon the construction of this edifice. Demoteles takes it to have been the palace of Moteris; Lykeas, the tomb of Moiris. Most authorities suppose that it was reared as a building sacred to the Sun, and such is the common belief<sup>5</sup>.

With regard to the Cretan Labyrinth too very various opinions have been advanced<sup>6</sup>. Nowadays most scholars hold that Sir

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 2. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. 811.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. 1. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Maneth. frags. 34--36 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* n. 560 Muller).

<sup>5</sup> Demoteles frag. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 386 Muller) and Lykeas Naukratites frag. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 441 Muller) cf. Plin. nat. hist. 36. 84.

<sup>6</sup> See Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 1778--1783.



Arthur Evans was justified in identifying it with the complex palace that he excavated at Knossos. And this view can certainly claim the support not only of such writers as Diodoros and Pliny, who suppose a Cretan imitation of an Egyptian building<sup>1</sup>, but also of the Attic painters of red-figured vases, who represent Theseus as dragging the Minotaur forth from an edifice with a *façade* of Doric (fig. 329)<sup>2</sup> or Ionic columns<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, to admit that Attic painters *c.* 450—430 B.C. regarded the Labyrinth as a sort of palace is not necessarily to assert that such was its original character. The red-figured vases in every case show to the right



Fig. 330.

of the colonnade a broad band decorated with *swastika*-patterns checker-work; and it is from behind this band that the body of

<sup>1</sup> Diod. i. 61, i. 97, Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 84—86. The earliest writer that speaks of it as a building is Apollod. 3. i. 4 (οἶκον λαμπρὸν πολλοῖς πλανῶν τὴν ἐξόδον). But Pherekydes *frag.* 106 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 97 Muller) appears to have mentioned the lintel of its door (τὸν ἄνω τῆς (τὸν?) ἀνω θύρας).

<sup>2</sup> (1) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* m. 111 f. no. E 84 a *kýlix* from Vulci, of which the interior is reproduced in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 n. 57 pl. 10, Harrison *Myce. Mon. Att.* p. cxv fig. 25, Furtwangler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* m. 49 ff. fig. 22, and the central scene in Dänenberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* m. 883 fig. 431 f.

(2) C. Torr *Harrow School Museum. Catalogue of the classical antiquities from the collection of the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson Harrow 1887* p. 18 no. 52 a *kýlix* from Nola, of which a small illustration is given by E. Strong in the *Burlington Fine Art Club. Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* 1903 London 1904 p. 114 no. I 60 pl. 97, and two photographs of the interior and exterior by P. Wolters in the *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1907 p. 118 f. pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Vases grecques Madrid* pp. 76 f., 119 no. 11, 265 pl. 33, Leroux *Cat. Vases de Madrid* p. 110 ff. no. 196 pls. 25—28 a *kýlix* signed by the artist Aison, first published by E. Bethe in the *Ant. Denkm.* ii pl. 1, cp. Furtwangler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* m. 48 fig. 21, 50 and *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1730 (central scene).

the Minotaur emerges. E. Braun long ago suggested that the patterned space stands for the Labyrinth<sup>1</sup>. And P. Wolters has recently proved that the further back we trace the whole design, the more important becomes this particular feature of it<sup>2</sup>. On a black-figured *lekkythos* from Vari (fig. 330)<sup>3</sup> the Minotaur, grasping a couple of stones, is haled out from behind a *stèle* or broad column covered with macanders etc. The Labyrinth is here no palace;



Fig. 331.

it can hardly be termed a building at all. On a black-figured *skyphos* from the akropolis at Athens (fig. 331)<sup>4</sup> the resemblance

<sup>1</sup> E. Braun in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1846 p. 106. G. W. Elderkin 'Maeander or Labyrinth' in the *Journ. Am. Arch.* 1910 xiv. 185—190 still thinks that the band is the *anta* of a wall and that its patterns are mere filling, though he admits that 'An exact parallel to the vertical stripe is not at hand.' His notion that Aison on the Maelid *kýlēa* was copying the north porch of the Erechtheion with its *βαιὸς τοῦ θυγατρὸς* is surely far-fetched. A better copy of the Erechtheion, olive-tree and all, is Lenormant—de Witte *Ét. mon. cr.* i. 223 ff. pl. 67.

<sup>2</sup> P. Wolters *loc. cit.* pp. 113—132 'Darstellungen des Labyrinths.'

<sup>3</sup> Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 283 f. no. 878, P. Wolters *loc. cit.* p. 122 f. pl. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 142 f. no. 1280 pl. 73, A. P. Wolters *loc. cit.* p. 123 pl. 3, a fragmentary *skyphos* from the Persian *debris* showing Theseus beside the Labyrinth, greeted by Athena in the presence of three other figures: the inscription is meaningless.

With this vase cp. Graef *op. cit.* p. 147 no. 1314 pl. 76, P. Wolters *loc. cit.* p. 124,

to a stone structure is still more remote<sup>1</sup>, the Labyrinth appearing merely as a patterned oblong side by side with the *dramatis personae*. Wolters concludes that the black-figured vases presuppose a primitive composition, in which the action portrayed was accompanied by a ground-plan of the scene. He finds a parallel in the Etruscan *oinochôe* from Tragliatella (fig. 332)<sup>2</sup>, on which

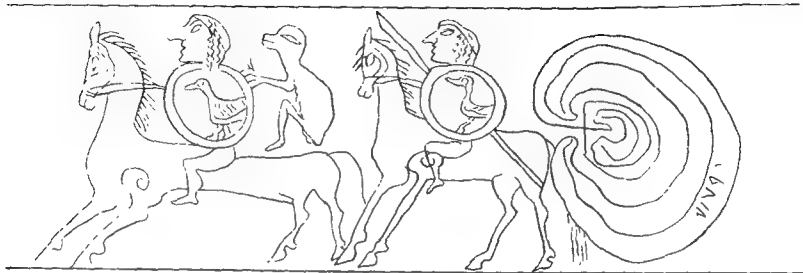


Fig. 332.

O. Benndorf<sup>3</sup> recognised soldiers engaged in the game of 'Troy' (*Truia*). It would seem, then, that Attic tradition points backwards to a time when the Labyrinth was depicted, not as a palace, but as a meander or *swastika*-pattern.



Fig. 333.

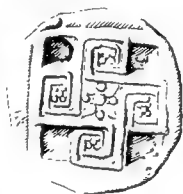


Fig. 334.



Fig. 335.

The same result is reached on Cretan soil. Coins of Knossos from c. 500 B.C. onwards represent the Labyrinth by a *swastika* or by some derivative of the *swastika*<sup>4</sup>. The pattern develops in two directions. On the one hand, the *swastika* together with its four

two fragments of a *skyphos* showing (obverse) Theseus beside the Labyrinth and another figure; (reverse) perhaps the same design. The Labyrinth, to judge from Graef's plate, tapers towards the top like an *omphalos* (?).

<sup>1</sup> B. Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 143 contends that the black-figured vases aim at representing 'ein turmartiges Bauwerk' with a labyrinthine ground-plan, and ingeniously compares the *thôlos* at Epidauros.

<sup>2</sup> W. Deecke in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1881 Im. 160—168 pl. L. M. W. Hellag in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881 p. 65 ff., Perrot—Chapiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 118 fig. 15, Remach *Rép. Vase* i. 345.

<sup>3</sup> O. Benndorf in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-Hist. Classe* 1890 cxviii. 3. Hellag *loc. cit.* p. 67 had already thought of the same explanation.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* p. 18 ff. pls. 4 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 173 ff. pl. 40, 20—24, 41, 2, 3, 5, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1331 ff. pl. 62, 21 f., J. N. Svoronos

incuse corners (figs. 333, 334) passes into a framework enclosing a square (fig. 335), and its central star (sun?) is replaced by a human (fig. 336) or bovine head (fig. 337) or whole figure (fig. 338)<sup>1</sup>. On

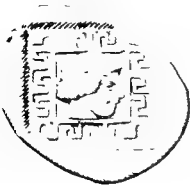


Fig. 336.



Fig. 337.



Fig. 338.

the other hand, the *swastika* apart from its incuse corners (figs. 339, 340, 341) becomes a maze, which is first square (fig. 342) and then circular (fig. 343) but retains at least a trace of its original form to

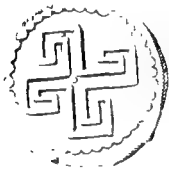


Fig. 339.



Fig. 340.



Fig. 341.



Fig. 342.



Fig. 343.

the last. Thanks to Sir Arthur Evans, we now know that this Labyrinth-design was already familiar to the Cnossians of the Bronze Age. In one of the corridors of the second palace at Knossos 'the fallen plaster...showed the remains of an elaborate series of mazes', based on the *motif* of the *swastika*<sup>1</sup>.

*Num. matricae de la Crète ancienne*. Macon 1890 i. 65 ff. pls. 4 ff. and in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 199 ff. nos. 13-21, *Heal Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 460 ff., Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 13, 764-773, 14, 773-806.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Roman mosaics, which represent the slaying of the Minotaur within a large framework of maeander-pattern (see Welcker *All. Denkm.* ii. 303 f. and for further bibliography P. Gauckler in Daubenberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 2101 notes 17 and 18 fig. 5240).

<sup>2</sup> A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902 viii. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* viii. 104 fig. 62. Cp. *ib.* p. 103 f.: 'A simple key or maeander pattern

The *swastika* as a representation of the Labyrinth can perhaps be traced further afield. At Gaza the god Marnas, otherwise called Zeus *Kretagenēs*<sup>1</sup>, had a circular temple surrounded by concentric colonnades, which appears to have borne some resemblance to the Cretan Labyrinth<sup>2</sup>. If so, it becomes possible that the Phoenician letter *mem* on autonomous coppers of Gaza (fig. 344)<sup>3</sup> was not merely the initial of Marnas<sup>4</sup>, but also a quasi-*swastika* like the Labyrinth-devices on coins of Knossos<sup>5</sup>.

However that may be, it seems certain that both Attic and Cretan art presuppose the *swastika* as the earliest ascertainable form of the Labyrinth. That much-disputed symbol has a voluminous literature of its own<sup>6</sup>, and critics are not yet unanimous as to its ultimate significance. But among recent investigators there



Fig. 344.

is something like a *consensus* in favour of the view that it was a stylised representation of the revolving sun<sup>7</sup>. On this showing,

appears on some of the sealings found by Mr. Hogarth at Zakro [*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 88 no. 133 pl. 10]. A still earlier example of the same class occurred in a magazine of the Earlier Palace together with fine "Middle Minoan" pottery on the East slope.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 149. See now G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age* London 1912 p. 14 ff. (extr. from the *Proc. Brit. Acad.* vi).

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (g). The old ground-plan came near to being retained, when the edifice was rebuilt as a Christian church (*supra* p. 167 n. 3). Mazes still survive in the flooring of continental churches (*infra* p. 485 f.).

F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 210 pl. 11, 2: cp. *supra* p. 236 figs. 175—177.

<sup>4</sup> F. De Saulcy *op. cit.* p. 210. Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 805. Cp. Damaskios *dubit. et solut.* 262 (p. 127 f. Ruelle) ὡς παρὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίοις τὸ τέτ' ὀνομαζόμενον, ὃ ἔστω εὐθεία ὁρθὴ μία καὶ τρεῖς πλάγιοι ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ἥ τε κορυφαία καὶ δύο μετ' αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐτι παρὰ Ἑλλήνων πολίταις ἄλλο τι, καὶ παρὰ Γαζαίοις ἄλλο τοῦ Διὸς—which shows that this symbol was deemed sacred to Zeus.

<sup>5</sup> This suggestion was first made by Sir Arthur Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 88 f.

<sup>6</sup> To the bibliography of the *swastika* given by T. Wilson (*supra* p. 337 n. 1) add Z. Nuttall *The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations* Cambridge Mass. 1901 (Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, vol. ii) pp. 1—602.

<sup>7</sup> So e.g. Count Goblet d'Alviella *The Migration of Symbols* p. 50, A. C. Haddon *Evolution in Art* London 1895 p. 282 ff., A. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 140 ff. J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 453 ff. Cp. *supra* pp. 301, 336 f.

the original Cnossian Labyrinth was not the great palace unearthed by Sir Arthur Evans, at least was not the whole of that palace, but was a structure which somehow lent itself to an imitation of the sun's movements in the sky.

But how are we to conceive of such a structure? Probably it was an *orchestra* or 'arena' intended for the performance of a mimetic dance. Perhaps even it was marked out with mazy lines to aid the intricate evolutions of the dancers—a practice undoubtedly known to the later Greeks<sup>1</sup>. If, therefore, we are to identify the Labyrinth with any structure so far found, I should suppose that it was the paved rectangular space near the north-west corner of the Cnossian palace. This space, discovered by Sir Arthur Evans<sup>2</sup> in 1901 and by him dubbed 'the Theatral Area,' is an

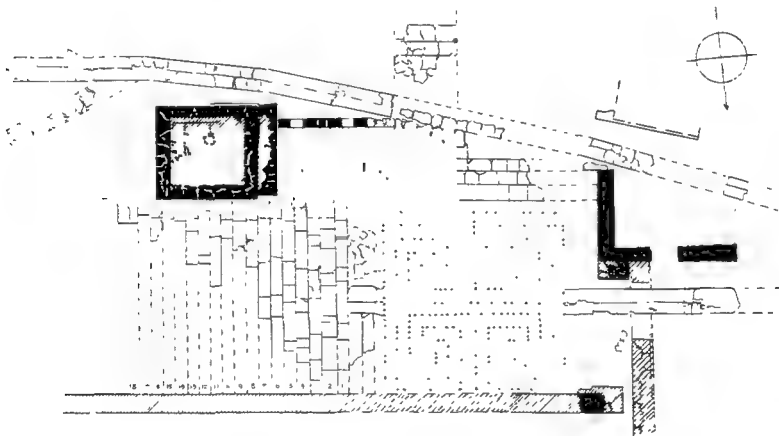


Fig. 345.

east-and-west oblong of 12·94 by 9·89 metres enclosed by two flights of steps or seats (18 on the east, 6 decreasing to 3 on the south side) with a square bastion at their common angle. Its rough paving was probably once covered with coloured cement or hard plaster, on which we may believe the labyrinthine lines to have been set out more or less as in the foregoing ground-plan<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. *γραμμαί· ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ἦσαν, ὡς τὸν χορὸν ἐν στοίχῳ ἱστασθαι*. See A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*<sup>2</sup> Oxford 1898 p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 99—112 fig. 68 plan and section, fig. 69 view.

<sup>3</sup> I have here combined a plan of the 'Theatral Area' (based on that of A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* p. 103 fig. 68) with the labyrinth-pattern of the wall-painting (*supra* p. 477 n. 2 f.). But, of course, other arrangements are equally possible.

A. Mosso *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* London 1907 p. 313 notes 'a square figure with nine small holes incised on a step of the theatre.' He suggests that it was 'a Mycenaean game' and compares 'similar figures cut by idle people on the pavements of the basilicas in the Roman Forum.'

## 480 The Labyrinth at Knossos

The Cnossian *orchestra* bears no slight resemblance to the oblong theatre at Thorikos (fig. 346)<sup>1</sup>. Since Thorikos was once a flourishing 'Minoan' settlement, it might be suggested that the peculiar form of its theatre was a heritage from early times. Perhaps we may venture even a step further and recognise certain analogies between the Cretan Labyrinth and the ordinary Attic theatre. If the former was occupied by dancers arranged as a *swastika*, the latter had regularly its 'square chorus'. If a 'clew' was needed in the one, a rope-dance (*kórdax*) was executed in the other<sup>2</sup>. Ariadne, as the mythographers put it, when deserted by Theseus was taken up by Dionysos. Prof. R. C. Bosanquet points out to me that even in Roman times the *orchestra* of the theatre at Athens was laid out as a *swastika*-mosaic (pl. xxix)<sup>3</sup>. There was in

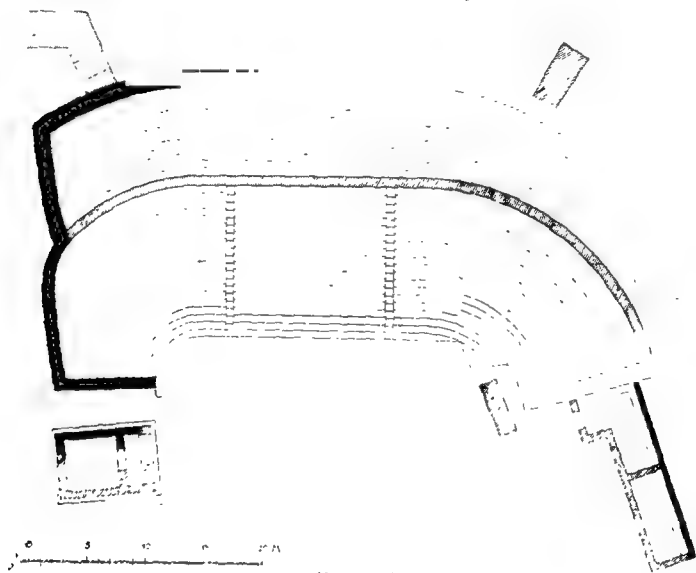


Fig. 346.

fact some excuse for Conrad von Querfurt, who, writing from Sicily in 1194 A.D., tells his old friend the prior of Hildesheim how

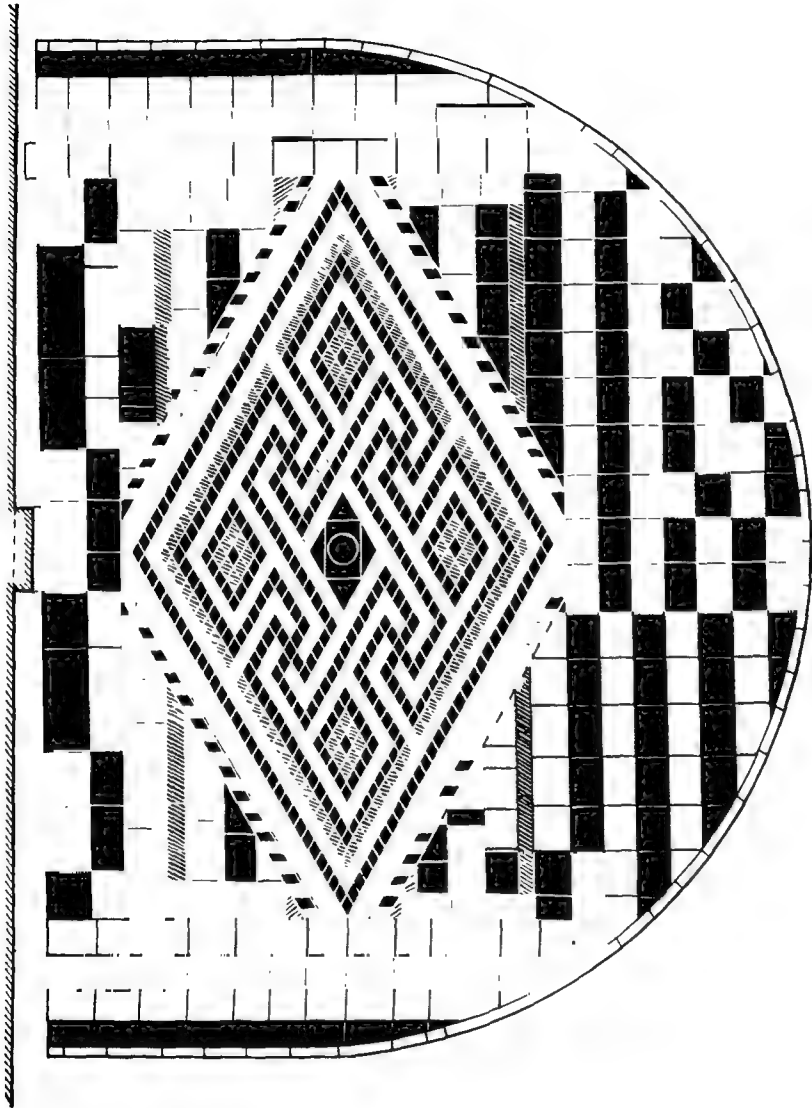
<sup>1</sup> W. Miller in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1885-1886 iv. 1-34; W. Doerpfeld and E. Reisch *Das griechische Theater* Athens 1896 p. 110 fig. 43; A. Mauquand *Greek Architecture* New York 1909 p. 338 fig. 372; *Daum Baukunst d. Gr.* p. 465 fig. 419; A. Struck *Griechenland* Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 194 fig. 221.

<sup>2</sup> On the *τετραγώνος χορός* of tragic, comic, and satyric plays, and its relation to the *κέκλιος χορός* of dithyramb, see *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 376.

<sup>3</sup> Diels in Pallat *De fabula Ariadnaea* Berolini 1891 interprets the clew as a rope-dance (*Gruppe Gr. Myth. K.L.* pp. 274, 603 n. 7).

<sup>4</sup> I have discussed a 'Minoan' precursor of the *kórdax* in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 101 f.

<sup>5</sup> The plan here given (very slightly restored) is based on Mr A. M. Poynter's careful survey of the existing remains (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896-1897 iii. 176-179 pl. 15).



The *swastika*-mosaic in the theatre at Athens.

*See page 480.*





charmed he had been to find at Taormina the Labyrinth of the Minotaur!<sup>1</sup>

The solution of the Labyrinth-problem<sup>2</sup> here advanced is borne out by a thrice-familiar passage in the *Iliad*. Daidalos, we read,

once wrought in Knosos broad  
A dancing-ground for fair-haired Ariadne<sup>3</sup>.

The scholiast explains that Theseus, having escaped from the Labyrinth by means of Ariadne's clew, with the youths and maidens whom he had rescued 'wove a circling dance for the gods that resembled his own entrance into and exit from the Labyrinth, Daidalos showing them how to dance it<sup>4</sup>. Eustathios<sup>5</sup> adds that this was the first occasion on which men and women danced together, that Sophokles had alluded to 'the dances of Knossos<sup>6</sup>,' and that old-fashioned folk in his own day, sailors especially, danced a certain dance with many twists and turns in it meant to recall the windings of the Labyrinth. Lucian too specifies as Cretan dance-themes 'Europe, Pasiphae, both the Bulls, the Labyrinth, Ariadne, Phaidra, Androgeos, Daidalos, Ikaros, Glaukos, the seer-craft of Polyeidios, and Talos the bronze sentinel of Crete<sup>7</sup>.'

The Labyrinth-dance was not confined to Crete. Plutarch in his *Life of Theseus*<sup>8</sup> writes:

'Sailing away from Crete, he put in at Delos. Here he sacrificed to the god, dedicated the image of Aphrodite that he had received from Ariadne, and in company with the young men danced a dance, which, they say, is still kept up by the Delians. It imitates the circuits and exits of the Labyrinth by means of a certain measure that involves turnings and re-turnings. This type of dance, as Dikaiarchos shows, is called the Crane by the Delians<sup>9</sup>. Theseus danced it

<sup>1</sup> D. Comparetti *Vergil in the Middle Ages* trans. E. F. M. Benecke London 1895 p. 257 f.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Evans *loc. cit.* p. 111 concludes 'that this first of theatres, the Stepped Area with its dancing ground, supplies a material foundation for the Homeric tradition of the famous "choros" [*Il.* 18. 591 ff.]. But he does not expressly identify the said 'Area' with the Labyrinth of mythology. Indeed, he cannot, because he regards the whole palace as the Labyrinth (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899-1900 vi. 33). To me it seems more probable that the Labyrinth proper was the dancing-ground made by Daidalos, and that the close relation of this dancing-ground to the palace at Knossos led the Greeks as early as the fifth century B.C., if not much earlier, to view the Labyrinth erroneously as a palace.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 18. 591 f.

<sup>5</sup> Eustath. in *Il.* p. 1166, 17 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Loukian. *de salt.* 49.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. A.B. *Il.* 18. 590.

<sup>6</sup> Soph. *It.* 700.

<sup>8</sup> Plout. *v. These.* 21.

<sup>9</sup> The γέρανος (Loukian. *de salt.* 34) is described by Poll. 4. 101 τὴν δὲ γέρανον κατὰ πλῆθος ὠρχοῦντο, ἐκαστος ὑφ' ἐκάστῳ κατὰ στοῦλον, τὰ ἄκρα ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν ἡγευόνων ἐχόντων κ.τ.λ. and in more general terms by Kallim. *h. P.* 312 f. πότνια, σὸν περιβωμὸν χειρομέρον καθαρισμοῦ | κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο κ.τ.λ. On the *érater* of Klitias and

round the *keratón*<sup>1</sup> altar, so named because it consists of horns (*krata*) all taken from the left side. They state also that he instituted a contest in Delos and therein was the first to award a palm to the victors.\*

Again, the game of 'Troy', which the Etruscan potter repre-

Ergotimos, Attic work of c. 600—550 B.C., Theseus, lyre in hand, is leading the dance, which consists of seven youths and seven maidens: they have just landed from their ship (Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 60 f. pl. 13).

I have elsewhere (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 186 f.) pointed out that this curious combination of bull and crane recurs in the Celtic area. On an altar found at Paris in 1710, beneath the apse of Notre-Dame, four sculptured panels show (a) Jupiter (IOVIS) with sceptre and eagle, (b) Vulcanus (VOLCANVS) with tongs, (c) a bearded god (ESVS) felling a willow-tree with uplifted axe, (d) a great bull wearing a long saddle-cloth or *dorsual*. On his head and back are three cranes visible against the foliage of the willow. The inscription above is IARVOS • TRIGARANVS, 'the Bull with the Three Cranes' (see A. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 351 f. fig. 50 and especially S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 233 ff. figs. 1—4). On another altar found near Trèves in 1895 the three sculptured faces show (a) Mercurius with *caduceus*, purse, etc. and his consort (Rosmerta?) standing on either side of an altar. A small animal (goat? ram?) is between the feet of Mercurius. Beneath runs the incomplete inscription NDVS MEDIVM • MERCVRIO V • VS

(b) the lower portion of a small draped female figure, (c) a beardless (?) wood-cutter cleaving or splitting a tree, probably meant for a willow. High up on the tree are a bull's head to the left and three large birds with long beaks to the right (Bertrand *op. cit.* p. 352 f. fig. 51, Reinach *op. cit.* i. 234 ff. figs. 5 f.). H. Steuding in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1603 cp. the stout shepherd Garamus (Venerius Flaccus *ap. Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 8. 203) or Recaramus (Am. Vict. *orig. gent. Rom.* 8. where Steuding ingeniously cp. *Trigaranus*), who slew Cacus the thief of Geryones' oxen.

It may also be remarked that a Japanese crest has three storks or cranes grouped together on the solar disk (N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 3. 64 pl. 20, 22, cp. 21).

<sup>1</sup> The form *κεράτων* is found also in a Delian inscription (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 588, 172). Plout. *terr. an aquat. anim. sint callidiora* 35 regards the *κεράτων βομός* of Delos as one of the seven wonders of the world (so anon. *de incred.* 2, Mart. *lib. spec.* i. 4) and states that it was made of eight horns only, without glue or bonding of any sort. Anon. *de incred.* 2 says that it was composed of the right horns of victims offered to the god on a single day. Kallim. *h. Ap.* 61 ff. asserts that the four-year-old Apollon built it with the horns of goats shot by Artemis on Mt Kynthos. It is also mentioned by Oxy. *her.* 21. 99. The existing remains are described by T. Homolle 'L'autel des cornes à Délos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 417 ff. pls. 17 ff., Durr. *Baukunst d. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 230 figs. 152 f., L. Burchner in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2468. They include a long narrow temple measuring 67.20 by 8.86 metres. This is divided into three parts. First comes a *πρόναος* with four Doric columns. Then, an elongated *ναός*, the centre of which forms a sunk oblong space. This is separated from the third and innermost portion of the edifice by two pairs of Doric half-columns forming three intercolumniations: the middle opening has on either side of it a pilaster, the capital of which is the forepart of a kneeling bull. Lastly, there is an inner *ναός*, oblong in shape, where once stood the famous horn-altar. It is noteworthy also that a colonnade 125 metres in length, which runs along the northern side of the precinct, has its triglyphs decorated with bull's heads. Examples of the forepart of a bull used as an architectural member are collected by A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 263 f.

<sup>2</sup> G. E. Marindin in Smith-Wayte *Marindin Dict. Ant.* ii. 899 f. Cp. also Hesych. s. v. *Μαϊνδρός* 'καὶ εἶδος ἱππασίας παρὰ ἱπποδάμους'.

sented as a maze<sup>1</sup> and Virgil expressly compares with the Cretan Labyrinth<sup>2</sup>, was said to have been first introduced into Latium by Ascanius and his Trojans<sup>3</sup>. This tradition, if sound, points to the former existence of a labyrinthine dance in Asia Minor. It may, therefore, be worth while to suggest that the Labyrinth-pattern, which occurs on coins of Priene<sup>4</sup>, Magnesia on the Maiandros<sup>5</sup>, Tripolis<sup>6</sup>, and Apameia<sup>7</sup>, was not originally a graphic sign for the 'meandering' river, but an ancient religious symbol akin to, if not identical with, that which represented the Labyrinth at Knossos. Thus the humped bull within the Labyrinth on coins of the Cretan colony<sup>8</sup> Magnesia, *c.* 350—190 B.C. (fig. 347)<sup>9</sup>, would be comparable with the Minotaur<sup>10</sup>, while the *swastika* beneath the feet of Apollon on the later tetradrachms (fig. 348)<sup>11</sup> suggests a solar interpretation. If we were better acquainted with the history of 'Minoan' migrations, it might be possible to trace the route by which the Labyrinth-dance and the Labyrinth-pattern passed from east to west<sup>12</sup>.



Fig. 347.

Miss Harrison in a letter to me dated June 14, 1912 makes the interesting suggestion that the *Τρωικὸν πῆδημα* of Neoptolemos at Delphoi (Eur. *Andr.* 1139) may stand in some relation to the game of 'Troy.' This strikes me as not impossible, since we have already found Neoptolemos grasping the solar wheel in the same sanctuary (*supra* p. 261). Yet I should hardly agree with Miss Harrison that 'the usual aetiology is sheer non-sense': cp. schol. Eur. *Andr.* 1139 τὸ Τρωικὸν πῆδημα ὁποῖον ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ ἐπῆδησεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς. οἱ γὰρ συντεταγότες τὰ Τρωικὰ φασιν ὡς τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Τροίᾳ καλούμενος Ἀχιλλεύς πῆδημα, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ἐπῆδησεν. οὕτως δὲ φασὶ βία ἤλατο ὡς καὶ ἴδωρ ἀναδοθῆναι. Here at least is a *bona fide* piece of folk-lore.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 476 fig. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 5. 588 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* *ib.* 5. 596 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 229 ff. pl. 24, 3—6, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* II. 358. *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 590 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 158 ff. pl. 18, 1—11, 19, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* II. 346 f. pl. 51, 3 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 582 fig. 296.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 364 pl. 38, 6, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 661.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. 74 f., 85, 92 f. pl. 10, 2—5, 8—10. *Hunter Cat. Coins* II. 478 f. pl. 56, 13, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 666.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. Ap. Rhod. I. 584: see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* II. 1997 f.

<sup>9</sup> I figure a copper in my collection.

<sup>10</sup> The Cretan bull, *ab initio* a fertilising agent, would readily become a bovine river-god, his *swastika* being re-interpreted as the sinuous line of the river.

<sup>11</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 162 pl. 18, 9 (=my fig. 348), 10, 11.

Prof. R. C. Bosanquet draws my attention to the fact that in the temple of Apollon at Didyma the marble roof of a stair-case known as the *Λαβύρινθος* (B. Haussoullier in the *Rev. Philol.* N. S. 1905 *ANX.* 264 ff.) had a carved and painted *swastika*-pattern (T. Wiegand 'Sechster vorläufiger Bericht über Ausgrabungen in Milet und Didyma' in the *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1908 *Phil.-hist. Classe* p. 35, 'Siebenter Bericht' *ib.* 1911 p. 49 f. fig. 16).

<sup>12</sup> The Labyrinth of the Kyklopes in the caves near Nauplia (Strab. 369 ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Ναιπλίᾳ τὰ σπήλαια καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομητοὶ λαβύρινθοι, Κυκλώπεια δ' ὀνομάζουσιν), the Labyrinth in Samos made by Theodoros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 83), the Labyrinth in

In Italy they gained a firm footing, as we may infer not only from the literary allusions to the game of 'Troy<sup>1</sup>,' but also from the many Roman mosaics that represent Theseus and his foe in a labyrinthine frame<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 348.

Finally the Labyrinth was taken over from paganism by Christianity. At Orléansville in Algeria the Christian *basilica*, founded in 324 A.D., had among other mosaics a Labyrinth, the centre of which was occupied by the words SANCTA ECCLESIA repeated in a complicated form<sup>3</sup>.

One of the state robes of the Christian emperors prior to the ninth

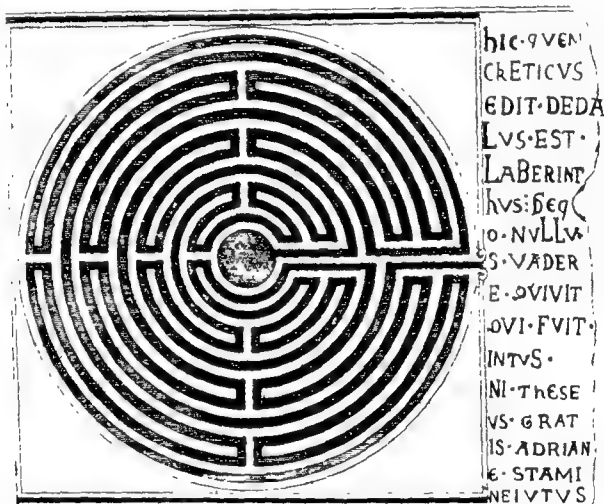


Fig. 349.

century was coloured a fiery red and adorned with a Labyrinth of gold and pearls, in which was a Minotaur of emerald holding a finger to his lips<sup>4</sup>. A picture by Bartolommeo Veneto (1502-1530),

Lemnos (?) with its 150 columns attributed to Smilis Rhonkos and Theodoros (*id. ib.* 36-90, where Hirt's (j) *Samius* for *codd.* *Lemnius* certainly suits the clause: *architecti fecere Zmilis et Rhoeus et Theodoros (ind. nact)*, the amazing Labyrinth at Clusum constructed as a tomb for himself by Porcenna (*id. ib.* 36, 91-93 citing Varro, *cp. Isid. orig.* 15, 2, 36; see *Darm. Baukunst d. Etrusk.* 2 p. 140 ff.), were all buildings and merely attest the fact that the name attached itself to any complicated structure.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 477 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> F. Picavot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1847-1848 n. 664, 800 ff. pl. 78.

<sup>4</sup> A. F. Ozanam *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de l'art de l'Italie* Paris 1850 pp. 92, 178 citing the *Graphia aurea nobis Kenne* (codd. Laurent. plin. lxxxix *infer.* no. 41): *De diarodino imperatoris et labyrinthi aureo facto in eo.* Unde diarodino utitur ad imitandum divini ignis effigiem, qui semper ad alta extollitur, et quia per sanguinem

now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, represents an unknown man wearing a Labyrinth of the sort on his breast<sup>1</sup>. A small Labyrinth (15½ inches across) still exists incised upon a porch pier of Lucca cathedral (fig. 349)<sup>2</sup>. The central group of Theseus and the Minotaur has all but vanished under the pressure of countless tracing fingers, but the adjoining inscription attests the designer's meaning. Similar examples are, or were, in the church of S. Michele at Pavia (s. xi), at Aix in Provence, on the walls of Poitiers cathedral. Labyrinths of larger size are not very

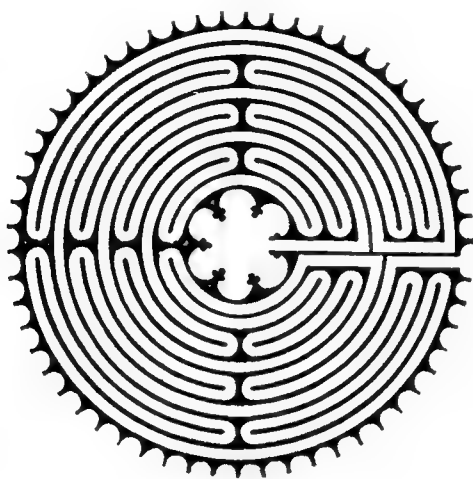


Fig. 350.

uncommon in continental churches<sup>3</sup>. A fine specimen, composed of grey and white marble, decorates the middle of the nave in Romani subjugaverunt orbem terrarum. Habeat et in diatodino laberinthum fabrefactum ex auro et margaritis, in quo sit Minotaurus digitum ad os tenens ex smaragdo factus, quia sicut non valet quis laberinthum scrutare, ita non debet consilium dominatoris propalare. I am indebted for this and for several of the following references to a valuable article by the Rev. E. Trollope on 'Notices of Ancient and Mediaeval Labyrinths' in *The Archaeological Journal* 1858 xv. 216—235.

<sup>1</sup> F. R. Earp *A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Fitzwilliam Museum* Cambridge 1902 p. 14 f. no. 133 fig. Mr A. S. F. Gow, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, kindly drew my attention to this interesting picture.

<sup>2</sup> J. Duval in Didron *Annales Archéologiques* Paris 1857 xvii. 124 f. with pl. The inscription runs: hic quem Creticus edit Dedalus est laberinthus, | de quo nullus vadere quivit qui fuit intus, | in Theseus gratia Adriane (sic) stamine iutus. The *façade* of the cathedral dates from 1204.

<sup>3</sup> W. Meyer 'Ein Labyrinth mit Versen' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1882 ii. 267—300 enumerates nine examples (*ib.* p. 283 ff. Chartres, Poitiers, St Quentin, Amiens 1288 A.D., Arias, St Omer, Sens, Reims c. 1300 A.D., Bayeux in s. xiv) and brings them into connexion with Labyrinths drawn in mediaeval manuscripts. E. Krause *Die Trojabruhen Nordseapaz* Glogau 1893 p. 88 ff. ('Kirchen-Labyrinthe') figures four (Sens, St Omer, St Quentin, Bayeux) after E. Boss *Dictionnaire raisonné d'Architecture* Paris 1879.

Chartres cathedral (fig. 350)<sup>1</sup>. It measures 30 feet in diameter, and its winding path is 668 feet long. The centre was formerly adorned with a representation of Theseus and the Minotaur. Such a maze was called in the middle ages *domus Dedali* or *maison Dedalu* or even, as in the inscription at Amiens, *Maison de Dalus*. But new uses were found for the old design. Towards the close of the Crusades men who had broken vows of pilgrimage to the Holy Land did penance by treading these tortuous *chemins de Jerusalem* until they reached the central space, often termed *le ciel*. Later the same Labyrinths were used as a means of penance for sins of omission and commission in general.

In Great Britain mosaic mazes are exceptional and late<sup>2</sup>, but turf-cut mazes fairly common and early<sup>3</sup>. They are mostly



Fig. 351.

situated close to a church or chapel, so that not improbably they served a penitential purpose. One at Alkborough in Lincolnshire, 44 feet across, even resembles in design (fig. 351)<sup>4</sup> the Labyrinth of Lucca cathedral. After the Reformation ecclesiastical mazes were converted into pleasure-grounds. Aubrey states that before

<sup>1</sup> E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 221 fig. 3 (from E. Wallet *Description d'une Crypte et d'un Paré mosaïque de l'ancienne église de St. Bertin à Saint-Omer* Douai 1843 p. 97).

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* there is one inside the west door of Ely cathedral; but it is of quite recent date (1870).

<sup>3</sup> The best collection of facts is contained in a paper by the Rev. F. G. Walker on 'Comberton Maze and the origin of Mazes' (read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, February 8, 1909, but as yet unprinted). Mr Walker *op. cit.* p. 17 ff. notes the proximity of many English mazes to Roman remains and argues that some of them may have been originally cut in Roman times.

<sup>4</sup> E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 224 f. fig. 5.

the civil wars there were many mazes in England, and that the young people used on festivals to dance upon them, or, as the term was, to tread them<sup>1</sup>. Stukeley in 1724 writes:

‘The lovers of antiquity, especially of the inferior class, always speak of ‘em with great pleasure, and as if there were something extraordinary in the thing, tho’ they cannot tell what. . . what generally appears at present is no more than a circular work made of banks of earth in the fashion of a maze or labyrinth, and the boys to this day divert themselves with running in it one after another, which leads them by many windings quite thro’ and back again.’

A century later T. Wright observes:

‘At the maze (called there *mazes*) at Comberton, in Cambridgeshire, it has been a custom, from time immemorial, among the villagers, to hold a feast every three years about the time of Easter<sup>2</sup>.’

This maze, which has recently been restored by the Rev. F.G. Walker, was almost identical in type with one at Wing in Rutlandshire<sup>3</sup>. When transformed into the play-ground of the village school, it



Fig. 352.

was in danger of extinction; but I have repeatedly seen the school-children in single file tread the nearly obliterated windings. Antiquarians, monkish or otherwise, appear to have assumed the

<sup>1</sup> J. Aubrey *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* v. 80, cp. *Remains of Gentilisme and Judaism* 1686-87 (London 1881) p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> W. Stukeley *Itinerarium Curiosum* London 1724 p. 91 ff.

<sup>3</sup> T. Wright *The History and Topography of the County of Essex* London 1835 ii. 124 n. The Rev. F. G. Walker *op. cit.* p. 20 says of the Comberton Maze: ‘It used, in bygone days, to be recut every three years at Easter time, when the men who cut it had a feast.’

<sup>4</sup> E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 232.



## 488      The Labyrinth at Knossos

Roman lineage of these turf-mazes; for in England they are commonly called 'Troy-town' and in Wales *Cacrdroia*, 'Troy-walls'.<sup>1</sup> Another name for them is 'Julian's Bowers,' or in northern dialect 'Jullinbores'.<sup>2</sup> Stukeley<sup>3</sup> even proposed to connect this name with that of Iulus<sup>4</sup>!

Similar mazes are reported from various parts of northern Europe. In Norway and Sweden they are constructed of stones and known as *Trojin*, *Trojeborg*, *Trojenborg*, *Troborg*.<sup>5</sup> A maze some 18 metres wide at Wisby on the island of Gothland (fig. 352)<sup>6</sup> is, as Dr E. Krause points out, curiously like the circular Labyrinth

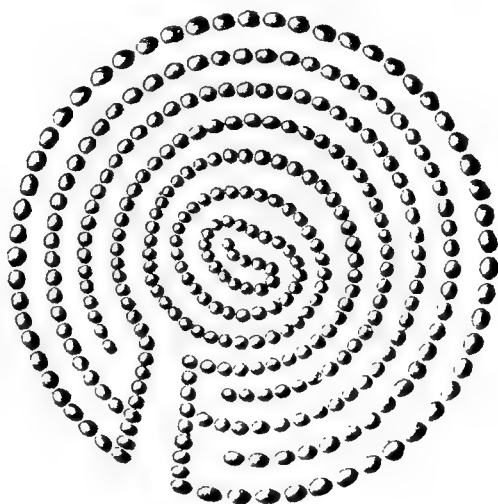


Fig. 353.

on a coin of Knossos (*supra* p. 477 fig. 343)<sup>7</sup>. In Finland and Lapland the same custom obtains, though here the name most in

<sup>1</sup> L. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 222 ff. Welsh shepherds, in commemoration of their Trojan descent (!), used often to cut a labyrinthine figure called the *Cacrdroia* on the turf, as the herdsmen upon the grassy plains of Burgh and Rockliff Marshes near the Solway Sands in Cumberland still cut a labyrinthine figure termed the 'Walls of Troy' (W. H. M. in *Notes and Queries* Second Series v. 211 ff.). In Scotland too the 'Walls of Troy' are popular with children, who trace them on the sea-sand or scribble them on their slates (F. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 233).

<sup>2</sup> A. H. Allcroft *Earthwork of England* London 1908 p. 602 n. 2. On the variants 'Gelyan-bower,' 'Gillimber,' 'Jilling boor,' 'Jul-Laber' see J. Wright *The English Dialect Dictionary* London 1902 m. 389.

<sup>3</sup> W. Stukeley *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 483.

<sup>5</sup> On Hallands Väderö, an island in the Kattegat, a maze of stones is called *Trollborg* (i.e. *Trollborg*, the 'Giants' Castle').

<sup>6</sup> E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Norduropas* Glogau 1893 p. 4 fig. 1, p. 184 fig. 23.

<sup>7</sup> It is, I suppose, possible that a Cnossian tetradrachm might find its way northwards along a trade-route (cp. the map in R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donauländer* Strassburg 1908 pl. 1) and so furnish the prototype of this design.

use is *Babylon*<sup>1</sup>. I append an example about 12 ft across observed and drawn by E. von Baer in 1838, when he was weather-bound at Vier, a small uninhabited island in the Gulf of Finland (fig. 353)<sup>2</sup>. Iceland too has analogous Labyrinths made of stones or earth, the native name for which is *Volundarhus*, 'Weland's House.'

It would seem then that in Great Britain, Scandinavia, the north-east of Russia and Iceland rough mazes of unknown antiquity exist, which conform to the same general pattern as that of the Cretan Labyrinth. The first to grasp the full significance of this curious fact was Dr E. Krause. In a very noteworthy monograph devoted to the subject and in a subsequent appendix to the same<sup>3</sup> he endeavoured to show that the maze of the countryside was no imitation of the classical Labyrinth, but that rather the classical Labyrinth was an imitation of it. Maze and Labyrinth alike were survivals of a remote past and were originally used for the purposes of a mimetic solar rite<sup>4</sup>. Pliny believed that the Cretan Labyrinth was a copy of the Egyptian, and contrasted the intricate handiwork

<sup>1</sup> Dr J. R. Aspelin of Helsingfors (quoted by E. Krause *op. cit.* p. 19) notes other names: 'In den Kirch-spielen Kemi und Jio, unweit von Torneo, werden die Steinsetzungen *Jatuhintarha* (Riesenhägel) genannt, von Jio bis Alt-Karleby *Pietar-inleikki* (St. Peters-spiel). Die schwedischen Bauern zwischen Alt-Karleby und Christianstadt nennen sie *Jungfrudans* (Jungferntanz). Zwischen Christianstadt und Abo werden sie *Nummantarha* (Nonnenhägel) genannt, in dem schwedischen Archipel von Abo und am Aland *Trojenborg* und *Rundborg*, in der schwedischen Gegend von Helsingfors wieder *Jungfrudans* und ausserdem Zerstörung Jerusalems, Stadt Ninive, Jericho u. s. w. Mehr östlich bis in die Gegend von Wiborg findet man die Benennungen *Jatinkatu* (Riesenstrasse), *Kivitarha* (Steinhägel) und Lissabon.'

<sup>2</sup> E. Krause *op. cit.* p. 13 ff. fig. 2.

E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Norddeuropas* Glogau 1893 pp. 1—300, *id.* *Die nordische Herkunft der Trojasage bezogen durch den Krug von Traghiatella* (Nachtrag zu den Trojaburgen Norddeuropas) Glogau 1893 pp. 1—48.

<sup>4</sup> Thus far at least we may frankly accept Dr Krause's results, without necessarily endorsing his conclusions as to the precise character of the rite involved. He holds that the original Labyrinth-dance represented the rescue of the sun-goddess from the castle of a wintry demon. Corresponding with this northern spring-rite was a northern spring-myth, in which the solar heroine (Freya, Brunhild, etc.) was freed from the prison of a superhuman builder or smith. Among Indians, Persians, and Southern Slavs the baleful power was a three-headed monster named Druho, Druja or Draogha, Trojanu. Dr Krause argues (*Die Trojaburgen Norddeuropas* pp. ix f., 109 ff., 277 ff., *Nachtrag* p. 41 ff.) that the whole story of the Trojan War presupposes this northern myth, with Helene for solar heroine. He thinks (*Die Trojaburgen Norddeuropas* p. 10 ff.) that the names of Troy-town, *Trojaburg*, etc., are not due to a diffused tradition of the Homeric Troy, but to the existence of a Germanic word *Troie*, 'fortress, doublet, dance' (root-meaning: 'Umwallung, Umhüllung, Umkreisung'). And he attempts (*ib.* p. 48 ff., *Nachtrag* p. 46 ff.) to connect the Labyrinth-design with the cup-marks and concentric circles of the neolithic age.

These speculations, which are set forth with much learning and ingenuity, are for the most part well worth weighing; but I confess that, with sundry notable exceptions, they impress me as being more plausible than convincing.

of Daidalos with the paltry representations of it to be seen in mosaic-floors 'or' (he added contemptuously) 'with the games of children in the country, which enclose a walk of several thousand paces within a narrow strip<sup>1</sup>.' How little he realised that the country maze was the original, of which Daidalos' masterpiece was but an artistic elaboration!

Another point to be noticed is this. In Italy and France, where ecclesiastical Labyrinths abound, no rustic mazes are now to be seen. Conversely in Great Britain, Scandinavia, Finland, Lapland, Iceland, where rustic mazes are numerous, no ecclesiastical Labyrinths occur. Hence we infer that in southern Europe the rustic maze was pressed into the service of the church, while in western and north-western Europe it remained as a relic of paganism.

Further, it can hardly be accidental that the distribution of mazes and Labyrinths corresponds so closely with that of the megalithic monuments of Europe<sup>2</sup>. This suggests that the original maze-makers were akin to, or even identical with, the unknown builders of cromlechs, menhirs, and avenues.

In conclusion, it is clear that the Labyrinth, once the *orchestra* of a solar dance, has throughout mediæval and modern times been subjected to a slow process of degradation. The final stage was reached, when the maze of the village-green was superseded by the 'Labyrinth,' the 'Dædal,' and the 'Wilderness'—topiary puzzles of a purely secular sort.

From Knossos to Hampton Court may be a far cry; but it will be admitted that in the chain connecting them hardly a link is missing.

#### xv. The Minotaur.

Our enquiries into Cretan religion have hitherto led us towards two conclusions. On the one hand, in Cretan myth the sun was conceived as a bull<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, in Cretan ritual the Labyrinth was an *orchestra* of solar pattern presumably made for a mimetic dance<sup>4</sup>.

In view of these results it would seem highly probable that the

<sup>1</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 85 hinc (sc. from the Egyptian Labyrinth) utique sumpsisse Dædalum exemplar eius labyrinthi, quem fecit in Creta, non est dubium, sed centensimam tantum portionem eius mutatum, quæ itinerum ambages, occursusque ac recessus inexplicabiles continet, non -ut in pavementis *puerorumque ludicris* (campetribus) ludamus - *brevis lacinia milia passuum plura ambulationis continentem*, sed crebris foribus multis ad fallendos occursus redeundumque in errores eodem.

<sup>2</sup> J. Fergusson *Rude Stone Monuments* London 1872 pl. 1 publishes a useful 'Map, designed to illustrate the distribution of Dolmens, and probable lines of the migrations of the Dolmen builders.'

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 467 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 472 ff.

dancer imitating the sun masqueraded in the Labyrinth as a bull. That, if I mistake not, is the true explanation of Pasiphaë's child, the Minotaur. He was the crown-prince of Knossos in ritual attire, and his bull-mask proclaimed his solar character<sup>1</sup>. Why the crown-prince rather than the king should have discharged this duty<sup>2</sup>, and why every ninth year he required a tale of human victims<sup>3</sup>, are points for later consideration. Here I am concerned to note merely his probable relation to the sun and to the dance.

Dr J. G. Frazer<sup>4</sup>, after discussing the dance of the youths and maidens at Knossos in connexion with Labyrinths old and new, pens the following paragraph, with which I find myself largely in agreement<sup>5</sup>:

'A dance or game which has thus spread over Europe and survived in a fashion to modern times must have been very popular, and bearing in mind how often with the decay of old faiths the serious rites and pageants of grown people have degenerated into the sports of children, we may reasonably ask whether Ariadne's Dance or the Game of Troy may not have had its origin in religious ritual. The ancients connected it with Cnossus and the Minotaur. Now we have seen reason to hold, with many other scholars, that Cnossus was the seat of a great worship of the sun, and that the Minotaur was a representation or embodiment of the sun-god. May not, then, Ariadne's dance have been an imitation of the sun's course in the sky? and may not its intention have been, by means of sympathetic magic, to aid the great luminary to run his race on high? We have seen that during an eclipse of the sun the Chilcotin Indians walk in a circle, leaning on staves, apparently to assist the labouring orb. In Egypt also the king, who embodied the sun-god, seems to have solemnly walked round the walls of a temple for the sake of helping the sun on his way. If there is any truth in this conjecture, it would seem to follow that the sinuous lines of the Labyrinth which the dancers followed in their evolutions may have represented the ecliptic, the sun's apparent annual path in the sky. It is some confirmation of this view that on coins of Cnossus the sun or a star appears in

<sup>1</sup> In 1890 Miss J. I. Harrison wrote: 'It seems possible that the man-bull form of the Minotaur may have been suggested by the necessities of a mimetic dance, the part of Minotaur being taken by a man with a bull-head mask' (*Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. cxviii). This view I supported and sought to strengthen in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 124 n. 247. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 410 f. I went further and conjectured that, since the Cretans conceived of the sun as a bull, Minos as sun-king wore a bull-mask, and that this ritual costume gave rise to the legend of the Minotaur. In *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 272 I shifted my ground and, for reasons which will subsequently appear, contended that the Minotaur was, not Minos himself, but Minos' son in the ritual disguise of the solar bull. See also G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*<sup>2</sup> Oxford 1911 pp. 156—158.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 392 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 411, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>1</sup>. The Dying God p. 77, cp. *ib.*<sup>3</sup> The Magic Art i. 312.

<sup>5</sup> I had almost completed my own account of the Labyrinth before reading Dr Frazer's important and helpful chapter. We have approached the matter from different angles, he dealing with the octennial tenure of the kingship, I with the solar bull; but at this point our results approximate.

the middle of the Labyrinth, the place which on other coins is occupied by the Minotaur.<sup>1</sup>

From the concluding sentences of this paragraph I should dissent. The fact that the earliest known form of the Labyrinth is a derivative of the *swastika* leads us to believe that the dance represented the revolving sun rather than the ecliptic. But that the Minotaur, like the Chilcotin Indians walking in a circle and leaning on their staves, was engaged in a piece of mimetic ritual seems to me highly probable. I would interpret in this sense an unpublished *statér* of Knossos in the McClean collection at Cambridge (fig. 354). This interesting coin has for its reverse design a Labyrinth clearly based on the *swastika*-pattern, and for its obverse a Minotaur of unique type. He has a bull's head and tail; but from under his mask—for such it must be—hang two unmistakable tresses of human hair, and as he hastens along he leans upon a staff. A figure better adapted to express the solar dance it would be hard to imagine.

Such a dance doubtless served to promote the year's vegetation; and it has been argued with much probability by E. Neustadt<sup>2</sup> that the crown of Theseus or Ariadne was originally a flowery crown comparable with the May-garland. Bakchylides speaks of the

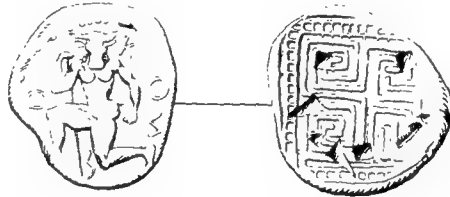


FIG. 354.

former as 'dark with roses'.<sup>3</sup> Timachidas, of the latter as made from the 'Theseus-flower'.<sup>4</sup> The wreath in question, whether his or hers, was transformed into a constellation at a later date when magic had yielded to science. Yet even then tradition did not forget that a shining crown of some sort was connected with the Labyrinth. According to Epimenides, Theseus after slaying the Minotaur escaped from the Labyrinth by virtue of a glittering crown, which Dionysos had given to Ariadne. This crown, formed by Hephaistos of fiery gold and Indian gems, made light for the hero in the dark maze: it was afterwards placed by Dionysos among the stars.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berolini 1906 p. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Bakchyl. 16. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Timachidas *ap.* Athen. 684 f.

<sup>4</sup> Epimenides *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *cat.* 5 and Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 5, *cp.* Paus. 5. 19. 1. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rd.* p. 603 n. 3 and n. 6.

Again, the Minotaur was also called *Astérios*<sup>1</sup> or *Asterion*<sup>2</sup>, 'the Starry.' A red-figured *amphora* from Nola, now in the Vatican collection<sup>3</sup>, shows Theseus slaying him in the presence of Ariadne, who holds a crown, and Minos, who holds a sceptre: the Minotaur's body is bespangled with many stars, and in this some have seen an allusion to his name<sup>4</sup>. But that is improbable; for on other



Fig. 355.

vases he is flecked or patched with queer-looking marks merely to denote that he has a bull's pelt (fig. 355)<sup>5</sup>. A red-figured *kylix* by

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. 3. 1. 4. *Izett. in Lyk. M.* 653, 1299, 1301. cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 222 ff., 546 ff., 40. 284 ff. (Asterios, son of Minos by Androgeneia).

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 2. 31. 1. *Rufin. Georgit.* 10. 21 makes Asterion the son of Iupiter by Idea (= Idaea), wife of Minos.

<sup>3</sup> Gerhard *Auserl. Vasen.* iii. 36 f. pl. 160, *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 57, Helling *Guld. Class. Ant. Rome* n. 307 no. 80, Reinach *R. p. Vases* ii. 81, 10.

<sup>4</sup> So Schirmer in Roscher *Lex. Myt.* i. 657, K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1785, J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115.

<sup>5</sup> L. Stephani *Der Kampf zwischen Theseus und Minotaurus* Leipzig 1842 p. 82 pl. 3 (black-figured Minotaur flecked with white); p. 83 pl. 8 (black-figured Minotaur with spots, mostly T-shaped, of white); *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 105 no. B 148 (black-figured Minotaur stippled with hair), etc.

*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 1114. no. E 84 (red-figured Minotaur, covered with brown

Douris, found at Vulci and now in the British Museum, sprinkles him with eyes like those of Argos, another bovine personage (fig. 356)<sup>1</sup>. More to the point, perhaps, are the silver coins of Knossos



Fig. 356.

from c. 500 B.C. onwards: these represent him surrounded with a row of dots, which may or may not be meant for stars<sup>2</sup>. Clearer, though still not quite convincing, is a Corinthian *pinax* of

strokes to indicate hair). Collignon *Coupe Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 367 f. no. 1173 (red-figured Minotaur 'tacheté de points'), etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 73 f. no. I. 48, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 153 pl. 234, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1789 fig. 1873, A. S. Murray *Designs from Greek Vases in the British Museum* London 1894 p. 24 no. 29 pl. 8, E. Pottier *Douris* Paris 1905 p. 75 ff. fig. 11, Remach *Rép. Vases* ii. 118, W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Unterschriften* Wien 1887 p. 158 no. 16, C. Robert in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1859. Mr H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 73 notes: 'the mask of the Minotaur is edged with a triple wavy black line at the neck, and shaded with light brown strokes. His body and limbs are thickly overspread with dotted circles, like the eyes of Argos. The division between this skin and the surface of the hands and feet is marked by fine brown lines.'

<sup>2</sup> J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 65 f. pl. 4, 23 ff.,

the early sixth century B.C., which was found at Pente Skouphia in 1879 and is now in the Berlin Museum (fig. 357)<sup>1</sup>: on this he appears in the centre of four unmistakable stars, which are hardly to be regarded as mere filling. It would, however, be hasty to conclude that the Minotaur was a nocturnal rather than a diurnal power. The terms *astēr* and *ástron* were applicable to the sun<sup>2</sup> and moon<sup>3</sup> as well as to the stars, so that we should be justified in explaining the title *Astérios*, *Asterion* as 'god of all the Celestial Lights.'



Fig. 357.

As to the Minotaur-dance, we have already seen that Cretan dance-themes included 'Europe, Pasiphae, both the Bulls, the Labyrinth, Ariadne,' etc.<sup>4</sup> These, doubtless, were late pantomimic

Babelon *Mém.* 21. rom. II. 1. 1331 ff. pl. 62. 21 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 18 pl. 4. 7 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 460.

J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115 connects the star, often found as a monetary type at Knossos (e.g. figs. 358, 359 from small silver and copper coins in my collection), with the Minotaur's name *Ἀστερίων*.

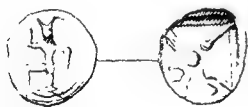


Fig. 358.

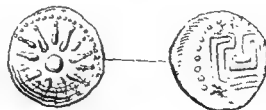


Fig. 359.

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. Denkmal.* II. 6 pl. 29, 14 (= *Furtwängler Vasensamm.* Berlin I. 75 no. 663 + I. 77 no. 730). F. Pease in the *Arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 29 fig. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Pind. *Ol.* I. 5 f. *μηκέτ' ἀελίων σκόπει* | ἄλλο θαλπνότερον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ φαεινὸν ἄστρον λ.τ.λ., *fragm.* p. 107. 1 f. Christ) *ἀκτὶς ἀελίου ἄστρον ἐπέρτατον ἐν αἰετῇ* | *κλεπτόμενον*. The schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* I. 6 says: *κακῶς εἶπεν ἄστρον* . . . ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἀστήρ.

<sup>3</sup> *Διελ.* . . *Th.* 390 πρέσβιστον ἄστρον, νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός, πρέπει. *fragm.* 170. 2 Nauck "οὐτ' ἄστερων ὄμμα (scilicet ἄστέρων στόμα, scilicet Bentley) *Λητώας κόρης*.

<sup>4</sup> *Διελ.* p. 481.



performances, but it is likely enough that their *motifs* were traditional. A black-figured *hydria* in the British Museum, on which are seen three Minotaurs running towards the right with arms akimbo (pl. xxx)<sup>1</sup>, has possibly preserved a reminiscence of such dances. It is also noteworthy that a black-figured *lekkythos* at Athens, which represents Theseus slaying the Minotaur in the presence of two females, gives the monster a bull's tail but a human head<sup>2</sup>.

My notion that the Minotaur was a Cnossian prince masquerading as a bull receives no slight support from Diodoros<sup>3</sup>. After speaking of the Egyptian Labyrinth built by king Mendes or Marros and its Cretan copy made by Daidalos for Minos, the historian goes on to remark that five generations later there came to the throne of Egypt a certain Keten, identified by the Greeks with Proteus<sup>4</sup>, a contemporary of the Trojan War. This Keten was said to have been a shape-shifter, who took the form now of an animal, now of a tree, now again of fire or the like. The priests declared that he was enabled to do so by his knowledge of astrology, and that the practice having become traditional with Egyptian kings gave rise to Greek tales of shape-shifting. 'For,' continues Diodoros, 'it was customary with the rulers of Egypt to put about their heads the foreparts of lions, bulls, and snakes, as tokens of their rule. They had upon their heads now trees, now fire, and sometimes many fragrant odours; by which means they both arrayed themselves in fine style and struck superstitious terror into others.' The researches of Messieurs Maspero and Moret have proved that the Egyptian king and queen did actually figure as god and goddess in certain solemn rites, when masked men and women played the parts of animal-headed deities<sup>5</sup>. I suggest that the Cnossian prince did much the same.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* n. 179 no. B.308. Cp. the impression of an Eblaite cylinder figured by M. J. Lagrange *La Civilisation en Syrie* Paris 1908 p. 84 f. fig. 66a after F. V. Scheil in the *Mémoires de la délégation en Syrie* viii. 101. fig. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Nicole Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 189 no. 949. W. Meyer in the *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1882 n. 281 notes that in the middle ages the Minotaur was commonly represented as 'oben Mensch, unten Stier.'

<sup>3</sup> *Diod.* i. 61 f. My attention was first directed to this important passage by Dr J. G. Frazer (*Class. Rev.* 1903 vii. 410 n. 3). Mr A. Lang in *Folk-Lore* 1910 xvi. 145 dismisses it as 'a mere aetiological myth to explain the Odyssean story of Proteus.'

<sup>4</sup> Cp. *Hdt.* 2. 112 ff. Keten appears to have been the first king of the twentieth dynasty, Set-nekht or Nekht-Set, the father of Rameses iii.

<sup>5</sup> See Frazer *Lat. Hist. Kingship* p. 172 ff., *Golden Bough*. The Magic Art n. 133 f. *ph.* The Dying God p. 70 ff.





*Hydria in the British Museum : Minotaur-dance (?)*.

*See page 496.*

xvi. ‘Minoan’ Bull-fights.

Few features of the ‘Minoan’ civilisation are more striking than its devotion to the bull-ring. Statuettes, reliefs, paintings, and seal-stones make it abundantly clear that toreadors, male and female, played an important part in the life of their people. The evidence, which comes to us from Crete, Mykenai, Tiryns, Vaphio, Orchomenos, Athens, etc., has been recently classified and discussed by A. Reichel<sup>1</sup>. This careful investigator thinks that the sport originated in Crete, and distinguishes three stages in its evolution. Its earliest form was the capture of a bull by one or more unarmed men, who clung tenaciously to its horns<sup>2</sup>. Out of this developed the favourite ‘Minoan’ display, an acrobatic performance calling for the utmost nerve and dexterity. It comprised various feats, of which the most popular was the following. The athlete rushed towards the charging bull, grasped it by the horns, turned a somersault over its head, and letting go with his hands was shot over its back into safety<sup>3</sup>. Many centuries later a less hazardous form of bull-baiting is found in the Thessalian *taurokathápsis*. The toreador on horseback pursued the bull till it was exhausted, and

<sup>1</sup> A. Reichel ‘Die Stierspiele in der kretisch-mykenischen Cultur’ in the *Abh. M. G.* 1909 xxxiv. 85–99 with figs. and pl.

<sup>2</sup> Two terra-cotta figures of the ‘Early Minoan’ period found by Xanthoudides at Koumasa near Gortyna (A. Mosso *The Palace of Crete and Early Builders* London 1907 p. 219 fig. 99. A. Reichel *loc. cit.* p. 93 nos. 18 and 19—fig. 111.

With these may be compared the capture of the big bull by a posse of men in Evarzoue *Diction. de Myth. Ég.* pl. 206.

<sup>3</sup> A. Reichel *loc. cit.* pp. 85–88 nos. 1–6.

<sup>4</sup> The literary and monumental evidence of the *ταυροκαθάψις* is collected by L. B. Beck in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1883 xxxviii. 297 ff.; M. Mayer in the *Journ. d. sav. d. n.* 1892 vii. 72–81 rep. *Journ. H. S. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 127 ff.; M. N. Tod in the *Arch. Mitth.* 1904 cxix. 50–56, and F. Cohen in Darenberg *Saggio Di. Ant. A.* 50–52.

Fifth-century coins of Larissa have obv. a Thessalian youth, who grasps a plunging bull by the horns, and rev. a bridled and galloping horse (fig. 360 from a specimen in my collection cp. Babelon *Monn. Gr. et R. m.* i. 1013 ff. pl. 43. 8–12; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Com. Thessaly* etc. p. 25 ff. pls. 4. 12 f. 5. 1–4). Since a fourth-century drachm of the same town shows obv. a mounted Thessalian galloping, and rev. a bull in full flight (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Com. Thessaly* etc. p. 29 pl. 5. 13), it seems probable that on all these coins of Larissa we should combine the two types and recognise scenes from the *ταυροκαθάψις* (G. Macdonald *Com. Type* Glasgow 1905 p. 99 pl. 3. 10; *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 298 f. 1). Similar scenes occur on coins of Kiannon, the Perrhaïon, Pharkadon, Phetor, Skotoassa, and Trikke (see Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 1021 f. pl. 43. 16; 1023 ff. pl. 43. 17–20. 1029 ff. pl. 43. 25; 1031 f. pl. 43. 29; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Com. Thessaly* etc. p. 16 pl. 1. 11 f. 1. p. 39 pl. 8. 7. p. 42 pl. 9. 11. p. 46 pl. 10. 1–3; p. 51 f. pl. 11. 2–7 and 12).

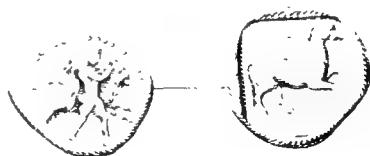


Fig. 360.

then leaping upon it twisted its horns and broke its neck. Clearly the Thessalian sport, in which the hunter is mounted and the bull is killed, cannot be identified with the Cretan sport, in which the athlete is on foot and the bull is not killed. If the two are related at all, the one must be viewed as a modification of the other. The *taurokathápsia*, introduced into Italy by Iulius Caesar, appealed to the sensation-loving Romans, and ultimately gave rise to the bull-fights of Spain and France.

Reichel further suggests that in 'Minoan' times this bull-grappling had some religious significance: but he does not venture to determine the cult with which it was connected or the meaning that attached to it.

As to the *taurokathápsia*, it has been commonly—though not universally<sup>1</sup>—regarded as a rite in the cult of Poseidon<sup>2</sup>. But so far as Thessaly is concerned there is not a particle of evidence<sup>3</sup>, and in the case of other districts the attribution is at best conjectural<sup>4</sup>. Even if definite proof were forthcoming that in the Roman period this Thessalian sport was held to be an appanage of Poseidon, we could not with any assurance argue back from Thessaly to Crete across a gap of fifteen hundred years. It is surely safer to assume that the Cretan bull-sports stood in some relation to the Cretan bull-god, who at Knossos was represented by the Minotaur. On this showing we might look to find the bull-grasping feat associated with the Labyrinth. In point of fact, we do so



Fig. 361.

<sup>1</sup> F. Bechtel in the *Nachr. d. v. n. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1890 p. 34 ff. views the *taurokathápsia* as a rite properly belonging to the cult of Zeus Ποσειδῶς. F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie* 3 Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 326 referred it 'auf die solarschen und Cerealschen Religionen.'

In an inscription from Larissa (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 528) a bull-fight takes place for Zeus Έλευθεῖος; but E. Cohen justly remarks that it is only one item of an extensive programme (Darmberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 52).

<sup>2</sup> Welcker *Gr. Gotter* ii 675; Preller-Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 570 f., Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* iv. 25. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 80: 'Es ist einleuchtend, dass die eventuelle Verbindung mit dem Kult des Stier-Poseidon erst sekundär sein kann; für diesen Gott passten sie aber vor anderen.'

<sup>3</sup> Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 80 f. Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* iv. 25: 'We have the evidence of Artemidorus that the *ταυροκαθάψια* was consecrated to the festival of Poseidon at Larissa, at Eleusis, and at Ephesos' is inexact, as a reference to the citation (*ib.* iv. 95) of Artemid. *oneir.* i. 8 will show. Artemidoros does not mention Poseidon at all.

Note, however, that on the coins of Krannon mentioned *supra* p. 497 n. 4 the fore-part of the horse or the butting bull is accompanied by a trident.

<sup>4</sup> Nilsson *loc. cit.*, P. Stengel *Opferkronender Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 108.

find it. A banded agate in Sir Arthur Evans’ collection (fig. 361)<sup>1</sup> represents an athlete in the act of turning his somersault over the horns of a mighty bull, which partly conceals and partly is concealed by a patterned square. This square bears to the whole design the same relation as the patterned oblong to the slaughter of the Minotaur on the vases already discussed (figs. 329—331). In short, it depicts the Labyrinth as the scene of the action<sup>2</sup>.

The essential feature of the ‘Minoan’ sport appears to have been the grasping of the bull’s horn or horns. Now the same trait is found in the oldest art-types of one Thessalian and three Cretan myths, that of Iason grappling the Colchian bulls<sup>3</sup>, that of Herakles capturing the Cretan bull<sup>4</sup>, that of Theseus slaying the Minotaur (cp. figs. 329, 330)<sup>5</sup>, and that of Europe borne off by the bovine Zeus (cp. pl. xxxii, fig. 411)<sup>6</sup>. It is perhaps permissible to suggest that behind these art-types lurks a traditional pose of the bull-grasper. Iason and Herakles seizing the bull by the horn or twisting a rope about its hind legs vividly recall the bull-captors of the Vaphio cups. Theseus gripping the Minotaur by the horn or locked with him in a deadly wrestling-bout is a figure curiously reminiscent of the ‘Minoan’ cow-boy. Europe, who on the later monuments slips off the bull’s back and hovers or floats beside him still clinging to his horn (cp. fig. 414), in effect reverts to the airy performance of the ‘Minoan’ cow-girl. Such resemblances may of course be fortuitous; but, given the Thessalian and Cretan connexion, they may be vestigial.

In any case it seems probable that the religious value of the original bull-sports lay in the athlete’s contact with the horn of a sacred bull. A clue to the meaning of such contact is,

<sup>1</sup> Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 9, n. 26 figured to a scale of  $\frac{1}{4}$ . A. Reichel *Le. cat.* p. 87 t. fig. 4. Reichel points out that Furtwangler erroneously described the man as about to cut the throat of the bull. But Reichel himself apparently shares Furtwangler’s view that the bull is drinking out of a big trough!

<sup>2</sup> It may be objected that the Labyrinth at Knossos was ill-adapted for a bull-ring (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 110). But Sir Arthur Evans’ intaglio is said to have come from Priene, where we have already found the Labyrinth-pattern occurring as a coin-type (*supra* p. 483). Possibly the allusion is to some Labyrinth other than that of Knossos.

<sup>3</sup> K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 79 ff., H. Heydemann *Iason in Kolchis* (*Wien. Jahresfest-Progr. Halle* 1886).

<sup>4</sup> A. Furtwangler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2201. Cp. Theseus and the Marathonian bull on a red-figured *kýlix* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 123 no. E 105), which shows the hero holding a club in his right hand and grasping the bull’s horn with his left.

<sup>5</sup> A. Furtwangler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 106 ff. pl. 8, 3 (= *Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 463 f. pl. 15, 3), Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 3007 fig. 2.

<sup>6</sup> J. Escher-Burkli in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1296 f. Literary references to Europe as holding the horn are collected by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Et.* 1866 p. 124 n. 11.

I think, afforded by a lenticular sardonyx found at Orvieto (fig. 362)<sup>1</sup>, which represents a man grasping by the horn a couple of



Fig. 362.

quasi-bulls and the trees (palms?) between which they are standing justify the conjecture that they are engaged in some fertility-rite. The bull—let us suppose—is a beast pre-eminently charged with fertilising force<sup>2</sup>. Its force is gathered up and culminates in its horn<sup>3</sup>, bovine horns being sometimes a synonym of strength<sup>4</sup>. Any one who grasps the bull's

horn *ipso facto* obtains a share in its peculiar power.

At Laussel near Marquay (Dordogne) Dr Lalanne has recently discovered what we may venture to regard as a prehistoric prototype of such rites<sup>5</sup>. On limestone blocks inside a rock-shelter a man of slender waist and three steatopygous women are carved with all the marvellous realism of palaeolithic art<sup>6</sup>. The man is an archer in the act of drawing his bow. Of the women one places her left hand on the lower portion of her body and holds a bison's horn in her right (fig. 363). This may of course be a graphic hint of the eating and drinking that resulted from a successful chase. But it is highly probable that the use of a drinking-horn presupposes the magical efficacy of the horn as such<sup>7</sup>. And it is at least possible that we have here part of the cave-dwellers' ritual—the right hand raised to grasp the fertilising horn, the left lowered in a gesture familiar to us from representations of the oriental mother-goddess.

This explanation throws light on sundry other obscure points in Cretan mythology and ritual. To begin with, Monsieur R. Dussaud rightly insists that the bull was not the only animal

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv, 120 fig. 14 after O. Rossbach in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvi, 195 ff. pl. G-II, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* p. 514 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Laur. *Bacch.* 743 ταῦροι δ' ἐξαρσται κεις κερας θεωρομενοι with Sn. John Sandys' n. ad loc., Orphan. *ymos.* 4. 33 οὐκ ελαφὸς κεραεσσι θρασυς, κεραεσσι δὲ ταῦρος. Ail. d. n. i. an. 4. 48 ὑπο θυμῷ τεθηγγμένον ταύρον καὶ ἐξαρσῶντα ἐς κέρας.

<sup>4</sup> B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 121 (citing Num. 23. 22, 24. 8), G. B. Gray *Critical and exegetical Commentary on Numbers* Edinburgh 1903 p. 354 f., and especially L. Schiefelowitz 'Das Hornmotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv, 451 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lalanne in *L'Anthropologie* 1912 xxi, 129 ff. figs. 1 ff., *The Illustrated London News*, July 13, 1912 ex. 56 with 3 figs., H. G. Spearing *The Childhood of Art* London 1912 p. 505 f. I am indebted to Miss Harrison for calling my attention to this interesting discovery and for suggesting that it may furnish a prototype of the rites in question.

<sup>6</sup> The figures are c. 18 inches high, and the relief c. 2 inches deep. That of the woman here shown is polished, except the head, and there are traces of red paint.

<sup>7</sup> See the facts collected by L. Schiefelowitz in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv, 483 ff.

used in these ceremonial games<sup>1</sup>. ‘Minoan’ seal-stones show gymnasts treating the *agrimi* or Cretan wild-goat in the self-same manner<sup>2</sup>; and Sir Arthur Evans has suggested ‘that this animal was sacred to the indigenous “Zeus” at an earlier period than the bull<sup>3</sup>.’ If goat and bull were thus alternatives, the fertilising force which resided in the horn of the latter should be found in the horn of the former also. And it is. Few symbols of ancient religion have lasted longer or been more widely accepted than the horn of Amaltheia, the *cornu copiae* from which all good things flow. This is usually described in literature as the horn of the goat, which

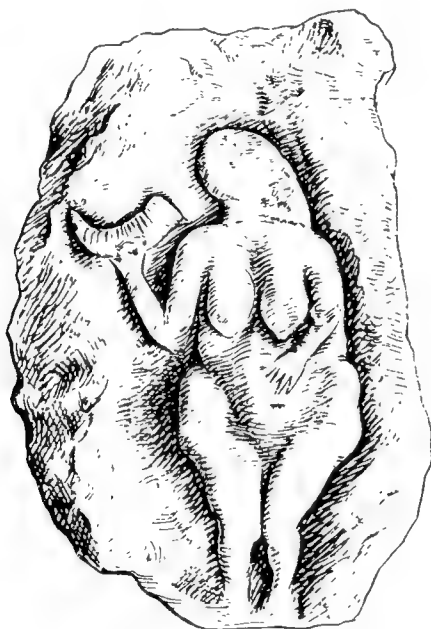


Fig. 363.

nourished Zeus as an infant in Crete, Amaltheia being either the nymph owning the goat or the goat itself<sup>4</sup>. But in art, as Philemon remarks, it is ‘a cow’s horn<sup>5</sup>.’ Of countless illustrations I figure (pl. xxxi) one—an Athenian bell-*kratēr* in the Hope collection at Deepdene<sup>6</sup>, which represents Herakles in Olympus feasting on the

<sup>1</sup> R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Egée* Paris 1910 p. 255 figs. 185 f.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot -Chapier *Hist. de l’Art* vi. 843 fig. 426, 5 and 13, 848, 852.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xvi. 182.

<sup>4</sup> See K. Wernicke in Pauly -Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1721.

<sup>5</sup> Philem. *pterygium* frag. 1, 1 f. (*frag. com. Gr.* iv. 20 Meineke) το τῆς Ἀμαλθείας δοκεῖς εἶναι κέρας | οἷον γράφουσιν οἱ γραφεῖς κέρας βοῦς:

<sup>6</sup> The vase will be included in the forthcoming *Catalogue* by my friend Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, to whose kindness I am indebted for the photograph here redrawn. Previous



dainties contained in the *cornu copiae* of Zeus. Pherekydes, the earliest writer to give us an explicit account of this horn, says:

'Amaltheia was a daughter of Haemonios and had a bull's horn. This had the power of providing whatever one liked to eat or drink without stint or effort<sup>1</sup>.

The name Haemonios takes us to Thessaly<sup>2</sup>, where the 'Minoan' bull-sports were modified into the *taurokathápsia*. If my explanation is sound, the said sports from first to last were designed to promote fertility by bringing the youthful gymnasts into direct contact with the horns of the fertilising bull<sup>3</sup>.

The same religious idea finds expression in the cult of Dionysos. This deity at an early stage of his development was identified with both bull<sup>4</sup> and goat<sup>5</sup>, and, even when he had become fully anthropomorphic, he was apt to maintain a close connexion with the sacred animal<sup>6</sup>. Thus on coins of Mauretania struck at Siga by Bocchus iii (50?—33 B.C.) we see Dionysos with a *thýrsos* in his right hand and a bunch of grapes beside it: he is holding by one horn a diminutive bull (fig. 364)<sup>7</sup>. Here and there his worshippers put themselves



Fig. 364.

publications (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* iv pl. 25, A. L. Millin *Galerie mythologique* Paris 1811 pl. 125, 467, Reinach *Rep. Vases* iii, 327, 2) are inadequate. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Hera (Reinach *loc. cit.* suggests 'Hēbe (?)'. Welcker *All. Numm.* iii, 305 f. had thought of Persephone behind a seated Plouton).

With the whole scene cp. a *hēlēnē* from Ruvo at Naples (Heydemann *Va. enamml. Neapel* p. 280 f. no. 2408, A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 p. 201 ff. pl. GH, Reinach *op. cit.* i, 323, 1), which shows Herakles holding the *cornu copiae* and seated before a standing Zeus (Michaelis *loc. cit.* suggests Plouton?).

<sup>1</sup> Pherekyd. *frag.* 37 (*frag. hist. Gr.* i, 82 Muller) *ap. schol. Soph. Trach.* 48. 'Ἀμάλθεια ἦν Αἰμονίου θυγάτηρ· ἥ κέρας εἶχε ταύρου· τοῦτο δέ, ὡς Φερεκλίδης φησί, δίδναμι εἶχε τοιαύτην ὥστε βρωτὸν ἢ ποτὸν ὅπερ ἂν εἴξαιτό τις παρέχειν ἀφθονόν τε καὶ ἅπρον after Apollod. 2, 7, 5 (see Jebb's ed. of Soph. *Trach.* p. 3).

A later version made the horn of plenty that which Herakles broke off from the tauriform Achelous (Ov. *met.* 9, 85 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 31, Philostr. *min. imag.* 4, 3). Various harmonists stated that Achelous' horn was the horn of Amaltheia (Diod. 4, 35, Strab. 478, Dion. Chrys. *or.* 63 p. 327 Reiske), or that Achelous had presented Herakles with Amaltheia's horn as ransom for his own (Zenob. 2, 48, schol. *Il.* 21, 194, Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 501).

<sup>2</sup> O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii 2220, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 341 n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> For the transference of quality from the horns to that which touches them cp. the belief that seed-corn, if it fell on the horns of ploughing oxen, would produce hard (*i.e.* horny) grain (Theophr. *de caus. plant.* 4, 12, 13, Plout. *synp.* 7, 2, 1, *Geopon.* 2, 19, 4).

<sup>4</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1425 n. 4 collects the evidence and adds a brief bibliography. See also Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* v, 126.

<sup>5</sup> Gruppe *op. cit.* pp. 822 n. 3 ff., 1428 n. 9 ff., Farnell *op. cit.* v, 127, 165 f.

<sup>6</sup> Mithras in the great Mithraic myth rides the bull, grasping it by the horns, to which he clings even when thrown off the creature's back (F. Cumont *Les ét. et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i, 169 f., 305, *ed. Du Mystère des Mithra* trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 120 f. pl. 3, 6).

<sup>7</sup> L. Muller *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique* Copenhagen 1862 iii, 97 ff. no. 9



Bell-*krater* at Deepdene: Herakles in Olympos taking fruit  
from the *cornu copiae* of Zeus.

See page 501 f.



in contact with the bull by methods resembling those of the ‘Minoan’ athletes. Of Kynaitha in Arkadia Pausanias writes :

‘There is here a sanctuary of Dionysos, and in winter a festival is held, at which men anoint themselves with oil, pick out a bull from a herd of cattle—whichever bull the god puts it into their head to take,—lift it up and carry it to the sanctuary. Such is their mode of sacrifice<sup>1</sup>.’

Again, near Nysa in Lydia was a village called Acharaka, which had a grove and temple of Plouton and Kore. Above the grove was Charon’s Cave, where cures were wrought by incubation etc.<sup>2</sup> The god is represented on imperial copper coins as Zeus *Ploutodotes* (fig. 365)<sup>3</sup>, ‘Giver of Wealth’<sup>4</sup>; and it will be observed that this title, of which *Plouton*<sup>5</sup> is but a shorter



Fig. 365.

fig. 9. Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 888. The obverse of this coin has a bearded male head, which, according to Muller, represents a personification of the people. Perhaps we may conclude that Dionysos and his bull were vitally connected with the full-grown manhood of the people as a whole.

Dionysos holds up a spirally twisted horn, probably meant for a *cornu copiae*, on a black-figured *pinax* from Marathon (*Att. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 400 pl. 3f., Farnell *op. cit.* v. 245 pl. 35), with which cp. a black-figured *kylix* by Nikosthenes (*Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xlii. 251 pl. 16, 1 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 462, 1 f.; Dionysos seated to right holding horn with dancing Maenad and Silenos on either hand), a black-figured *psykter* at Deepdene (Dionysos seated to right holding horn between two dancing Maenads), and another black-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* v pl. 22. Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 340, 1) : see further I. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1867 p. 180 f. Coins of Nysa in Lydia show a *cornu copiae* filled with corn-ears, poppy, and grape-bunches : a child, seated on it, raises one of the bunches and is commonly regarded as Dionysos (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmonzen* Geneva and Leipzig 1897 p. 108 f., Head *Hist. num.*<sup>1</sup> p. 552; but in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 179 pl. 20. 8 Dr B. V. Head identifies the child as Ploutos).

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 19. 2. P. Stengel *Opferrituale der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 108 f. compares this lifting of the live bull *en route* for sacrifice with the exploit of Biton (Paus. 2. 19. 5, *supra* p. 448) and the order of Menelaos (Eur. *Hel.* 1559 ff.), but distinguishes it from the raising of oxen already struck that their blood might flow over the altar etc. (*αἰσέσθαι τοῖς βοδῖς*): the former was an exceptional, the latter a normal usage.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. 649, cp. 579, Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 1153. A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la drémarion dans l'antiquité* Paris 1880 ii. 373 n. 1: ‘Arundell et Pococke ont retrouvé le souvenir vague d’une grotte insondable et quelques vestiges de l’oracle près d’Akkeuy ou Akchay, nom dans lequel on reconnaît encore celui d’Acharaka.’

<sup>3</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinere Münzen* i. 178 no. 2 pl. 6, 9 (Domitian), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. lxxviii, 175 pl. 20, 1 (Nero), Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 654: ΠΛΟΥΤΟ. ΔΟΤΗ ΝΥΚΑΕΩΝ.

<sup>4</sup> Other examples of the title are collected by O. Hofa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2567 f. Cp. also Men Πλουτοδώτης (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxi. 389 pl. 1) and Apollon πλουτοδοτήρ (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 525. 17).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Loukian. *Τίμων* 21 ὁ Πλουτων ἄτε πλουτοδότης καὶ μεγαλόδαρος καὶ αὐτὸς ὦν ὁρροὶ γούν καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι, Orph. *h. Paus.* 18. 4 f. Πλουτων... πλουτοδοτῶν γενεὴν βροτεὴν καρποῖς ἐναιωνῶν.

equivalent<sup>1</sup>, was common to Zeus<sup>2</sup> and to Dionysos<sup>3</sup>. Strabon ends his account of the cult as follows:

'A yearly festival is held at Acharaka...on which occasion about the hour of noon the young men from the gymnasium, stripped and anointed with oil, take up a bull and carry it with speed to the Cave. When they let it go, it advances a little way, falls over; and dies<sup>4</sup>.'

This strange procession is illustrated (fig. 366)<sup>5</sup> by a copper coin of Nysa struck by Maximus. Six naked youths carry on their shoulders a humped bull of gigantic size. In front of them marches a naked flute-player, who (so far as I can judge from a careful inspection of the original) is linked to the bull's horn by means of a wavy line perhaps representing a fillet. Thus all who took part in the rite were brought into immediate contact with the sacred animal.



Fig. 366.

The festival (*panégyris*) was doubtless shared by other cities in the valley of the Maiandros<sup>6</sup>. I am therefore inclined to surmise that a second illustration of it is to be found on a copper of Magnesia struck under Caracalla (fig. 367)<sup>7</sup>. A young man is seen holding by the halter a humped bull, which goes before him but collapses at the entrance of a cavern. These two remarkable coin-types in fact give the beginning and the end of the procession described by Strabon.



Fig. 367.

Somewhat similar to the Arcadian and Lydian rites is the scene depicted on a red-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1066 n. 15.

In art Plouton often bears the *cornu copiae*: see C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1787, 1800 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gr. State* iii. 286 pl. 32, a.

<sup>2</sup> Orph. *h. d. m.* 73. 3 f. *Ζῆνα μέγαν* : *πλουτοδότῃν*, Loukian. *Cronosol.* 14 *Δαίμονι τοδοτῇ* κ.τ.λ. See O. Høfer in the  *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1894 cxlv. 262 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1579, iii. 2567, who notes that Nysa was a colony of Sparta (Strab. 650), where there was a temple of Zeus *Πλουσιος* (Paus. 3. 19. 7).

<sup>3</sup> *Corn. pop.* 4. 2 Hiller *Συμελὴ Ἱταλ. πλουτοδότα*.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. 650.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* pp. lxxxiii, 181 pl. 20, 10, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 654.

<sup>6</sup> So Dr B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. lxxxiii.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 166 pl. 19, 10. Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 583 describes the type as 'Herdsmen (Plouton?) driving bull into cavern': a very improbable suggestion.

collection (fig. 368)<sup>1</sup>. Three young athletes, having deposited their clothing on a pillar in the gymnasium, are about to hoist the bull



Fig. 368.

on to their backs in the presence of an official. We cannot of course determine either the locality or the cult; but the Greeks



Fig. 369.

<sup>1</sup> Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* ii. 18 ff. pl. 3, Inghinami *Vas. pitt.* i. 49 pl. 24, Lenormant — de Witte *Él. mon. cr.* iii. 187 pl. 69, Reinach *Rep. Vases* ii. 293, 4.

would probably have called the men *keratesséis* or *kerackeís*<sup>1</sup>. They are in any case the successors of the 'Minoan' bull-grapplers.

I end with an amusing, if not instructive, example of type-fusion. A red-figured vase at Saint Petersburg (fig. 369)<sup>2</sup> shows not only Europe on the bull escorted by two Erotes, but also three *kouroi*—perhaps we should say *kourites*,—who with unmistakeable gestures beckon her on towards their home in Crete.

### xvii. Ritual Horns.

Sir Arthur Evans in his pioneer-work (1901) on the 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult' was the first to discuss comprehensively

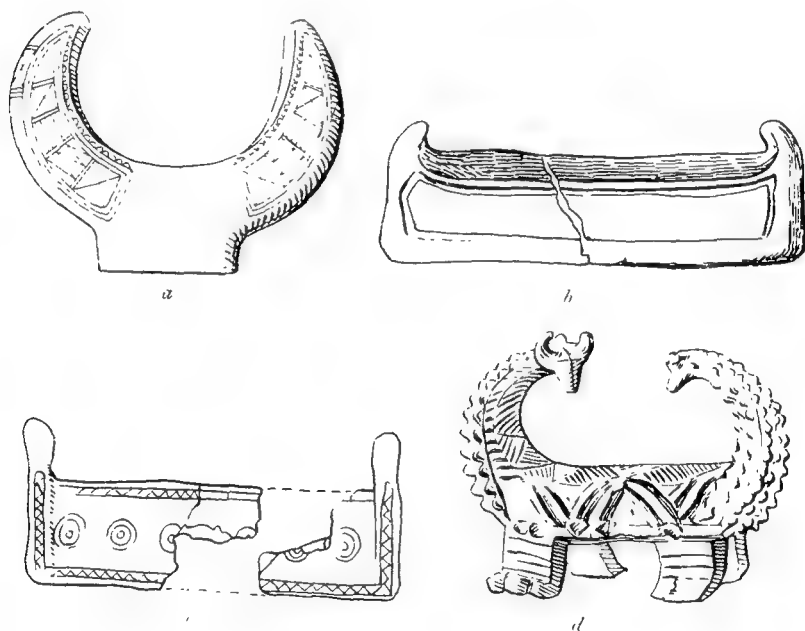


Fig. 370.

the ritual horns, which in 'Minoan' cult-scenes are set in various positions of importance—at the foot of a sacred tree, on the top of an altar, as the socket of a double axe, at the base of a column, along a precinct-wall, etc. He regarded them as 'a more or less

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. *κερατεσσεῖς*: οἱ τοὺς ταύροις ἐλκόντες ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων. καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ *κεραελλεῖς*. Cp. *Il.* 20. 403 f. *ὡς ὅτε ταυρὸς | ἤρηνγεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα, | λούρων ἐλκόντων· γάννται δὲ τε τοῖς ἐνοσιχθῶν.*

<sup>2</sup> Stephani *Vasensamm.* St. Petersburg i. 385 f. no. 884 and in the *Compt. rendu St. Pet.* 1866 p. 149 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 4 f. Reinach *Rep. Vases* i. 24, 1 f. The bull is here painted white, like the flesh of Europe. For a Dionysiac variation of the scene see Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 50 pl. 12.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xvi. 135 ff.

conventionalised article of ritual furniture derived from the actual horns of the sacrificial oxen' and strictly comparable with the Semitic 'horns of the altar'.

During the last decade other archaeologists have accepted and extended this comparison. R. Paribeni, for instance, has proved (1904) that the 'Minoan' horns present a striking analogy to the terra-cotta or stone crescents (*Mondsichel, Mondbilder, croissants*) of the late bronze age and early iron age found in the pile-dwellings of Switzerland, Savoy, Lower Austria, Hungary, and Italy<sup>2</sup>. These vary in shape according to their antiquity. At first they have a heavy altar-like base; but in process of time they develop four feet and then tend to become theriomorphic, the tips of the horns

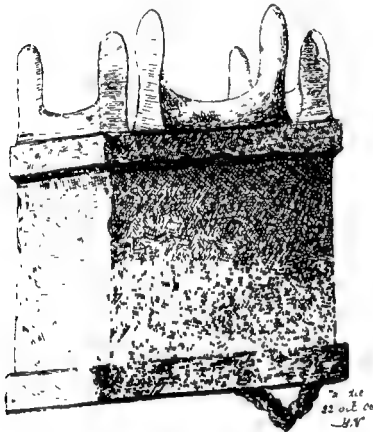


Fig. 371.

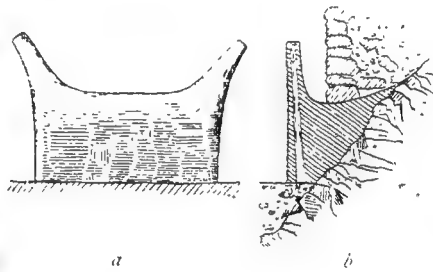


Fig. 372.

being themselves decorated with the heads of horned beasts—bulls, rams, and stags (figs. 370, *a—d*)<sup>1</sup>.

Recently (1910) Monsieur J. Déchelette has further compared

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* 1901 xxi. 137 f.

<sup>2</sup> R. Paribeni 'Corni di consecrazione nella prima età del ferro europea' in the *Bollettino di paleontologia italiana* Third Series 1904 xxi. 304—310 figs. 1—7.

<sup>3</sup> M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 503 ff. pl. 16, 1—6, *id. Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 564, 568 fig. 252, *Forier Reallev* p. 488 177. 'Mond und Mondbilder' figs. 405—408, J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 354—357 figs. a—h, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 472—479 fig. 199, 1—3, A. Mosso *The Dawn of Mediterranean civilisation* London 1910 pp. 343—345.

Fig. 370, *a* is a crescent of red sandstone (in part restored) from a station on the Ebersberg, now in the Zurich Museum; fig. 370, *b*, from the lake-dwelling at Le Saut in Savoy; fig. 370, *c*, from the nekropolis of Golasecca in north Italy; fig. 370, *d*, a terra-cotta from a *tumulus* of the early iron age at Oedenburg in Hungary. W. M. Flinders Petrie—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay *The Labyrinth Gizeh and Mazghuneh* London 1912 p. 23 pl. 7, 13 publish a black pottery cow's horn tipped with a cow's head from a predynastic grave at *El Gizeh*.



the Cretan type of horned altar (fig. 371)<sup>1</sup> with one found at Oficio near Almeria in the south of Spain. Here Monsieur L. Siret in a deposit dating from the beginning of the bronze age came upon an altar-shaped structure of earth built against a wall and surmounted by ritual horns (fig. 372, *a*, *b*)<sup>2</sup>.

It appears, then, that ritual horns were used at an early date, not only in Crete, but also in various countries to the east, north, and west of the Mediterranean basin. If, however, we would ascertain the original significance of the custom, we must, I think, turn our attention towards the south; for here only can we hope to



Fig. 373.

find outlying regions that have not been repeatedly swept by the ebb and flow of advanced civilisations.

My brother Dr A. R. Cook, on returning from a visit (1905—1906) to the Dinka tribes of the White Nile, informed me that the boys there make small models of cows out of mud. He brought back a specimen (fig. 373), which though only three inches in length shows well the humped back, large horns, and slit ears characteristic of the native cattle. He also reported that outside the hut of every chief is a big heap of mud roughly shaped like a bull and known

<sup>1</sup> M. J. Lagrange *La Crète antique* Paris 1908 p. 83 fig. 62 (about  $\frac{1}{3}$ ) a votive altar in red baked clay with horns painted white and remains of a metal tenon beneath, found at Knossos in the treasury of the serpent-goddess and now preserved in the Museum at Kandia.

<sup>2</sup> J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 80 f. fig. 25.

as such. These heaps have a pair of bullock's horns stuck into them and a cattle rope attached to them. I figure one that my brother photographed at Sheik Agoit's, not far from Bor, which has bullock's horns at one end, goat's horns at the other, and consequently a pair of ropes (fig. 374).



Fig. 374.

Dr C. G. Seligmann in letters dated March 15 and March 22, 1911, very kindly supplies me with further information about these singular structures and allows me to publish two examples that he photographed in the Tain villages near Bor (figs. 375, 376). The



Fig. 375.

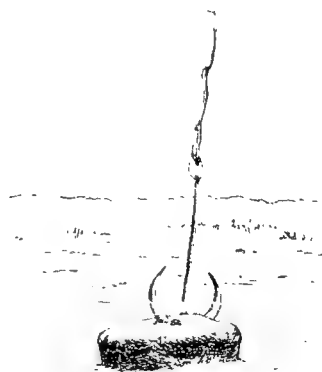


Fig. 376.

erection is, he says, a form of shrine known as *būr* made for the spirit (*aticp*) of an ancestor to inhabit. I quote from Dr Seligmann's note-book<sup>1</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> See now his article in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 710.

'Several generations ago one Nyet founded a village which, as is usual with the Dinka, is called after him: his companions, who were for the most part his relatives and descendants, used his name as their clan name, *i.e.* they call themselves *golonyet*, "men of the Clan Nyet." At the present day men of this clan inhabit the villages of Arck and Meden. Der the late head of Arck village moved to this site some forty years ago soon after the death of Anet, who with his followers lived near the Alliab boundary at a place called Unedol.

Directly the houses were built Der erected a shrine for the *atiep* of Anet to live in "just as a house": for the spirit knows of the wanderings of its people and moves with them. This was done at the instance of a *tiet*, who said that, if this were not done, Der and his children would sicken and perhaps die. The shrine itself consists of a mound of mud at one end of which are fixed the horns of a bullock. In front of this end of the mound there is one of the pickets to which cattle are commonly tethered\*. [\*In shape the whole thing presents a certain resemblance to a bullock sunk in the earth so that only its back projects; but I could not learn that this resemblance was intentional, though a Dinka whom I met at Omdurman, where he had lived for a long time, told me that in his country mud representations of cattle were erected over the graves of powerful men.] The bullock providing the horns was sacrificed by Der who explained aloud that he was making a place for the *atiep* of his father Anet. The bullock was killed by plunging a spear into its heart.

Concerning this sacrifice Mr Shaw states that the eldest son should give the first thrust and that altogether five thrusts are given by the sons. If there be only one son of the dead man, paternal first cousins would give the additional thrusts. As the bullock lies moribund on the ground, its throat is cut and the blood collected in a pot, cooked over the fire, poured into gourds and eaten by the clansmen among whom the meat is distributed. Small pieces of all the organs and parts of the animal are reserved and scattered on the ground for the spirits of the dead.

At every new moon some *dura*<sup>1</sup>, a few drops of new milk, and a little butter are placed upon the shrine at sunset. The shrine is repaired whenever necessary without sacrifice or any ceremony.

Shrines of this kind (*buor*) are found in all the Tain and at least in some of the Bor villages; but usually these do not resemble the back of a bullock, the mud being built into a more or less circular mound flattened above. A stick or young sapling 6 or 8 feet tall is thrust into the ground near the horns and a cattle rope is hung to this. Among the Tain Dinka the sons of a dead man will procure a bullock and build a *buor* whenever possible: the widow makes the mud mound, and into this the sons stick the horns of the bullock. This is done not only to propitiate the spirit of the deceased, but, as Mr Shaw informs me, as a resting-place for his spirit *atiep*; and in one case he has seen a mat spread over the *buor* during the heat of the day in order to provide shade for the *atiep*.

The evidence here cited points to the following conclusion. Among the Dinka a shrine originally representing a mud bullock and viewed as the abode of a paternal spirit has developed into a horned altar, on which food etc. is placed. I suggest that a similar evolution lies behind the use of horned altars in the Mediterranean

<sup>1</sup> [*Dhura*, 'millet.' A.R.C.]

area. Of course in classical times, though the term 'horned altar' survived<sup>1</sup>, its origin had been long forgotten. The object itself had commonly passed into alien and almost unrecognisable forms.

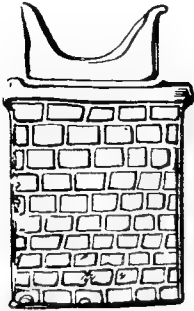


Fig. 377.

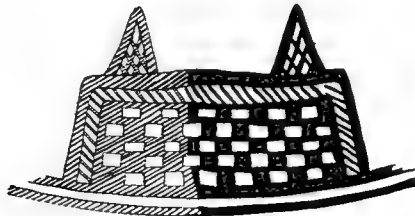


Fig. 378.

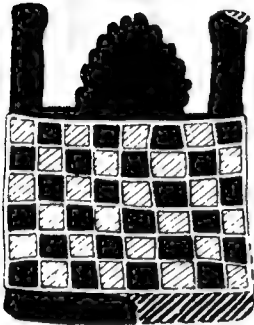


Fig. 379.

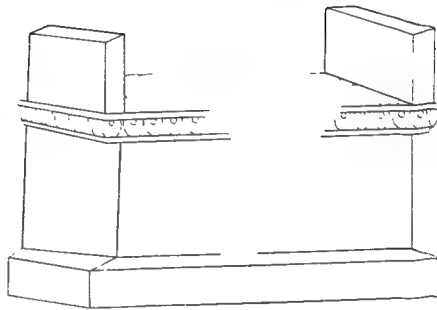


Fig. 380.

Thus the ritual horns of 'Minoan' art (fig. 377)<sup>2</sup> were stylised into mere cones by the 'Dipylon' painter (fig. 378)<sup>3</sup> and finally

<sup>1</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6. 10. 3 (Antipatros on an altar dedicated to Athena by Seleukos) *βωμιον τοι κεραοῦχον εἰδέματο τόνδε Σέλευκος*. There may be a special point in the epithet *κεραοῦχον*; for Seleukos himself was 'horned', cp. Appian. *Syr.* 57 *καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὄντι εἰρώσῳ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ ταῖρον ἄγιον ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ θυσία ποτὲ ἐκθορόντα τῶν δεσμῶν ὑποστάντι μόνῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ μόναις κατειρησμένῳ προστιθέσιν ἐς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῷδε κεράτα*. Coins give him the horn of a bull (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 3 pl. 1, 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 11 pl. 63, 20), or add the horn and ear of a bull to his helmet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 4 pl. 1, 11 ff.), or even make his horses and elephants horned (*ib.* p. 3 ff. pl. 1, 6 ff., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 756 ff.). E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dut. Ant.* 1. 351 n. 65 cites also Nonn. *Dion.* 44. 97 ff. *εἰλερωφὸν παρὰ βωμῷ | θῆλιν ὄν κερώντι σνέμπορον ἄρσενι ταύρῳ. | ἦχι Διὸς πελεν ἄλσος ὀρειάδος ἔμπλεον ἔλγης. | Ζηνὶ καὶ Ἀδρνάδεσσι μίαν ἐξύωσε θνηλὴν | Κάδμους Ἀγνηροίδης*. Cp. the *Theo. Ling. Lat.* v. 971. 7 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Part of relief on a steatite *pyxis* from Knossos (A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xvi. 101 ff. fig. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Detail of 'Dipylon' vase from the site of the Kynosarges gymnasium at Athens (J. P. Droop in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905-1906 xii. 81 ff. fig. 2 b). Mr Droop

transformed into spit-rests (*kratēntai*)<sup>1</sup>, andirons, or altar-fenders by successive generations of practical folk (figs. 379<sup>2</sup>, 380<sup>3</sup>).

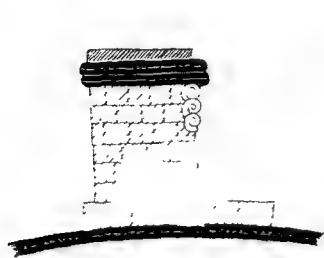


Fig. 381.



Fig. 382.

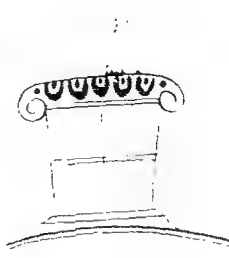


Fig. 383.

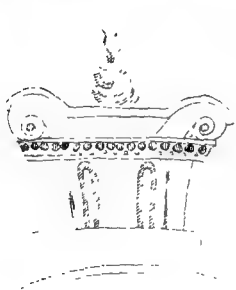


Fig. 384.

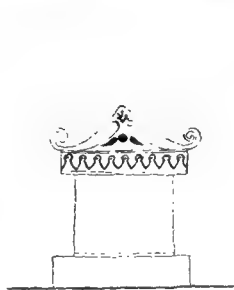


Fig. 385.



Fig. 386.

writes: 'The temptation is strong to see in the table and triangle a horned altar, but the hatched triangle is frequently used to fill vacant spaces, and appears for that purpose on this very vase, while the band of chevrons lower down, makes it doubtful if the table had any more significance.' Miss Harrison *Thoms* p. 76 ff. fig. 10 *b* has, however, gone far towards proving that the scene represented two tin-makers working their rattles before a sacred shield placed on an altar. If so, the interpretation of the triangles as horns becomes highly probable.

<sup>1</sup> Terra-cotta spit-rests from Thessaly of neolithic date have been described and figured by Ch. Tsountas *Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀποτοκτεῖς Διημερίων καὶ Σεπτελίων* Athens 1908 p. 222 ff. fig. 120 f. pl. 30, 1, 2; p. 347 f. figs. 276 f., A. J. B. Wace - M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 43 fig. 19, pp. 60 f., 73; p. 85. For bronze examples of the Hallstatt period, decorated with horned ox-heads etc. at either end, see M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der badnischen Kunst in Linz* Wien 1898 p. 443 fig. 137, p. 501 f. fig. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Detail of black-figured *pyxis* and of *kylix* found at Cuma in 1908 (E. Gabriel in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 124 ff. pl. 5), to which Miss Harrison kindly drew my attention.

<sup>3</sup> Detail of an Apulian *amphora* from Ruvo (Heydemann *Vasensammlung, Acropolis* p. 517 f. no. 3223; *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 43; E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 198 ff., O. Jahn *ib.* 1848 xv. 204 ff., Overbeck *Gall. der Bible* i. 735 f. Atlas pl. 30, 4; J. H. Huddellston *Greek Vase-Painting in the light of Vase-Paintings* London 1898 p. 127 ff. fig. 18). Archaic altars of this type have been found in south Italy and Sicily, e.g. the great ash-altar of Demeter at Schinous (K. Koldewey - O. Puchstein *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien* Berlin 1899 p. 84; E. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xvi. 94 f. fig. 30).

Similarly ram's horns affixed to an altar (fig. 381)<sup>1</sup> became volutes curving either downwards (figs. 382<sup>2</sup>, 383<sup>3</sup>, 384<sup>4</sup>) or upwards (fig. 385)<sup>5</sup>; and these volutes in turn were combined with a simple (fig. 385) or more elaborate pediment (fig. 386)<sup>6</sup> and treated as architectural *akrotéria*. The climax of magnificence is reached in the Ludovisi altar, which has both sculptured fenders and upturned decorative volutes<sup>7</sup>. The fenders, as viewed from the side, still bear some faint resemblance to the 'Minoan' altar-horns.

Here and there religious conservatism retained clearer traces of the old usage. The *keratón* at Delos was, according to Kallimachos, constructed by Apollon from the horns of the goats shot by Artemis on Mount Kynthos<sup>8</sup>; according to

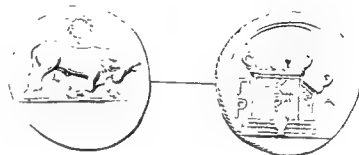


Fig. 387.

Plutarch, from left horns<sup>9</sup> or from right horns only<sup>10</sup>. Again, the Kabeiros of Thessalonike had a horn, which was either planted in the ground beside him<sup>11</sup> or fixed on a base resembling an altar<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From a 'Cacertan' *hydria* at Vienna (Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmaler* i. 255 ff. pl. 51). Cp. W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup> London 1907 p. 478 on the horns of sheep figured upon the *appt* of Tanit.

<sup>2</sup> From a late black-figured *amphora* at Berlin (Gerhard *Inschr. Vasenb.* iv. 51. pl. 241, 3 f.).

<sup>3</sup> From a red-figured *kantharos* by Nikosthenes at Boston (*Wien. Vorl. z. Gesch.* 1890—1891 pl. 7, 2).

<sup>4</sup> From a red-figured *kylix* by Hieron at Heidelberg (*Wien. Vorl. z. Gesch.* C pl. 2).

<sup>5</sup> From a red-figured *kalyx* formerly in the Camino collection (Gerhard *Inschr. Vasenb.* i. 96 ff. pl. 28).

Cp. the great altar of Demeter at Pergamon (W. Dörpfeld in the *Arch. Mitt.*, 1910 xxi. 374 ff. fig. 7 and pl. 18) with its finely curved upstanding 'horn' (F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 71 fig. 14), and the still greater altar built by Heimokreon at Parion in Mysia (Strab. 487, 588, Eustath. in II. p. 355, 15 f.) which appears on coppers of the town c. 350—300 B.C. or later (fig. 113; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 97 ff. pl. 21, 10—13, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 250 nos. 114—116, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 531).

<sup>6</sup> From a red-figured *kylix* by Hieron at Berlin (*Wien. Vorl. z. Gesch.* A pl. 4).

<sup>7</sup> F. Studniczka *loc. cit.* p. 76 f. figs. 16—17.

<sup>8</sup> Kallim. *h. Ap.* 60 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Plout. *z. Thes.* 21.

<sup>10</sup> Plout. *de sollert. an.* 35.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 108 fig. 79.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* p. 108 f. figs. 80, 81.

Cp. the single horns of stone found in a neolithic pillar-precinct at Telizzi in Apulia (A. Mosso and F. Samarelli in the *Nat. Scat.* 1910 p. 116 ff.), the single horns of earthenware found in several Sicilian burying-grounds or settlements—Castelluccio, Monteracello, etc.—of the chalcolithic age (Orsi 'Necropoli e Stationi Sicule di transizione' in the *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana Third Series* 1907 xxxiii. 92 ff.), and the single horns of earthenware found in a bronze-age sanctuary of the early Sicilians at Cannatello near Girgenti (A. Mosso in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1907 xviii. 573 ff., T. E. Peet *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* Oxford 1909 p. 451 ff. fig. 250).

The closest parallel to the Dinka bull-shrine is, however, to be sought, not in any artistic modification of the horned altar, but in an artless custom of the country-side. Antigonos of Karystos, c. 250 B.C. writes :

'In Egypt if you bury the ox in certain places, so that only its horns project above the ground, and then saw these off, they say that bees fly out : for the ox putrefies and is resolved into bees<sup>1</sup>.

This curious method of obtaining a swarm is often mentioned by classical authors, and lingered on through mediaeval times well into the sixteenth century<sup>2</sup>. The fullest account of it is given by Florentinus<sup>3</sup>, who begins by naming his authorities :

'Iobas king of the Libyans states that bees must be made in a wooden coffer : Demokritos and Varro in the Roman tongue state that they should be made in a house, which is even better.'

Then follows the *recipe* for making them. A fat bullock, thirty months old, is confined in a narrow chamber measuring ten cubits every way and pierced by a door and four windows. He is then beaten till bones and flesh alike are crushed, though blood must not be drawn. Next, every aperture in his body is stuffed up with pitched rags, and he is laid on a heap of thyme. The door and windows are plastered up with mud so as to exclude light and air. After three weeks the chamber is thrown open, but care must be taken not to admit a strong wind. When aired enough, the relics are fastened up as before and left for ten days longer. On the eleventh day clusters of bees will be found, while of the bullock nothing remains but horns, bones, and hair. 'King' bees come from the spinal marrow, or better still from the brain ; ordinary bees from the flesh. The main idea of this singular superstition is that the life of the bull passed into that of the bees<sup>4</sup>. As Ovid puts it,—

One life thus slain begat a thousand lives<sup>5</sup>.

The buried bull or bull-shrine, if we may so describe it, was in fact the centre of a vital force, which radiated outwards especially through the head and horns. If, as I am contending, some such custom is really presupposed by the horned altar of the Mediterranean peoples, we can understand why the suppliant clung to its horns<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq. hist. mir.* 19.

<sup>2</sup> W. Robert-Tornow *De apium multique apud veteres significatione, et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 pp. 19—28, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 8—10.

<sup>3</sup> *Geopon.* 15. 2. 21 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 9 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ov. fast.* 1. 380 mille animas una necata dedit.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Kings 1. 50, 51. 2. 28.

or offered sacrifice<sup>1</sup> and prayer<sup>2</sup> holding it as by a handle. He was thereby himself filled with the life of the divine beast. Moreover, the frequent practice of affixing a *bucranium* to the altar or carving *bucrania* upon it<sup>3</sup> is seen to be highly appropriate, if not actually reminiscent of its origin.

The foregoing method of procuring bees from a bull was believed by the ancients to have come from Egypt or Libye. We may therefore venture to compare with it a remarkable scene depicted in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* (fig. 388)<sup>4</sup>. According to Dr Budge, Hathor the cow-goddess of the Underworld looks out through a clump of papyrus-plants from the funeral mountain, at the foot of which is the tomb. Now it is highly probable that such vignettes were originally inspired by actual custom. And Mr F. W. Green kindly informs me that at *Deir el Bahri* the relative positions of Hathor-shrine, mountain, and tombs agree well with those here represented<sup>5</sup>. The divine cow buried in the earth, but yet looking forth upon the world and by her own peculiar virtue causing fresh vegetation to spring up, thus furnishes an exalted parallel to the humbler rite of the buried bull and its resultant swarms.

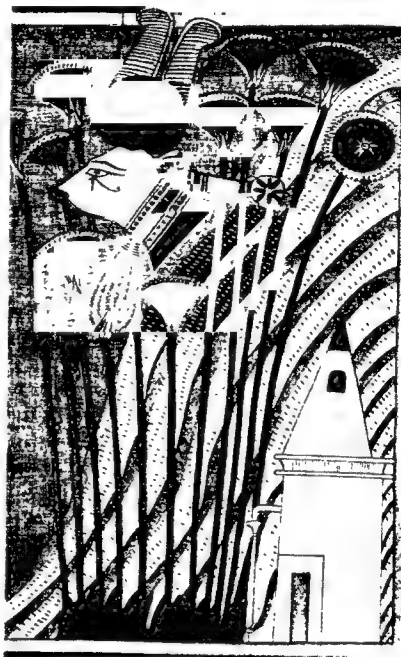


Fig. 388.

<sup>1</sup> Varr. *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 2. 8 inde Varro Divinarum libro quinto dicit aras primum aras dictas, quod esset necessarium a sacrificantibus eas teneri: ansis autem teneri solere vasa quis dubitet? Cp. interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 219. Varro's etymology is of course faulty, but his facts are sound.

<sup>2</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 6. 124 talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat (cp. 4. 219. 12. 201) with Serv. *ad loc.* rogabant enim deos ararum ansas tenentes. For other examples see the *Theb. Ling. Lat.* ii. 386, 7 ff. <sup>3</sup> E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 351.

<sup>4</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani*<sup>2</sup> London 1894 pl. 37, *id.* *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 430 pl. 18, cp. Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* pp. 896, 898 f. pls. 321, 1. 323.

<sup>5</sup> Mr H. R. Hall points out to me that Mr Somers Clarke (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1905 xxxii. 179) has explained the pyramidal tomb-chapel in the vignette as copied from a pyramid at *Deir el Bahri*, which was especially connected with Hathor-worship, and the hills as being the cliffs of the same locality.



To the same cycle of ideas belongs the Mithraic sacrifice of a bull (fig. 389, 390)<sup>1</sup>. Mithras—whose myth has been largely



Fig. 389

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 389 and 390 are the front and back of a Mithraic altar-piece found in 1826 in the Heidenfeld near Heddenheim and now preserved in the Museum at Wiesbaden (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figures relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles (1896) II, 362 ff. fig. 248 pls. 7 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* II, 3050 ff. figs. 6 f., *id.* in Darow, *berg Sagho Diet. Ant.* III, 1950 fig. 5088, *id.* *Die Mysterien des Mithras*<sup>2</sup> trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 pl. 3, 1).

Fig. 389 = *Front*. (a) In a recess representing the cave Mithras slays the bull, accompanied by dog with collar and crow perched on fluttering mantle. A scorpion nips the testicles of the bull. A snake would drink from a *krater* placed below the bull's belly and guarded by a lion. To right and left are Cautes and Cautopates with raised and lowered torches—a duplication of Mithras himself (Dionys. Areop. *epist.* 7 τοῦ τροπασίου Μιθροῦ). Behind Cautes is a tree with a snake coiled round it. (b) Above the cave are the twelve signs of the zodiac, from Aries to Pisces. (c) In the spandrels Mithras in oriental dress and Phrygian cap shoots an arrow towards another personage



Fig. 390.

wearing Phrygian cap and kneeling in front of rock. (*d*) Higher up an oblong space shows four scenes separated by three cypresses: Mithras appearing out of the foliage of a tree (cypress?); Mithras dragging the bull by its hind legs, while a snake threatens its muzzle; Mithras extending his hand towards the radiate crown on the head of Sol (hands broken); Sol with radiate *nimbus* (traces visible) kneeling before Mithras (body restored). (*e*) The top member of the frame has three cypresses enclosing two scenes: Sol standing in his chariot (horses and rocks restored) extends his hand to Mithras, who is about to mount the chariot. Luna reclining in her chariot is drawn by two horses down a rocky slope. (*f*) The angles of the frame contain medallions of four wind-gods—winged heads, of which three at least are bearded and one, if not more, ejects a cone of wind from his lips. (*g*) Below the upper and above the lower medallions are the four seasons: on the left above, Spring with rose-wreaths in hair and round neck; on the right above, Summer with band round brow; on the right below, Autumn with wreath of corn (?) and flowers and fruit in bosom (?); on the left below, Winter with covered head. (*h*) Between Winter and Spring are two scenes: below, a bearded figure resting on rocks (Oceanus?); above, a bearded figure with *chlamys* on left arm and elongated object (stick? sword? thunderbolt?) in right hand advancing towards rock or shapeless person (Jupiter and Giant?). Between Summer and Autumn are two more scenes.

reconstructed from his monuments<sup>1</sup>—was bidden by the raven, messenger of the Sun, to slay the great bull that had escaped from his cave. Reluctantly he went in pursuit and caught the bull just as it re-entered the cave. Closing its nostrils with his left hand, with his right he plunged a knife deep into its flank. Thereupon wonders ensued. Fresh forms of life sprang from the body of the dying beast. Corn arose from its spinal marrow—witness the bunch of corn-ears at the end of its tail. A vine grew from its blood. The one plant furnished the mystics with bread, the other with wine. In vain did the emissaries of darkness, the scorpion, the ant, and the snake, attack the moribund monster, fastening on its genitals or seeking to drain its blood. The seed of the bull, collected and purified by the Moon, begat all manner of serviceable creatures; and its soul, guarded by Mithras' faithful hound, ascended to heaven, where under the name of Silvanus it became the protector of all flocks and herds. In short, the death of the bull meant new life to the world at large<sup>2</sup>.

Before passing from the present section we must face one outstanding difficulty. We have been maintaining that the horned altar of the Mediterranean originated as the shrine of a buried beast. It may be objected that, on this showing, the altar—hardly to be distinguished from the divinity dwelling in it—was at one time the actual object of cult.

That is a conclusion from which in fact we must not shrink.

above, Mithras as a child emerging from rock (hands lost); below, Mithras as a youth advancing to seize the branches of a bush, of which the lower part is seen.

Fig. 390 = *Bull.* (a) In the recess representing the cave the bull lies dead. Behind it stand two figures—on the left Mithras in oriental dress and Phrygian cap holding a horn, on the right Sol with long hair, *chlamys*, belt, etc. carrying a whip. Sol holds out a big bunch of grapes to Mithras, who raises his hand in adoration. Between them a Phrygian cap, surrounded by a circlet with seven rays (in part restored), rests on a pole. To right and left of the bull are two children in oriental dress and Phrygian caps bearing baskets of fruit (the child on the left almost entirely modern). (b) Above the cave is a scene now much damaged. In the centre a male figure, probably Silvanus, stands erect (lower half can be traced); and about him are grouped, from left to right, various animals—boar, hound, horse (hoof and part of leg visible), sheep (?), hound, hound, bull.

This relief was originally so mounted as to turn about in its three-sided frame on two iron pivots. Hence the absence of decoration on the back of the frame

<sup>1</sup> E. Cumont *Traité et monuments* etc. i. 159 ff. in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3050 ff. in Daremberg *Saglio Dict. Ant.* iii. 1053, *Die Mysterien des Mithras*<sup>2</sup> p. 118 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Porphy. *de antro. nymph.* 18 σελήνην τε οὖσαν γενέσεως προστάτιδα μέλισσαν ἐκάλουν ἄλλως τε· καὶ ἐπεί ταῦρος μὲν σελήνη καὶ ἑψώμα σελήνης ὁ ταῦρος, βοιγενεὶς δ' αἱ μέλισσαι. καὶ ψυχὰι δ' εἰς γένεσιν ἰοῦσαι βοιγενεῖς, καὶ βοικλόπος θεὸς ὁ τὴν γένεσιν λεληθότως ἀκούων. The parallelism between the procreation of bees from a bull and the Mithraic myth is here distinctly recognised.

W. Robertson Smith<sup>1</sup> long since pointed out that in the Semitic area 'the sacred stone is altar and idol in one,' citing *inter alia* Porphyrios' strange account of the worship at Dûmat:

'The Dumatenes in Arabia used every year to sacrifice a boy and to bury him beneath an altar, which they treat as an image<sup>2</sup>.'

Even more explicit is the divinity of the altar in the cult of certain Syrian gods. A long day's march west of Aleppo rises a bare and almost conical mountain known to the Greeks as Koryphe<sup>3</sup> and to the modern inhabitants as *Djebel Shékh Berckât*. On the summit is a levelled precinct *c.* 68 metres square, enclosing the tomb of the Mohammedan saint who has dispossessed the former occupants of the site. The walls of the precinct bear on their outer surface dedicatory inscriptions, nine of which, ranging in date from *c.* 70 to *c.* 120 A.D., were copied by an American archaeological expedition in 1899—1900<sup>4</sup>. The votive formula is:

'To Zeus *Madbachos* and to Selamanes, gods of the country.'

Already in 1897 Prof. C. Clermont-Ganneau<sup>5</sup>, though hampered by inexact transcripts, had with the utmost acumen divined the true meaning of both names. He compared Selamanes with the Assyrian god Šalmānu and the Phoenician Šlmn, the 'Peaceful or Peace-bringing One'. And he suggested that *Madbachos*, if that were the right spelling, might be connected with the Aramaic *madbah*, 'altar'. He even ventured to add that, if so, Zeus *Madbachos* would be the Syrian equivalent of a Greek Zeus *Bomós*, a god identified with his own altar. Three years later this hypothetical deity was actually found. A day's journey south of

<sup>1</sup> W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup> London 1907 p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Porph. *de abst.* 2. 56 καὶ Δουματηνοὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας κατ' ἔτος ἑκάστον ἔθνον παῖδα, ὃν ὑπὸ βωμῶν ἔθαπτον. ᾧ χρῶνται ὡς εἰκόνα. Perhaps we may cp. Paus. 2. 32. 7 (between Troizen and Hermione) πέτρα Θησέως ὀνομαζομένη, μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἀνελομένη Θησέως ἐπ' αὐτῇ κρητὶδας τὰς Αἰγέως καὶ ξίφος· πρότερον δὲ βωμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διὸς

<sup>3</sup> Theodoret. *relig. hist.* 4 (lxxxii. 1340 Migne).

<sup>4</sup> H. C. Butler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1900 iv. 434 f., W. K. Prentice *ib.* 1902 vi. 27 f. and more fully in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 91--120 with ground-plan, figs., etc.

<sup>5</sup> Διὶ Μαδβάχω καὶ Σελαμανεὶ, πατρώοις θεοῖς (so inscr. nos. 1, 2: nos. 5, 7, 8 have θεοῖς πατρώοις. nos. 3, 4? omit θεοῖς. no. 9 omits both θεοῖς and πατρώοις).

<sup>6</sup> C. Clermont-Ganneau *Études d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1897 ii. 35—54 especially p. 49 n. 2, *id.* *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1901 iv. 164 f.

<sup>7</sup> So too G. Hoffmann in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* vi. 246, E. Littmann *ap.* W. K. Prentice in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 117 f., O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 641.

<sup>8</sup> So too E. Littmann *ap.* W. K. Prentice *loc. cit.* p. 118, M. Lidzbarski in the *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 1908 ii. 81, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 639, L. R. Faunell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1909 p. 61, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 723 n. 7.

*Djebel Shékh Berekât* is a place called *Burdj Bâkirhâ*, situated at the northern end of *Djebel Bârîshâ*. Here was once a fine Roman temple, built in the time of the Antonines; and a few paces to the east of it are the foundations of a very ancient altar. Temple and altar were enclosed by a precinct-wall, now almost wholly destroyed. On the lintel of the precinct-door Dr F. Littmann deciphered a dedication to Zeus *Bomós*<sup>1</sup>, the god whose existence was postulated by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau.

Zeus *Bomós*, no doubt, was the Grecised form of a Syrian god. But the Hellenic Zeus too was here and there believed to inhabit a hewn slab or pillar of stone, e.g. at Sikyon, in Arkadia, at Tarentum<sup>2</sup>. The Frontispiece of this volume will serve to show

<sup>1</sup> Διὶ Βωμῷ μεγάλῳ ἐπηκόῳ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης καὶ Χαλβίων οἱ Μαρίωνος τὸν πάλῳ ἀνέστησαν ἔτους ἀπο ποικίλων μειθόν ἔτους θός. Γορπιαίων (W. K. Prentice in *Herod.* 1902 LVIII. 118).

<sup>2</sup> In dealing with aniconic representations of Zeus as a stone we must carefully distinguish artificial from natural forms. This distinction is not well observed by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 3 ff. or even by Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* i. 102 ff., though it is rightly emphasised by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup> London 1907 p. 206 f.

The statement of Maximus Tyrus that the earliest men dedicated mountain-tops—Olympos, Idc, etc.—as ἀγάλματα to Zeus (*supra* p. 102 n. 5) may be an erroneous inference from the fact that Zeus was worshipped on such high-places, or a generalisation from the case of Mt Argaios (*ib.*). There is, however, good evidence for the identification of natural stones, probably meteorites, with Zeus: e.g. the stone near Gythion called Zeus Καπνώτας (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (f)); the stone at Delphi said to have been swallowed by Kronos in place of Zeus (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (d)); the stone of Llagabulos, the god of Lamea in Syria, who was regarded as a solar Zeus or Jupiter (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (c)).

Among artificially-shaped stones we may notice several types—the pillar, the pyramid, the pyramid on a pillar, the *omphalos*.

Zeus is represented on Apulian vases by a pillar pure and simple (*supra* p. 36 fig. 9), or by a pillar inscribed ΔΙΟΣ (*supra* p. 36 ff. pl. m). This presumably had behind it long-standing local tradition; for it is known that Zeus Καραϊστῆρης had a pillar-cult at Tarentum in very early times (*infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (d)). Cp. also an Apulian bell-krater (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 42 no. F 62) on which is a stepped *stèle* bearing the inscription ΤΕΡΜΩΝ, i.e. Zeus Τέρμων as the equivalent of Jupiter *Terminus* (Plout. v. *Nim.* 16 with Plat. *h.g.* 842 f f., Dem. *d. Halonnes.* 39 f. - *Anth. Pal.* 9. 786).

Zeus Μειλίχιος at Sikyon was a mere pyramid (Paus. 2. 9. 6 ἔστι δὲ Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος καὶ Ἀρτεμὶς ὀνομαζομένη Πατρώα, σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα οὐδεμὶ πύραμίδι δὲ ο Μειλίχιος, ἥ δὲ λίον ἐστὶν εἰκασμένη); cp. the conical stone inscribed ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΗΛΩΣΙΟΥ at Korkyra (*supra* p. 164 n. 5) and the bronze pyramids of Jupiter *Dolichenus* (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (θ)).

Zeus Στροπῆος (A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1906 p. 63 f. fig., K. A. Rhomaïos *ib.* 1911 p. 150 fig. 1, *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (ε)), Zeus Πάσιος (K. A. Rhomaïos *loc. cit.* p. 152 fig. 7), and Zeus Πατρώος (*ib.* p. 153 fig. 9) were, like other Arcadian deities, represented at Tegea by small pyramids surmounting four-sided pillars of Doliana marble: these pillars are inscribed ΔΙΟΣΣΤ | ΟΡΠΑΟ, ΔΙΟΣΠΑ | ΣΙΟ, and ANTIO | ΧΟΣΚΑ ΔΑΜΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΔΙΙΠΑ ΤΡΩΙΩ

## Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete 521

how such beliefs lingered on into our own era. Behind the god as portrayed by latter-day Pompeian art still stands the squared block from which in a sense he has emerged. That block was once his vehicle, his seat, his abode, for all practical purposes his embodiment. As time went on, the sacred stone was differentiated into a variety of distinct forms, to each of which was assigned its separate use. It did duty as the god's altar<sup>1</sup>. It was modified into his throne<sup>2</sup>. It survived as a perch for his eagle<sup>3</sup>, or as a pedestal for his statue<sup>4</sup>. But from first to last it was, strictly interpreted, the place where Zeus was to be found rather than the very Zeus himself. The distinction might indeed be overlooked by the vulgar; but it was vital to the progress of religion.

### xviii. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete.

If the bull that consorted with Pasiphae stood for the sun, Pasiphae herself, concealed in her wooden cow<sup>5</sup>, stood for the moon. Plutarch<sup>6</sup> informs us that at Thalamai—a frontier town between Messene and Lakonike—there was a sanctuary and oracle of in lettering of the fifth century B.C., of the third or perhaps late fourth century B.C., and of the end of the second century A.D., respectively. A triple ionic herm at Tegea is inscribed ZEYΣ || ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝ || ΔΑΜ[A]. THP in lettering of the first century A.D. (*ibid.* p. 156 f. fig. 12). The pyramid-on-pillar is obviously tantamount to the ionic herm.

In the east we find omphaloid stones regarded as Zeus: e.g. the *omphalos* of Zeus *Karios* at Seleucia Pieria (Append. B Syria); that of Zeus (?) at Chalkis sub Labano (Append. B Syria); that of Zeus *Ἀμμων*, the Semitic character of which has been already discussed (*supra* p. 355 ff.).

It would seem, then, that the genuinely Greek forms of amonic Zeus included (a) natural stones such as meteorites, and (b) artificially-shaped stones of certain definite types—the pillar, the pyramid, and a combination of the two.

<sup>1</sup> E. Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Em.* i. 1642. An instructive case is that of Zeus *Karaidárης* at Tarentum (*infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ)).

<sup>2</sup> See W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 pp. 38—50 ('Altare als Throne'). Cp. Jupiter seated on a pillar (*supra* p. 62 fig. 38) and Zeus *Δίκαιος* seated on his altar (*supra* p. 93 fig. 65). A comic scene depicted on a bell-krater from Apulia (L. Stephani *Parerga archaologica* St Petersburg 1851—1876 no. 18, F. Wieseler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859 xxx. 379 ff. pl. N, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 302. 2, W. Reichel *op. cit.* p. 42 fig. 12) shows Zeus sitting on his altar and threatening with uplifted bolt Herakles, who stands before him greedily eating the fruit that he ought to be presenting—a painful contrast to the pious personage, who is pouring a libation on the altar to the night.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 34 f. pl. ii (well-mouth at Naples), p. 35 n. 6 fig. 8 (paste at Berlin), pp. 66, 83 pl. viii (pillars on Mt Lykaon).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. *supra* p. 38 f. pl. iv. 1, p. 39 n. 2 pl. iv. 2 (Apulian vase in British Museum), p. 39 pl. v (Apulian vase in Soane Museum), p. 39 f. fig. 11 (Campanian vase at Dresden), p. 279 n. 4 fig. 206 (red-figured vase at Bonn).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 464 f.

<sup>6</sup> Plout. *v. Agid.* 9.

## 522 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

Pasiphaa, whom some took to be a daughter of Atlas and mother by Zeus of Ammon, while others identified her with Kasandra the daughter of Priam who had died there and been called *Pasiphua*, 'She that gives light to all,' because she gave to all her oracular responses<sup>1</sup>. Plutarch adds that, according to Phylarchos<sup>2</sup>, Daphne the daughter of Amyklas when fleeing from the embraces of Apollon was changed into a laurel (*daphne*) and received the gift of prophecy: it is implied, though not stated, that *Pasiphua* was an epithet of the illuminating Daphne. Pausanias still further complicates the case by speaking of the oracle as that of Ino<sup>3</sup>. It seems clear that the Laconian Pasiphaa was an ancient oracular goddess, whose nature had been so far forgotten that it had become possible to identify her with a variety of better-known mythological characters. Fortunately for our understanding of the facts Pausanias, an honest eye-witness, goes on to describe the sacred precinct:

'Two bronze statues stand there in the open air, one of them a statue of Pasiphae<sup>4</sup>, the other of Helios: the statue in the temple itself could not be seen clearly owing to its wreaths, but this too is said to be of bronze. There is also a sacred spring of water that is sweet to drink. Pasiphae is not a local deity of Thalamai but an epithet of Selene<sup>5</sup>.'

This is in all probability the truth of the matter. The statues of Pasiphae and Helios were statues of the moon-goddess and the sun-god<sup>6</sup>. When, therefore, in the Cretan myth, the 'bull of dazzling whiteness'<sup>7</sup> approached Pasiphae in her cow, we are justified in supposing a union between the sun and the moon.

Behind the myth, as is so often the case, we may detect a ritual performance, in which the Cnossian queen actually placed within a wooden cow was symbolically married to a bull representing the sun-god<sup>8</sup>. We know, at least, that in the territory of the Cnossians,

<sup>1</sup> By means of incubation (Plout. 7, *Chom.* 7, Cic. *de divin.* 1. 96). See further Tert. *de anim.* 46, Aristox. Tarent. *frag.* 76 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* II. 288 Muller) ap. Apollon. Dysk. *hist. mir.* 49.

<sup>2</sup> Phylarch. *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* I. 342 Muller), cp. Parthen. *nov. am.* 15 lemma.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 3. 26. 1, where for 'Ino's Wolff *de notissima oraculorum aetate* p. 31 ff. would read 'Iof's.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscript reading Παφίης Παφίη was corrected by Cameronius to Πασιφάης Πασιφάη. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 156 n. 6 defends the old reading on the ground that Pasiphae of Thalamai was a lunar Aphrodite, cp. Lyd. *de mon.* 4. 64 p. 117, 12 l. Wunsch καλεῖται δὲ (ἡ Ἀφροδίτη) πολλαχοῦ καὶ Πασιφάη, ἡ πᾶσι ἐπαφείσα τὴν ἡδονήν. Aristot. *mun. anim.* 133 Κιθάρη Πασιφαισση κ.τ.λ.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 3. 26. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Maximus *περι καταρχῶν* 146 πασιφάης πανδία Σελήνη, Orph. *h. Hel.* 8. 14 ('Ἥλιε) εὐδία, πασιφάης, κόσμον τὸ περιδρομον ὄμμα. See H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 57 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 467.

<sup>8</sup> This view, which I put forward in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 412, was adopted in 1905 by Dr J. G. Frazer (*Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 175). In 1911, however, Dr Frazer

## Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete 523

near the river Theren, there was in historical times a sanctuary, at which once a year the people of the district assembled to offer a solemn sacrifice and to celebrate with ancient mimetic rites the marriage of two divinities then described as Zeus and Hera<sup>1</sup>. I would suggest that the later union of Zeus with Hera<sup>2</sup> had here taken the place of an earlier ceremony, the ritual pairing of the solar bull with the lunar cow.

That a queen should submit to being enclosed in a wooden cow will not surprise those who are familiar with primitive religious rites. In view of the similarity existing between Cretan and Egyptian bull-worship it is to be noted that the queens of Egypt were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophagi, being thus made one with Hathor the cow-goddess<sup>3</sup>. Herodotos<sup>4</sup>, for example, describes how Mykerinos (*Men-kau-Râ*), a king of the fourth dynasty, when his daughter, an only child, died, buried her in a hollow wooden cow. This cow stood, or rather knelt, in a decorated chamber of the royal palace at Sais, its head and neck thickly plated with gold, and the rest of its body covered with a scarlet cloak. Between its horns was a golden disk to imitate the sun; and once a year, when the Egyptians made mourning for a certain god, presumably Osiris, the cow was brought out into the light, for the princess on her death-bed had besought her father that once a year she might look upon the sun. Whether the 'Minoans' ever assimilated their dead rulers to bulls and cows we do not know, though it has been conjectured by Mr B. Staes that the splendid silver cow's head with golden horns and a gold-plated rosette between them, found in the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai, was originally affixed to the exterior surface of a wooden coffin<sup>5</sup>.

In various parts of the world it has been held that the stars are the children of the sun and moon<sup>6</sup>. This view perhaps obtained in

improved upon it by pointing out that Pasiphae was not, as I had described her, the representative of 'a sky-goddess or sun-goddess,' but rather, as others had seen, the representative of the moon (*Golden Bough*<sup>7</sup>: The Dying God p. 71 n. 2).

<sup>1</sup> Diod. 5. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* ch. iii § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. R. Lepsius *Die Chronologie der Ägypter* Berlin 1849 i. 309 n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. 2. 129 ff.

<sup>5</sup> B. Staes *Περὶ τῆς χρήσεως Μυκηναϊκῶν τινῶν κοσμημάτων* in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1907 pp. 31–60 fig. 12.

<sup>6</sup> E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture* London 1891 i. 356 (the Mintra of the Malay Peninsula, the Ho of Chota-Nagpore in north east India). P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 10 (Tréguier). My friend the Rev. J. Roscoe informs me that a similar belief occurs among the Baganda of central Africa. W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3198 cites further parallels from A. Schleicher in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe* 1853 xi. 99, T. Waitz—G. Gerland *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1872 vi. 266, W. Mannhardt in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1875 vii. 303.



## 524 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

Crete; for the Minotaur, offspring of the solar bull and the lunar cow, was—as we have said<sup>1</sup>—named *Astérios* or *Asterion*, ‘the Starry.’

Dr J. G. Frazer, following K. Hoeck<sup>2</sup> and W. H. Roscher<sup>3</sup>, holds that the same custom of sun-and-moon marriage is attested on the one hand by the myth of Zeus and Europe, on the other by that of Minos and Britomartis or Diktyнна :

‘The moon rising from the sea was the fair maiden Europa coming across the heaving billows from the far eastern land of Phoenicia, borne or pursued by her suitor the solar bull. The moon setting in the western waves was the coy Britomartis or Diktyнна, who plunged into the sea to escape the warm embrace of her lover Minos, himself the sun. The story how the drowning maiden was drawn up in a fisherman’s net may well be, as some have thought, the explanation given by a simple seafaring folk of the moon’s reappearance from the sea in the east after she had sunk into it in the west<sup>4</sup>.’

But here, as it seems to me, more caution is needed. I do not deny that ultimately both Europe and Diktyнна came to be regarded as moon-goddesses—the former through the influence of Phoenician religion, the latter by assimilation to the lunar aspect of Artemis. But I do deny that originally and essentially either Europe or Diktyнна stood for the moon. The matter is one that in this connexion must be further investigated.

Europe bore to Zeus a son Dodon<sup>5</sup> or Dodonos<sup>6</sup>, the eponym of Dodona. This implies that there was a recognised similarity between the cults of Crete and Epeiros, Zeus and Europe being the Cretan equivalents of Zeus *Náios* and his Dodonaean partner<sup>7</sup>. If so, Europe was at first a great earth-mother, who sent up vegetation from her home in the ground<sup>8</sup>. Strong support for this view is to be found in the fact that at Lebadeia in Boiotia those who went down into the oracular cave sacrificed not only to Trophonios and his sons, but also to Apollon, Kronos, Zeus

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 493 ff.

<sup>2</sup> K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1823 i. 90 ff., *ib.* 1828 ii. 170.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Roscher *Über Sonne und Verwandtes* (Studien zur griechischen Mythologie und Kulturgeschichte vom vergleichenden Standpunkte ix) Leipzig 1890 pp. 45 f., 116 ff., 128 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>1</sup>, The Dying God p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Akastodoros (*Frags. hist. Gr.* ii. 463 f. Muller) *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη*.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. T. V. *Il.* 16. 233.

<sup>7</sup> This was seen by J. Escher-Burkli in Pauly *Wissowa Real-Enc.* vi. 1287 f.; but this scholar went off on a wrong track, when he detected at Dodona the cult of a divine pair *Εὐρώπη* and *Εἰρώπη*.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. 10. 12. 10 (in the chant of the Dodonaean priestesses) *Γὰ καρποῖς ἀνίει, διὸ κλῆθετε μητέρα Γαῖαν*, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 179 f.

Dr L. R. Farnell likewise concludes that Europe was ‘the Cretan earth-goddess’ (*Cults of Grk. States* ii. 479), ‘the Eteocretan earth-goddess’ (*ib.* ii. 632), later assimilated to Astarte.

## Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete 525

*Basileús*, Hera *Henióche*, 'and to Demeter, whom they surname *Európe*, declaring that she is the nurse of Trophonios<sup>1</sup>.'

Moreover, the little that we know of Europe's own cult fully bears out her chthonian and vegetative character. She had a festival in Crete, the *Hellotia*, at which a garland of myrtle, twenty cubits in circumference, was carried in procession. It was said to contain the bones of Europe, and like Europe herself was called *Hellotis*<sup>2</sup>. This enormous wreath was clearly some sort of May-garland, probably, as Dr M. P. Nilsson conjectures, with a puppet inside it<sup>3</sup>. Now we have already seen that in Greece such garlands are burnt on the Midsummer bonfire<sup>4</sup>. It is therefore noteworthy that at Corinth, where the same festival was attached to the cult of Athena, tradition tells of a fire on to which a certain *Hellotis* flung herself and her little sister *Chryse*<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 9. 39. 5 *Δήμητρι ἣν ἐπονοάζοντες Εὐρώπην τοῦ Τροφωνίου φασὶν εἶναι τροφόν*.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. 678 A—B *Σελευκος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις ἐλλωτίδα καλεῖσθαι φησι τὸν ἐκ μυρρίνης πλεκόμενον στέφανον, ὄντα τὴν περίμετρον πηχῶν εἰκοσι, πομπενεὺν τε ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐλλωτίων ἑορτῇ. φασὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὀστέα κομιζεσθαι, ἣν ἐκαλον Ελλωτίδα ἀρεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὰ Ἑλλώτια. Cp. Hesych. s.vv. Ἑλλώτια, ἐλλωτίς*.

<sup>3</sup> Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 96 remarks that this can hardly be a case of actual bones carried in procession, and suggests that originally a puppet or *vélon* called *Hellotis* was concealed in the wreath, which was later regarded as the relic of a dead heroine.

Farneil *Cults of Gr. States* ii. 479 'as the Cretan god dies, so his spouse, the earth-goddess, dies, for we hear of the funeral rites of Europa in the Corinthian festival of Ἑλλώτια.' More exactly, 'in the *Cretan* festival of Ἑλλώτια, which was celebrated also at Corinth.

F. Dammle in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1971 'In Gortyn feierte man unter dem Namen *Hellotia* der Europe ein Totenfest.' This unduly emphasises the funereal character of the rite, which in all probability involved not merely the death but also the rebirth of the vegetation goddess, laughter as well as tears.

The only other references to a definite cult of Europe in Crete are Dictys Cretensis i. 2 *ad eos re cognita omnes ex origine Europae, quae in ea insula summa religione colitur, confluent benigneque salutatos in templum deducunt. ibi multarum hostiarum more patris immolatione celebrata exhibitisque epulis large magnificeque cum laetitia suscipiebant tamen multo magis templi eius magnifica pulchritudine pretiosaque extimatione operum affliciebantur, insipientes repetentesque memoria singula quae ex Sidone a Phoenice patri eius atque nobilibus matronis transmissa magno tum decori erant, Solim. ii. 9 Gortynam amnis Ienaeus praeterfluit, quo Europam tanti dorso Gortynii ferunt vectitatum. Idem Gortyni et Adymnum colunt Europae fratrem: ita enim memorant, videtur hic et occurrit, sed die iam vespertino augustiore se facie visendum offerens (see K. Tumpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2261).*

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 338 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 56 gives various *aïtia* for the *Hellotia* of Athena *Hellotis*. Of these the oldest and most reliable (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 96) is the following: *Τιμανδρον θεγατέρας τέσσαρες Κορινθίαι· Ἑλλωτίς, Εὐρυτιώνη, Χρυσή, Κορυτώ. ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως τὴν νέαν τὴν Χρυσὴν ἡ Ἑλλωτίς ἀρπάσασα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἐνθα περικατάληπτος γενομένη ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ πῦρ. καθαρσία οὖν ἀγεται τῇ θεῇ, ἀπὸ αὐτῶν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλήτου ...? Ἑλλώτια καλοῦσιν. Cp. *cl. mag.* p. 332, 43 ff.*

Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 95 infers that a large puppet called *Hellotis* was burnt (or two large puppets, *Hellotis* and *Eurytion*) together with a small puppet called *Chryse*, and points

## 526 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

Europe, then, was a Cretan earth-goddess responsible for the vegetation of the year. Viewing her as such, we begin to understand better both her monuments and her myth. Artists innumerable represented her (pl. xxxii)<sup>1</sup> as she rode upon the divine bull<sup>2</sup>, clinging with one hand to his fertilising horn and holding in the other a flower, symbol of her own fertility. Theophrastos and later writers averred<sup>3</sup> that Zeus took her to wife on or under an evergreen plane-tree near Gortyna<sup>4</sup>: the exceptional foliage of the tree was attributed to the fecundity of the goddess.

out the resemblance of the rite to the Boeotian Daviala. He also notes the addition of Kotyto, a Thracian Artemis (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1399 f.), in whose cult there is evidence of a May-pole (Nilsson *loc. cit.* n. 2).

The cult of Athena Ελλωρίς at Marathon, mentioned by the schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 56 a. d. and *et. mag.* p. 332. 48 f., is attested by the calendar of the Attic Tetrapolis (J. de Protat *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 49 no. 26 B. 34 ff., 41 f., and p. 53).

<sup>1</sup> Of many possible illustrations (listed by L. Stephant in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 79 ff. Atlas pl. 3. 1870—1871 p. 181 ff. Atlas pl. 5. O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* with 10 plates Wien 1870. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 420—465 *Munz* taf. 6. 1—11. *Gemmentaf.* 5. 6—8. Atlas pl. 6. 7—22. pl. 7. 4—6. 22 f., J. Escher-Burkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1296—1298) I figure but one, the Europe-kylix at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 63 no. 208). This masterpiece, painted by an Attic artist c. 470 B.C., was found in 1811 A.D. still lying on a stone table in the *episthédomoi* of the temple of Aphana in Aigina. Here, as A. Furtwangler remarks, it may have been used for pouring a libation when Pindar's ode to the goddess (Paus. 2. 30. 3) was performed. O. Jahn published it in colour (*Die Entführung der Europa* p. 44 f. pl. 7. Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 428 ff. Atlas pl. 6. 19). Since his day the vase has suffered some further damage: the bracelet on Europe's right arm has disappeared; her golden flower is hardly to be traced; her right foot has gone; so have her golden earring and the golden balls hanging from her hair: the inscription  $\text{ΙΕΥΣ}$  is reduced to 1. What is left has been carefully redrawn by K. Reichhold for A. Furtwangler (*Aigina München* 1906 Text p. 498 f. fig. 406. F. Hauser in *Gr. Vasenmalerei* n. 283 ff. pl. 114. 1). I have had Jahn's colour-plate copied with the insertion of various details—the inner markings of the bull, etc.—first brought to light by Furtwangler and Reichhold.

The bull is black for aesthetic rather than religious reasons, and I doubt whether any mythological meaning attaches to the golden birds with which Europe's *pēplos* is adorned. The sea is simply omitted (contrast *infra* figs. 405. 414).

<sup>2</sup> H. Poincaré in the *Att. Myth.* 1910 xxv. 169 n. 2 hints that the key to the myth of Europe is furnished by certain Hittite cylinders, on which we see e.g. (a) a nude goddess holding a festoon as she stands on a recumbent bull with birds, hares, and a lion grouped around and a worshipper kneeling on either side of her (W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ.* 1899 iii. 27 fig. 34); (b) a nude goddess holding a festoon as she stands on a recumbent bull, the halter of which is in the hands of a god grasping a club and a crook and treading upon mountain-tops (W. H. Ward *Cylinders and other ancient seals in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan* New York 1909 pl. 31. 237). The latter design suggests that the bull belonged to the god, not to the goddess.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. R. C. Bosanquet tells me, on the authority of F. Halbherr, that a single specimen of the evergreen plane is still growing in a village near Gortyna.

<sup>4</sup> Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 9. 5 *ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ λέγεται πλατάνον τινα εἶναι ἐν τῇ Γορτυναίᾳ πρὸς πηγῇ τινι, ἣ οὐ φυλλοβολεῖ· μυθολογοῦσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ (sic codd., ὑπὸ c). Hemsterhuis) ταύτῃ ἐμύγη τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὁ Ζεὺς· τὰς δὲ πλησίον πάσας φυλλοβολεῖν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐν*





Zeus and Europe  
on a white-ground *kylix* at Munich

*See page 126 n. 1.*



## Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete 527

Coins of Gortyna from c. 430 B.C. onwards show a goddess seated in a tree, one of the most charmingly picturesque figures to be found in the whole field of ancient numismatics. Most scholars have concluded, and concluded rightly, that this can be none other than Europe, the bride of Zeus<sup>1</sup>. She is, however, seated not

Κυπρῷ πλάτανος εἶναι τοιαύτη, Varr. *arr. rust.* 1. 7, 6 itaque Cretae ad Cortyniam dicitur platanus esse, quae folia hieme non amittat, itemque in Cypro, ut Theophrastus ait, una, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 11 est Gortynae in insula Creta iuxta fontem platanus una insignis utriusque linguae monumentis, numquam folia dimittens, statimque ei Graeciae fabulositas superiunt Iovem sub ea cum Europa concubuisse, cum vero non alia eiusdem generis esset in Cypro. This last passage is quite misconceived by J. Escher-Burkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1290. 'Auf Kypros endlich war die Vermählung des Zeus mit F. lokalisiert (Plin. n. h. XII 11), und führte Zeus den Beinamen Εἰλητι (= 'Ελλώτιος? Hesych.).' As to Hesych. Εἰλητι 'Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ, Favorin. *la.* p. 574, 48 f. Εἰλητιος Ζεὺς, ἐν Κύπρῳ, quot capita tot sententiae; see J. Alberti and M. Schmidt on the Hesychian gloss, also O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 112.

Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 iii. 184 Migne) Εὐρώπη τῇ Φοῖνικος διὰ ταυροῦ συνῆλθεν (sc. ο Ζεὺς) stands alone. Whether it preserves an older form of the myth, or is due to the analogy of the Pasiphae-story, can hardly be determined.

<sup>1</sup> So e.g. W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. pp. xxiv, 37 ff., P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* p. 165, G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 184 ff. (Europa?), Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 466 l. Mr G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 163 says cautiously 'the Cretan goddess seated in her tree.'

The chief dissentient is Mr J. N. Svoronos, who in the *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894 p. 113 ff. argues that the coins in question illustrate a myth preserved by Kallim. *h. Artem.* 189 ff. Britomartis, a Gortynian nymph in the train of Artemis, was loved by Minos, and, being pursued by her lover, took refuge *λασισθῆν ἐπὶ δρυσί*. When after a nine months' chase he was about to seize her, she plunged from a height into the sea; and, being caught by the nets of the fishermen, was thenceforward called Diktyna, while the height was named Mt Dikte. The latter part of this tale is aetiological and late. Mr Svoronos thinks that the earlier version of it can be restored from the coin-types: Minos, taking upon him the form of an eagle, wooed and won his oak-nymph in a Cretan oak. This reconstruction is supported by two main considerations. On the one hand, Mr Svoronos regards Minos as a hypostasis of the Cretan Zeus, citing Echemenes *frag.* 1 (*Erzähl. hist. Gr.* iv. 403 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 601 E Ἐχεμένης γοῖν ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς οὐ τὸν Δία φησὶν ἀρπάσαι τὸν Γανυμήδην ἀλλὰ Μίνωα. On the other hand, Mr Svoronos believes that the tree on the coins is an oak; and here he is able to adduce the opinion not only of numismatists such as Prof. P. Gardner (*Types of Gr. Coins* p. 166 'seriated leaves as of oak') and Messrs F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller (*Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 63 'Der Baum sieht mehr einer Linde als einer Platane ähnlich'), but also of Mr Spyridion Miliarakis, Professor of Botany at Athens, who states that 'les feuilles des arbres qui sont les mieux représentées de toutes, ainsi que tout le reste, laissent reconnaître facilement à toute personne qui connaît les arbres de la Grèce, que ce n'est pas un platane, mais bien un chêne (δρῦς).'

Mr Svoronos' view is attractive. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 404 f. I accepted it and argued further in its support. But I now believe that I was mistaken: (a) It is more likely that the coins of Gortyna would represent the famous union of Zeus with Europe, which took place under a neighbouring plane-tree, than the comparatively obscure pursuit of Britomartis by Minos, which—so far as our literary evidence goes—was connected with places remote from Gortyna and was never consummated in a marriage-union at all. (b) The supposed metamorphosis of Minos into an eagle is a matter of pure conjecture.

## 528 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

in a plane-tree, but on the crown of a pollard willow. The long serrated leaves (fig. 393), the small burgeoning catkins (fig. 396), the well-marked hollow in the bole (figs. 391 ff.), above all the

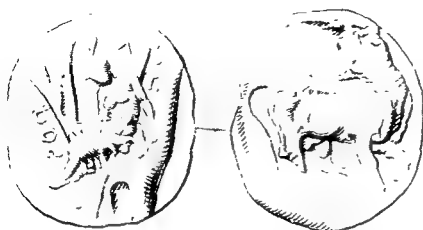


Fig. 391.



Fig. 392.

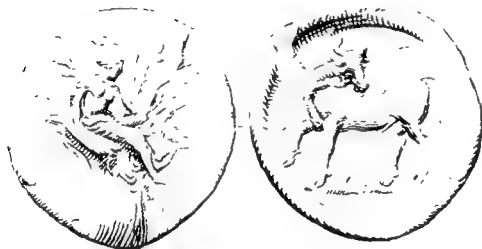


Fig. 393.



Fig. 394.

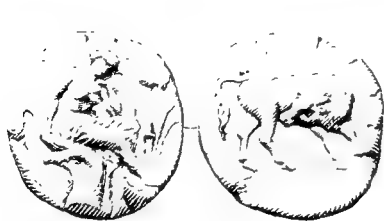


Fig. 395.



Fig. 396.

shock-head of slender shoots (fig. 394), which in some cases have obviously been lopped (figs. 397, 398), all go to confirm this identification<sup>1</sup>.

being nowhere mentioned by any classical author. (c) Well-preserved specimens of the coin, e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 38 pl. 9, 5 (my fig. 393), certainly show serrated leaves; but serrated leaves need not be oak-leaves.

<sup>1</sup> Since this paragraph was written, Mr L. J. Seltman informs me that he has always regarded the tree as an ancient willow. In such a matter the opinion of an experienced numismatist is worth more than that of a botanist. A botanical friend, whom I consulted, declared that the tree most nearly resembled a tree-fern.



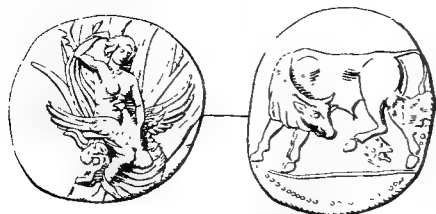


Fig. 397.

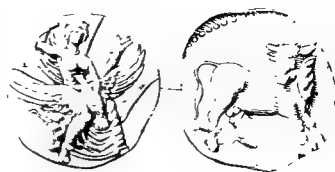


Fig. 398.

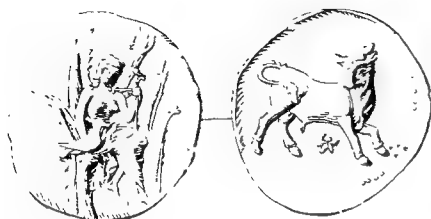


Fig. 399.



Fig. 400.

Doubtless the local die-sinker knew what he was about, and gave Europe the willow that belonged to her. Yet we need not tax Theophrastos, who spoke of a plane, with blundering. Both trees grow in damp marshy soil<sup>1</sup> and probably flourished side by side at Gortyna. A similar variation occurs in the case of another Cretan Zeus-cult; for, whereas Theophrastos mentions a fruitful poplar growing in the mouth of the Idaean Cave<sup>2</sup>, Pliny apparently regards it as a willow<sup>3</sup>. There was in fact special cause to connect Zeus with the willow in the neighbourhood of Gortyna. On Mount Ide he had been nursed by Helike<sup>4</sup>, whose name denoted

<sup>1</sup> Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 4. 2, cp. 3. 13. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4, cp. 2. 2. 10, Append. B Crete.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110, Append. B Crete.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 112 n. 3. Another account stated that Zeus was reared by the daughters of Olenos, two nymphs called Aiga and Helike; and that these persons respectively gave their names to Olenos in Aulis, Aiga in Haimonia, and Helike in the Peloponnese (Hyg. *fab. astr.* 2. 13; see B. Bunte *ad loc.*). E. Neustadt *De fide Cretica* Berlin 1906 p. 21 f. holds that this Helike was in Arkadia. But more probably Olenos, Aiga, and Helike were the eponyms of Olenos or Olene, Aiga or Aigai, and Helike in Achaia. An autonomous copper struck at Aigion in the same district shows (fig. 401) Zeus as an infant suckled by the she-goat Amaltheia between two trees with an eagle above him (Overbeck *Gr. Kunst-myth.* Zeus p. 327 f. Munztaf. 5. 1, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Pauc.* ii. 85 f. pl. R. 14, Muller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* 1. 58 f. pl. 5. 12, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 413); cp. Strab. 387 ἡ δ' Αἰγά (καὶ γὰρ οὕτω λέγονται τὰς Αἰγὰς) οὐκ οἰκεῖται, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἔχουσιν Αἰγίεις. Αἰγίων δὲ ἱκανῶς οἰκεῖται· ἰστοροῦσι δ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν Δία ὑπ' αἰγὸς ἀνατραφῆναι, καθάπερ φησὶ καὶ Ἀράτος· αἰεὶ ἱερὴ, τὴν μὲν τε λόγος Διὶ μαζὸν ἐπισχεῖν· ἐπιλέγει δὲ καὶ ὅτι



Fig. 401.

## 530 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

'Willow<sup>1</sup>.' And a nursling of the willow might naturally be mated with a willow-bride. If Europe was indeed a willow-goddess, she probably patronised basket-work; and the flower-basket that she herself bears is a significant attribute<sup>2</sup>. The Greek painter is

Ἰλνενην δέ υἱν αἶγα Διὸς καλέοισ' ὑποφῆται· δηλῶν τὸν τόπον, διότι πλυσίων Ἰλνῆν, abridged by Eustath. in *Il.* p. 292. 10 ff.

According to Hyg. *fah.* 139, Amaltheia as nurse of the infant Zeus in Crete hung his cradle on a tree, in order that he might not be found in heaven or on earth or in the sea, and, to prevent his cries from being heard, bade the young Kourctes clash their small bronze shields and spears round the tree. Unfortunately we are not told whether the tree in question was a willow. In a Czech tale the nymph of a willow-tree married a mortal and bore him children. One day the willow was cut down and the nymph died. But a cradle fashioned out of its wood had the power of lulling her babe to sleep (W. R. S. Ralston in the *Contemporary Review* 1878 i. 525, Mrs J. H. Philpot *The Sacred Tree* London 1897 p. 62). A Japanese tale likewise tells how Higo, the nymph of a willow-tree, weds Heitaro, a young farmer, and bears him a child Chiyodō, but vanishes when her tree is cut down (R. Gordon Smith *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan* London 1908 p. 12 ff., F. Hadland Davis *Myths & Legends of Japan* London 1912 p. 177 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 13. 7 καλοῖσι δὲ οἱ περὶ Ἀρκαδίαν οὐκ ἰτέαν ἄλλα ἐλικὴν τὸ δένδρον οἰόνται δὲ, ὡς περ ἐλέχθη, καὶ καρπὸν ἔχειν αὐτὴν γόνιμον.

<sup>2</sup> O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 23

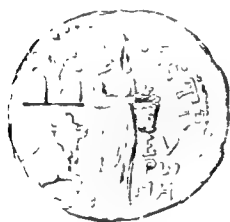


Fig. 402.

acutely surmised that Europe's basket was not a mere piece of prettiness but 'vielmehr ein Attribut von tieferer Bedeutung.' In addition to the *amphora* at St Petersburg and the passage from Moschos, he was able to cite from the Wabbeek collection at Arosen a copper of Tyre struck by Gallienus, on the reverse of which appears Europe with her basket (fig. 402). He noted also that a copper struck by Valerian with the same type had been sold at Berlin in 1845. An example of this latter coin now in the British Museum is, however, thus described by Mr G. F. Hill: 'Europa, wearing long chiton and himation, standing to front, holding

in l. a vase, r. hand on breast; on l., approaching her out of the water, forepart of a bull; above it, the Ambrosial Rocks with olive-tree between them; below, murex-shell; in field r., ΕΥΡΩΠΗ; insc. COL TV RO MER' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* pp. cxlii, 290 pl. 34. 13)



Fig. 403

Possibly the flower-basket of Europe was derived from a custom akin to the 'gardens of Adonis.' Mosch. i. 37 (cp. i. 61) speaks of the former as χρίσσειν τάλαρον; Theokr. 15. 113 f., of the latter as ἀπαλοὶ καὶ ποὶ πεφύλαγμένοι ἐν ταλαρίσκοις! ἀργυρέοις. The Cretan Zeus was akin to Adonis (*supra* p. 157 n. 3, *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) vii).

The wicker basket on coins of Kibyra in Phrygia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* pp. xlviii. 135 ff. pls. 16, 9, 17. 5-7, 18, 1 f., 4, 8 f., 51, 3 f.) may have the same significance. I figure two specimens from my collection, a quasi-autonomous copper from the time of M. Aurelius (fig. 403) and a copper struck by Trajan Decius (fig. 404)



Fig. 404.

Certain silver coins of Gortyna c. 200-67 B.C. have obv. head of Zeus, rev. Athena holding Nike etc. or Apollon seated on a rock. Both these reverse types are inscribed ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ ΘΙΒΟΣ. The word ΘΙΒΟΣ has been taken for a dialect form of τόπος (B. V. Head in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1873 xiii. 117, cp. *Zeitsch. f. Num.* 1874 i. 381), or for a magistrate's name (J. N. Svoronos

careful to put it in her hand even when she is crossing the sea on the bull's back (fig. 405)<sup>1</sup>. The Hellenistic poet devotes twenty-six lines to an elaborate description of it<sup>2</sup>. Is it over-rash to



Fig. 405.

conjecture that the very name *Európe* or *Európeia* was a cult-title rightly or wrongly taken to mean the goddess 'of Flourishing Willow-withies'<sup>3</sup>?

*Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 I. 177 pl. 26, 14 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 467). But the name occurs nowhere else, and no other magistrate ever inscribed his name on coins of Gortyna. Hence it is tempting to regard ΘΙΒΟΣ as a term connected with some religious festival. If so, Europe's basket may give us the clue: cp. Hesych. s.vv. θιβή πλεκτόν τι κιβωτοειδές, ὡς γλαυσοκομεῖον, θιβωνος· κιβωτός. Κέρπριον. On this group of words see H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum supplementum et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 370 Append. 1904 p. 102.

<sup>1</sup> A red-figured *amphora* of archaizing style from the Campana collection, now at St Petersburg (Stephan *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* II. 241 f. no. 1637 and in the *Compte-rendu St. Péb.* 1866 pp. 107, 118 f., *Atlas pl.* 5, 1—3, O. Jahn *op. cit.* p. 22 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Mosch. 2. 37—62.

<sup>3</sup> The name Εὐρώπη has been regarded by recent writers (1) as Pelasgian and therefore un-Greek (A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 21); (2) as Phoenician and akin to the Semitic *erub*, 'western' (H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum supplementum et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 950), cp. Hesych. s.vv. Εὐρώπη· χώρα τῆς δόσεως. ἡ σκοτεινή and εὐρωπὸν· σκοτεινόν. πλατύ and see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 252 Europa, die 'finstere,' 867 von Europa, wahrscheinlich der 'Verfinsterten': (3), as a Greek compound of εὐρύς and ὄπ, 'eye,' equivalent in meaning to Εὐρόπη (J. Escher-Burkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1287).

None of these solutions is altogether satisfactory. I assume that Εὐρώπη, whatever its real origin, was at one time understood or misunderstood by the Greeks as the feminine of εὐρωπος, a compound of εὐ and ῥώπες, 'willow-withies,' cp. εὐ-πιος from εὐ - ῥπή.

## 532 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

However that may be, it seems clear that the Gortynian coins represent Europe as a willow goddess. At first she sits pensively in her bare tree, leaning her head on one hand (figs. 391, 392)<sup>1</sup>. Then, as the branches begin to leaf, by a subtle change of gesture she raises her head and fingers her fine-spun *chiton* (figs. 393<sup>2</sup>, 394<sup>3</sup>). Next a strange thing happens. The lines of the tree-trunk shape themselves afresh, and there comes into sight the head of a mighty eagle, betokening the presence of Zeus (fig. 395)<sup>4</sup>. At his advent the tree bursts into bloom. He is on the branch now, an eagle still, but small enough not to scare Europe, who is once more sunk in a reverie heedless of his approach (fig. 396)<sup>5</sup>. A moment later, and the great bird with a glorious spread of wings is in full possession of his lover. With one hand she clasps him to her: with the other she raises her drapery to form a bridal veil (figs. 397<sup>6</sup>, 398<sup>7</sup>). As the consort of Zeus she is henceforward a second Hera. Enthroned on the tree-trunk with the eagle at her side, she borrows the *stephane* and the cuckoo-sceptre of the Argive goddess (fig. 399)<sup>8</sup>. Hera herself did not disdain the title *Eurepia*<sup>9</sup>.

Sundry details of this remarkable series have yet to be explained. The reverse of every coin shows the divine bull now moving across a grassy plain (fig. 393), now treading on rough ground (fig. 394), now again accompanied by a fly (figs. 392, 397, 399). The fly is hardly to be viewed as a meaningless adjunct. Remembering the gad-fly that pursued the heifer Io<sup>10</sup> and the bees that were believed to issue from the buried bull<sup>11</sup>, we might even suppose that the fly was an emanation of Zeus himself<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 39 pl. 10, 4 (my fig. 391), J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète antique* (Macon 1890) i. 161 pl. 13, 4 (Paris), 5 (Munich). Fig. 392 is from a specimen in my collection.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 38 pl. 9, 5, Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 162 pl. 13, 9, P. Gardner *Types of Grk. Coins* p. 163 pl. 9, 20, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 405 fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> In my collection. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 164 pl. 14, 3 (Loebbecke) is from the same dies.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 38 pl. 9, 9, O. Jahn *Die Einführung d. Europäer auf d. Inseln* (Wien 1870) p. 26 pl. 9, f. Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 32 pl. 41, 186.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 39 pl. 10, 5, Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 166 pl. 14, 16, P. Gardner *Types of Grk. Coins* p. 165 pl. 9, 19.

<sup>6</sup> From a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 40 pl. 10, 8, Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 168 pl. 15, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 166 pl. 14, 17 (Imhoof-Bilume), *op. cit.* pl. 14, 18, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 405 fig. 2 (British Museum), P. Gardner *Types of Grk. Coins* p. 163 pl. 9, 18 (Paris).

<sup>9</sup> Hesych. *Εὐρωπία* ἡ Ἥρα.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 439 ff. If Zeus accompanied Io on her wanderings (Soud. s.v. Ἰώ), it may be conjectured that the famous *οἰστρος* (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 266) was but Zeus in the shape of a gad-fly. Another possible case of the soul as a fly is noted *supra* p. 469 n. 7.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 514.

<sup>12</sup> Ants, bees, butterflies etc. were often regarded as the soul in insect form (Gruppe

## Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete 533

The coins that represent the eagle in Europe's lap often add a bull's head apparently affixed to the trunk of the willow (figs. 397, 398). An interesting parallel is here provided by the Trèves altar, which likewise seems to portray a bull's head high up on a willow-tree<sup>1</sup>. Probably the head of the fertilising bull was hung on the trunk to ensure its continued fertility, just as the whole bull was suspended and slain on Athena's olive at Ilion (fig. 406)<sup>2</sup>. An odd custom perhaps susceptible of the same explanation is mentioned by Apollonios of Rhodes, who tells how the Argonauts landed on the Circaean Plain :



Fig. 406.

And here there grew  
Many wild oaks and willows in a row  
On whose high tops were corpses hung by ropes  
Fast-bound. For still the Colchians may not burn  
Dead men with fire, nor lay them in the ground  
And pile a mound above them, but must wrap  
In untanned ox-hides and without their town  
Hang them on trees. Howbeit earth obtains  
An equal share with sky, for in the earth  
Their women-folk they bury. Such their rule<sup>3</sup>.

*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 800 ff.). If Zeus became an ant in Thessaly (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 6 p. 30. 1 ff. Stahlin *τί δὲ παλιν Θητταλοί. μυρμηκας ἱστοροῦνται σέβειν, ἐπεὶ τὸν Δία μευαθήλασαν ὁμοιωθέντα αἰνυμένη τῇ Κλήτορος θυγατρὶ Εὐρυμεδούσῃ μιγῆναι καὶ Μυρμιδῶνα γεννῆσαι* with schol. ad loc., Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Εὐρυμεδούσῃ τῇ Ἀχελϋόνι, μύρωσιν γενόμενος, ἐξ ἧς Μυρμιδῶν, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 26 versus in formiculam pavulam, in Clitons videlicet filiam Myrmidonis redderet apud Thessalos matrem. Isid. *orig.* 9. 2. 75 Eratosthenes autem dicit Myrmidonas a Myrmidone duce Iovis et Eurymedusae filio. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 2. 7 Eratosthenes dicit Myrmidonas dictos a rege Myrmidono (scilicet Myrmidone) Iovis et Eurymedonae (scilicet Eurymedusae) filio, interp. Serv. *ib.* a rege Myrmidono (scilicet Myrmidone) Iovis et Eurimedontis (scilicet Eurymedusae) filio, he may have become a fly in Crete. He would thus have been the Cretan (cf. Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 79) equivalent of the Philistine god worshipped at Ekron as *Baal Zebub*, a name translated by the LXX Βάαλ Μεία θεός and best understood of a zoomorphic deity (S. Bochart *Hieroglyphicon* ed. L. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 346 f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3301 ff.). On Zeus Ἀπόμυιος see *inf. a ch.* ii § 3 (c) iv (3).

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 481 n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> H. von Fritze in W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athens 1902 ii. 491 pl. 63, 68 f., 514--516, A. Brückner *ib.* ii. 563--566, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 235, P. Stengel *Opferbrauch der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 124 f., J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 164 f. I figure a specimen in my collection.

H. von Fritze *op. cit.* ii. 514 holds that, since inscriptions of Ilion mention ἡ βοῦς, the animal hung in the tree must be a cow. But on the coins it is a bull, and it is rightly so described by W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. pp. 64, 66 ff. pls. 12.

10. 13, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. Rhod. 3. 200--209 ἐνθα δὲ πολλὰ ἐξείης πρόμαλοι τε καὶ ἱεῖα ἐκπερίασιον, | τῶν καὶ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτων νέκτες σευρήσι κρέμανται | δέσμοι. εἰσέτι νῦν γὰρ ἄγος Κόλχοισιν ὄρωρεν | ἀνέρας οἰχομένους πυρὶ καίμεν · οὐ δ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ | ἔστι θέμις στείλαντας ὑπερθεῖ ἐπὶ

## 534 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

Was the intention here to communicate the life of the dead to the tree, or the life of the tree to the dead?

The oldest specimens of the Gortynian coins (figs. 391, 392) bear the enigmatic legend *Tityroi* (ΞΟΛΥΜΣΤ) partly on, partly off the tree. The word appears to be a dialect form of *Tityroi*; and it has been suggested that Tityros was the name of a Cretan township<sup>1</sup>. But our evidence for such a town is of the flimsiest<sup>2</sup>. Besides, in Greek numismatics the name of the issuing state is regularly expressed in the genitive, not the nominative, case<sup>3</sup>. I would therefore submit that *Tityroi* here, as elsewhere, denotes 'Satyrs'<sup>4</sup>. The earliest mention of these woodland spirits makes them akin to the Kouretes — a point insisted on by Strabon<sup>5</sup>; and it is on record that the Kouretes clashed their weapons round the tree in which the cradle of Zeus was hung<sup>7</sup>. Not improbably, then, the *Tityroi* or 'Satyrs' danced round the tree in which Zeus met Europe. Indeed, I would venture to explain the coin-legend by assuming that at Gortyna a yearly festival known as the *Tityroi* was held<sup>8</sup>, at which a Satyric

σῆμα χέεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδελφότητι κατειλίσσαντε βοείαις, δεινῶν ἐξάπτειν ἐλας σστέος. ἡμεῖς δ' ἴσθην καὶ χθῶν ἐμυοῦρεν αἶσαν, ἐπεὶ χθονὶ ταρχίονσιν ἠγλυτερας· ἡ γὰρ τε δίκη ἡεσυοῖο τέτυκται. On this see Nymphodorus *frag.* 17 (*Frags. hist. cr.* II 380 Muller) *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 3, 202 τὰ τῶν ἀρσένων σώματα οὐ θεῶς Κόλχους οὔτε λαῖν οὔτε ἡάπτεν· βίρραϊς δὲ νεοραῖς εἰλούντες ἐκρέμων τῶν ἀρσένων τὰ σώματα, τὰ δὲ ἡλεσά τῇ γῇ εἰδίδσαν, ὡς φησι Νυμφόδορος. ὡς ἡκολούθησε (ὡς δοκεῖ οἷτος ἡκολούθησθαι *cod. Paris*) πεδονταὶ δὲ μάλιστα οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν.

<sup>1</sup> *Hell. Hist. num.* 2 p. 466

<sup>2</sup> *Schol. Theokr.* 3, 2 ὄνομα κημον ὁ Τίτυρος, τινὲς [δὲ] φασίν, ὡς τοὺς Σάτυρος οὐ Σικελιώτης· ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς τράγοις ἔτεροι τοὺς Σατύρους· ἐνίοι ὄνομα πόλεως Κρήτης ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς προστόλους τῶν θεῶν· τινες δὲ καὶ λαλαμον, οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλο ἢ ὄνομα αἰπόλου τινός. There was a Mt. Tityros near Kyloma (*Strab.* 479 τῆς μετὰ Κιδωνίας ἡρος ἐστὶ Τίτυρος, ἐν ᾧ ἱερὸν ἐστίν, οὐ Δικταῖον, ἀλλὰ Δικτύναιον, *Phylarch.* 1, 34 p. 102 Βακκί τα δὲ ὅρη τα ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς (i.e. Κιδωνίας) τα ἐψηλὰ Τίτυρος καλεῖται).

<sup>3</sup> *Mr G. F. Hill A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* (London 1899) p. 181 puts the matter thus: 'In addition to the use of the genitive and the adjective, there is a rare use of the nominative case. Most of the names in the nominative found on pre-imperial coins seem to be descriptive of types; but such an inscription as ΑΘΕ Ο ΔΕΜΟΣ ('*Ἀθηναίων ὁ δῆμος*') is an undoubted instance of the use of the nominative in place of the ordinary genitive.' He does not cite any example strictly parallel to *Tityroi*.

<sup>4</sup> *Pellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Sprach.* 2 p. 462 f., cp. 1. *Meyer Handb. d. Gr. Etym.* II. 746 f.

According to F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx 31 ff., Σά-τιροι and Τί-τιροι are genuine Greek words from the root *τιδ*, 'to swell', seen in *πίλος*, *τύμβος*, *τυρός*, *ταῖρος*, etc. The first element in Σάτυρος reappears in *σάθη*, *σάβητρος*, *σάραδος*, etc. and may be an old word for *phallós*. *Tityros* shows intensive reduplication (cp. *Τιτώος*) with poetic lengthening.

<sup>5</sup> *Hes. frag.* 129 *Flach ap. Strab.* 471. See also *Prokl. in Hes. ad. 89*.

<sup>6</sup> *Strab.* 466.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 529 n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Mr W. Wroth*, with whom I once had the advantage of discussing these coins, approved of my suggestion. For the form of the festival name (cp. the *Κισσοτόμοι* at Phlius (*Nilsson Gr. Feste* p. 39 f.)) or such expressions as *τραγωδοὺς λαῖνοις* (*Dem. de or.*

drama set forth the union of the sky-god Zeus with the earth-goddess Europe. The part of Zeus would be played by one of the Satyrs—if, at least, we may argue from the analogous myth of Antiope, who was wooed by Zeus in the form of a Satyr<sup>1</sup>.

The purpose of this mimetic rite would presumably be to promote fertility. The marriage of the earth-goddess in her willow would entail a prosperous year for the whole neighbourhood. Somewhat analogous in its conception is a marble relief of the first century A.D. found at Loukou near Astros in Thyreatis and now at Athens (fig. 407)<sup>2</sup>. A matronly figure sits on a throne, which is adorned with a Sphinx and bears the inscription *Epiktēsis*, 'Increase.' Before her on a base is a statue of *Euthenia*, 'Fertility', holding a basket of fruit. Behind this goddess rises a smooth Doric pillar, on the top of which stands another goddess in the guise of Artemis *Agrotēra*<sup>3</sup>, who uplifts her hand<sup>4</sup> close to the branch of a leafy tree. The tree is insufficiently characterised: E. Gerhard took it to be a plane<sup>5</sup>, J. N. Svoronos an olive<sup>7</sup>; most critics are content to call it a tree. Its stem is hidden by the pillar. A fillet hangs from one of its boughs. A snake too, now barely discernible, winds from behind the base of *Euthenia* over the tree-trunk down towards the *phidē* resting on the lap of *Epiktēsis*. In the field beside the tree, and in all probability referring to the goddess on the pillar, is the inscription *Teletē*, 'Initiation.' It is,

116), gladiatoribus (the *Phil.* i. 36). Numismatic parallels are ΔΙΟC ΓΟΝΑΙ (*supra* p. 151 fig. 119) and ΕΙΟΥC ΓΑΜΟΙ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. cxlvi, 348 pl. 36, 8) at Tralles attached to 'scenes in certain religious mysteries connected with the Io legend' (B. V. Head *ib.* p. cxlvii, perhaps also ΟΡΤΥΓΟΘΗΡΑ at Tarsos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycæonia, etc. pp. lxxxvif., 182 f. pl. 33, 7) as the name of a 'quail-hunt' in the cult of Sandas or Herakles (see Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>: Adonis Attis Osiris<sup>2</sup> pp. 85, 99 n. 2).

<sup>1</sup> *Infra* ch. i § 7 (d). Another version made Zeus consort with Antiope in the form of a bull (*ib.*).

<sup>2</sup> E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 132—134 pl. C, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 98, 542 fig. 48, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 725 no. 1847, II. von Pott in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1902 xxxii. 265 f., H. Schäder in the *Winkelmannsjst.-Progr. Berlin* ix. 5, 33 n. 7, *Stais Marbles et Bronzes* *Athènes*<sup>2</sup> p. 239 n. 1390, Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1498, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 336—340 pl. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Poll. i. 240 εἰ δὲ δένδρον, εὐθηνοῖν, \* καὶ δένδρον εὐθηνία.

<sup>4</sup> Cretan coins struck by Domitian show not only a *caduceus* between two *cornua copiae* inscribed ΕΥΘΗΝΙΑ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 343 pl. 33, 15 f.), but also ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ (*infra* p. 542 n. 1) see F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1908 xi. 143 f.

<sup>5</sup> The gesture of the goddess is similar to that of the tree-nymph in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1839 xii pl. 8, Boetticher *Baumkultus* fig. 33.

<sup>6</sup> E. Gerhard *loc. cit.* p. 133 'forse un platano.'

<sup>7</sup> Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 337 'wahrscheinlich ein Ölbaum.'

## 536 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

I think, the inscription that affords the best clue to the meaning of the whole scene. Dionysos had by the Naiad Nikaia a son Satyros<sup>1</sup> and a daughter Telete<sup>2</sup>. If the former represents the male, the latter stands for the female element in the cult—a *koire* of

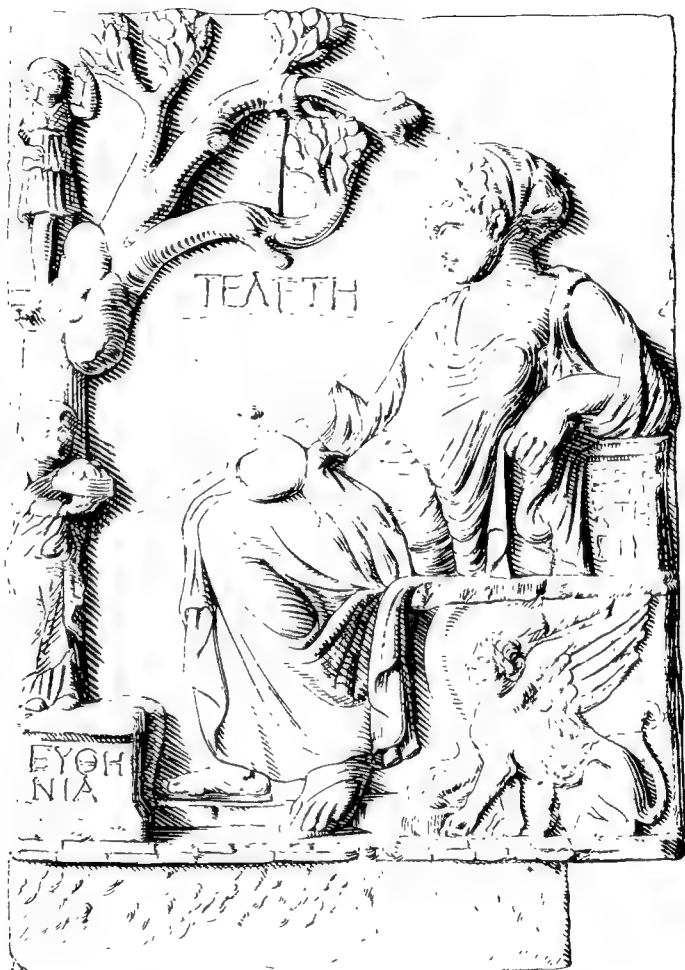


Fig. 407.

Dionysos' train<sup>3</sup>. As a personification of the initiatory rite she is closely associated with Orpheus. On Helikon, the 'Mount of

<sup>1</sup> Memnon 41. 5 (*Etas. hist. Gr. m.* 547 Muller).

<sup>2</sup> Nonn. *Ion.* 16. 399 ff. ἐκ δὲ γάμου Βρομίοιο θεόσαντος ἤνθη· κοῖρη. | ἦν Τελετὴν ὀνόμηνεν αἰεὶ χαίρουσαν ἑορταῖς, | κοῖρην νυκτιχόρευτον, ἐφespoμένην Διονύσῳ, | τερπομένην κροτάλοισι καὶ ἀμφιπλήγι βοείῃ.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* 16.



## Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete 537

Willows<sup>1</sup> (?) Pausanias saw a statue of Orpheus with Telete at his side<sup>2</sup>. And in Polygnotos' great fresco of the Underworld at Delphoi Orpheus was painted leaning against a willow and touching its branches with his hand<sup>3</sup>, just as Telete in this relief stands beside the tree close up against its foliage. Both he and she derived fertility from contact with the sacred tree. The relief from Loukou was probably set up over the grave of an Orphic votary. The Sphinx spells Chios; and J. N. Svoronos cites an example of the rare name Epiktesis from a Chian inscription<sup>4</sup>. We may therefore unreservedly accept the view propounded by this acute scholar, that the dead woman, thanks to her well-omened name, was conceived henceforward as a new heroine of 'Increase' to be revered along with the older goddess of 'Fertility'.

Details apart, it is abundantly clear that Europe was at first an earth-goddess worshipped at Gortyna in a sacred tree. For all that, there is good reason to think that she ultimately came to be regarded as the moon. Her mother was *Teléphassa*, the 'Far-shining,' or, according to another and probably older account, *Argiôpe*, the 'Bright-eyed,' both names being possible appellations of a moon-goddess. *Eurôpe* herself bore an equivocal title, which to ancient<sup>5</sup>, as to modern<sup>6</sup>, speculation would readily suggest the 'Broad-eyed' moon. W. H. Roscher compares it with that of *Euryphássa*, the 'Broad-shining' mother of Selene<sup>10</sup>. He also points out that Europe riding a white bull<sup>11</sup> resembles Selene riding

<sup>1</sup> Boissacq *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 243 (after A. Fick and F. Solmsen) cp. *Timonides*. But see now Bolte in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 9. 30. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 10. 30. 6.

<sup>4</sup> G. I. Zolotas in *Ἀθηνᾶ* x. 353 ΕΠΙΚΤΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΑΥ[ΤΗΣ] ΥΙΟΙΣ *Α.Τ.Λ.*

<sup>5</sup> Svoronos *Anth. Nationalmus.* p. 339 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Τηλεφάσσα* (Mosch. 2. 40 ff.), *Τηλεφάσσα* (Apollod. 3. 1. 1. 3. 4. 1. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Θάσος*), *Τηλεφαη* (schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 28, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δάρυδανος*), *Τηλέφη* (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 5).

<sup>7</sup> Pherekyd. *frag.* 40 (*frag. hist. Gr.* 1. 83 Muller) *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 3. 1185. Hyg. *fab.* 6. 178. 179. cp. Laet. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2. 289 where L. reads *Αγριοφης*.

<sup>8</sup> Eustath. *in Il.* p. 141. 25 ff. cp. *εὐρύπτα Ζεὺς* with *Ἥρα βοῶπις* and with *Εὐρώπη*, but offers as alternative renderings 'large-eyed' and 'loud-voiced'. *Id.* *ib.* p. 955. 19 f. cp. *Ἐριώπις* with *βοῶπις* and with *Εὐρώπη*.

<sup>9</sup> *Suffra* p. 531 n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 95, 128 f. and in the *Lev. Myth.* ii. 3192. Euryphaessa was, however, the mother of Helios, not of Selene (*h. Hel.* 2).

<sup>11</sup> Phrynichos *frag.* 16 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap. Eustath. in Od.* p. 1430. 63 f. *καὶ ταῦρος ἀργιμήτης ἦγονε λευκός, φασί, παρὰ Φρυνιχῶ οὐ διακομίσας τὴν Εὐρώπην. Περὶ δὲ ἀργιμήτας ταῦρος ταχύμητις ἢ λευκός παραγώγως. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ διακομίσαντος τὴν Εὐρώπην. Α. Nauck cp. ἀργιμέτωπος, cp. Mosch. 2. 85 κύκλος δ' ἀργύφειος μέσσω μάρμαρει μετώπῳ, Ach. Tat. 2. 15 εἰ δ' οὐ μύθος Εὐρώπης ἀληθής, Αἰγύπτιον βοῖον ὃ Ζεὺς ἐμιμήσατο.*

## 538 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

on a bull or drawn in a chariot by white bulls or cows<sup>1</sup>, and that Europe<sup>2</sup>, like Selene<sup>3</sup>, was regarded as a huntress. His argument will appeal to the eye, if we compare the common Greek type of Europe with certain Roman types of Selene (fig. 408)<sup>4</sup>, of Artemis *Tauropólos* (fig. 409)<sup>5</sup>, and of Nike riding on the lunar Apis (fig. 410)<sup>6</sup>.



Fig. 408.



Fig. 409.



Fig. 410.

Europe, however, does not become demonstrably lunar till she reaches Phoinike<sup>7</sup> and is identified with Astarte. The most important piece of evidence is a passage in the treatise *On the Syrian Goddess*:

'There is another large temple in Phoinike, at Sidon. The Sidonians call it the temple of Astarte, and Astarte I take to be Selenaiā. But, as one of the priests informed me, it is the temple of Europe the sister of Kadmos. She was the daughter of king Agenor, and after her disappearance the Phoenicians honoured her with the temple and told a pious tale about her to the effect that Zeus, desirous of her beauty, took the form of a bull and carried her off, bearing

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 33, Poll. 5. 39, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 35, schol. Caes. *German.* p. 414, 5 ff. Lyssenhart.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 92 ff., *id.* *Neue myth. u. myth. Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 32 f., and in the *Lex. Myth.* n. 3168 f.

<sup>4</sup> From a *denarius* of L. Valerius Aesculus (46-45 B.C.) in my collection: obv. AECVLIVS Full-faced head of Apollo as Sol with star above it and hatchet behind it in border of dots; rev. [L. VALERIVS] Luna with crescent-shaped veil riding ox towards the right. The types are so interpreted by W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 169-171, pl. 3, 6, *id.* *Nachtrag zu meiner Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 42 with fig. on p. 37, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 3137 with fig. Other explanations in Babelon *Mon. rep. rom.* n. 515, 519 figs. and *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins*, Rep. v. 534 f. n. 2 pl. 53, 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Ach. Tat. 1. 4. τοιαύτην εἶδον ἐγὼ ποτ' ἐν ταύρῳ γεγραμμένην Σελήνην.

<sup>6</sup> From a copper of Amphipolis, struck by Tiberius, in my collection. ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, cp. Morell, *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* i. 615 pl. 11, 22-23, Roscher *Lex. Num.* i. 545, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. pp. 50, 52 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 278 ff., *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 216 f. See further K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* n. 1399 f.

<sup>7</sup> From a gem in P. D. Lappert *Daktyl. Serim.* 3 no. 61 (Müller-Wieseler *Denkm. alt. Kunst* n. 125 pl. 16, 176a).

<sup>8</sup> On Europe in Phoinike see J. Escher-Burk in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1291, who rejects the combinations of Gruppe *op. Myth. Rel.* p. 251 ff.

# Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete 539

her to Crete. The rest of the Phoenicians gave me the same story—and indeed the coinage in use at Sidon shows Europe seated on the bull Zeus,—but they do not allow that the temple is that of Europe<sup>1</sup>.

Coppers of Sidon from c. 174 B.C. onwards exhibit the type in question (fig. 411)<sup>2</sup>, but in no way confirm the identification of Europe with the moon<sup>3</sup>. A later rationalising account in Ioannes Malalas states that at Tyre the rape of Europe was commemorated in the evening, which would at least suit a lunar connexion:



Fig. 411.

‘Tauros king of Crete attacked the city of Tyre and, after winning a sea-fight, captured it in the evening. He spoiled the place and took many prisoners, among them Europe, daughter of the king Agenor. Agenor and his sons were away on the frontier fighting; wherefore Tauros king of Crete made a sudden attack by sea. To this day the Tyrians commemorate that evening calling it *Kakè Opsimè*, “Evil Gloaming.” Tauros carried off Europe to his own country, and, since she was a virgin and comely withal, took her to wife. Moreover, he called those parts Europe after her<sup>4</sup>.

Again, Phoenician and lunar elements are discernible in the myth that associates Europe with the founding of Thebes<sup>5</sup>. The scholiast on the *Iliad*<sup>6</sup>, who cites as his sources the *Boiotiaka* of Hellanikos<sup>7</sup> and the *Bibliothèque* of Apollodoros<sup>8</sup>, tells the tale as follows:

‘Boiotia used to be called Aonia from the Aones, who dwelt there. Its name was changed to Boiotia, according to some, by reason of Boiotos the son of Poseidon and Arne, according to others, by reason of the cow driven by Kadmos at the bidding of the Pythian oracle. For, when Europe, the daughter of Phoinix, was carried off from Sidon by Zeus, Kadmos her brother was sent by her father in quest of her. Having failed to find her, he repaid to Delphoi to consult the god. The god bade him trouble no more about Europe but take as

<sup>1</sup> Loukian, *d. dia Syr.* 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. cvii f. and p. 316 Index. I figure the reverse of a copper, struck by Elagabalos, in my collection: A P . SI DON . COLMET = *Aurelia Pia | Sidon | Colonia Metropolis*. This coin ingeniously suggests that the bull is about to cross the sea by putting a short ground-line beneath his hind-legs.

<sup>3</sup> K. Hoeck *Acta* Göttingen 1823 i. 93. 96 interprets the crescent-shaped veil of Europe as a lunar trait. But see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 125 f. *Id. ib.* p. 105 notes also that the comparison of the bull's horns with the horns of the moon, though emphasised in literature (Mosch. 2. 87 f., Ach. Tat. 2. 15), is never brought out in art.

<sup>4</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 30 f. Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> On the connexion of Europe with Kadmos see O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 824 ff., C. W. Vollgraff *De Ordi mythopoeia* Berolini 1901 pp. 61–80, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 537 f.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. *Il.* 2. 494.

<sup>7</sup> Hellanik. *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 46 f. Müller).

<sup>8</sup> Apollod. 3. 4. 1 f.

## 540 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

his guide a cow and found a city wherever this cow, tired with the way, lay on its right side. On receipt of this oracle he pursued his course through Phokis. He next fell in with a cow among the herds of Pelagon and followed after her as she went. She, passing throughout Boiotia, tired and lay down on the spot where Thebes is now. Kadmos, wishing to sacrifice the cow to Athena, sent some of his men to fetch lustral water from the spring of Ares. But the snake that guarded the spring and was said to be the child of Ares slew most of those whom he sent. Kadmos in anger killed the snake and, at Athena's suggestion, sowed its teeth. From them sprang the earth-born orcs. Ares was enraged at this and about to destroy Kadmos, when Zeus prevented him. Zeus gave him to wife Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, but first bade him in return for having destroyed the snake serve for a year<sup>1</sup>: the Muses were to sing at his wedding, and each of the gods to bestow a gift upon Harmonia.<sup>2</sup>

The whole story gains immensely in coherence and significance, if we assume that the guiding cow was none other than Europe in animal form. The lost sister is thus recovered at the last, and the Pythian oracle is vindicated from the charge of irrelevance. Besides, it was, to say the least of it, appropriate that Zeus as a bull should mate with Europe as a cow. If that be so, some further details of the story are of interest. Pausanias, reporting the local Theban tradition, states that this cow was purchased from the cowherds of Pelagon, and that on each of the cow's flanks was a white mark like the circle of the moon, when it is full<sup>3</sup>. Pausanias adds that the place, where the cow sank down exhausted, was still shown, that there was an open-air altar on the spot and an image of Athena dedicated by Kadmos, and that this Athena bore the Phoenician title *Όγνα*<sup>4</sup>. A scholiast on Euripides<sup>5</sup> gives what purports to be the actual oracle delivered to Kadmos<sup>6</sup>:

Kadmos, Agenor's son, mark well my word.  
At daybreak rise, quit Pytho the divine,  
And clad as thou art wont, with oaken spear  
In hand, fare forth through Phlegyai and Phokis  
Until thou reach the cowherd and the cows  
Of Pelagon Fate's nurseling. Then draw nigh,  
And take the lowing cow whose either flank

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Apollod. 3. 4. 2 *Καδμος δὲ ἀνθ' ὧν ἔκτειλεν αἰδίων* ('*Απρος νῖδον* Hercher, *ἀνδρῶν* Sevimus) *ἐνιαυτὸν ἐθήτευσεν Ἀρεϊ*. ἥν δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς τότε ὅκτω ἔτη.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 9. 12. 1. Two Egyptising altars of Roman date, formerly in the Towneley collection and now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Marbles* x pls. 51, 52, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 390 ff. nos. 2494, 2495, Remach *Relief. Reliefs* ii. 482 nos. 1, 4, 5, 8), represent a bull with a six-rayed star and another with a crescent moon on his flank. A relief in a tomb of the Roman period at *Kom el Chougafa* shows the Pharaoh offering incense (?) to a statue of Apis, who has a crescent on his side (F. W. von Bissing *Les Bas-reliefs de Kom el Chougafa* Munich 1901 pl. 9 Text p. 7).

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 9. 12. 2. On the site and significance of this cult see Frazer *Pausanias* v. 481.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638.

<sup>5</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 4. 293 ff. is another attempt to hitch the supposed oracle into verse.

Hath a white mark round as the rounded moon :  
Follow her guidance on thy trodden track.  
Yea, and a token plain will I declare  
Such as thou canst not miss. When first the horn  
Of the ranging cow is lowered and her knee  
Sinks on the grassy plain, then do thou straightway  
Offer her with pure hand and heart to Earth  
The dark-leaved and, thine offering complete,  
Upon the hill-top build a broad-wayed town,  
Sending the War-god's guardian fierce to Hades.  
And famous among men shall be thy name,  
Blest Kadmos, who hast won a deathless bride

This cow, which was believed to have given its name to Boiotia<sup>1</sup> and to the Boeotian mountain Thourion<sup>2</sup>, is connected by Prof. von Baudissin with the Phoenician moon-goddess on account of its moon-like marks<sup>3</sup>. The connexion is probable enough, and, if (as I have suggested) the cow was Europe, my original contention that Europe became a moon-goddess owing to Phoenician influence is established.

Dr Frazer's other example of sun-and-moon marriage was that of Minos with Britomartis or Diktynna<sup>4</sup>. But again I must insist that neither Diktynna nor Britomartis was originally lunar. Diktynna was a Cretan form of the mountain-mother<sup>5</sup>, whose name probably hangs together with that of Mount Dikte or Dikton<sup>6</sup>. Coins of the province struck by Trajan represent her seated on her rocks between a couple of Kouretes as nurse of the infant Zeus (fig. 412)<sup>7</sup>. Here, as



Fig. 412.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 539, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638.

<sup>2</sup> Plout. v. *Sull.* 17 θῶρ γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν βοῦν καλοῦσι. This is much nearer the mark than the statement of schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638 ὡκοδόμησε τὰς Θηβας· θήβα γὰρ Σερυσὶ λέγεται ἡ βοῦς, cp. *et. mag.* p. 450. 41 f. A 'cow' is in Syriac *tor'ba*, Aramaic *tor*, Hebrew *tor*, which point to an original Semitic form *fauwu*; the word appears to have been borrowed by the Semites from the Indo-European area, rather than *tau tursa* (Waldé *Lal. etym. Wortab.* p. 616 f.), but see H. Møller *Vergleichendes indogermanisch-semitisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1911 p. 255 f.).

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 273.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 524.

<sup>5</sup> Eur. *I. T.* 126 ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝ' οὐρεΐα. Cult on Mt Tityros or Diktynnaion (Strab. 479 cited *supra* p. 534 n. 2, cp. Hdt. 3. 59, Ptol. 3. 15. 5 with C. Müller *ad loc.*, Dionys. *per.* 118 ff., *Anth. Pan.* 258. 1 ff., Philostr. v. *Apoll.* 8. 30 p. 342 Kayser, *Phn. nat. hist.* 4. 59, Mela 2. 113, Solin. 11. 6, Mart. *Cap.* 659, Anon. Ravennas 5. 21 p. 398, 3 Pinder—Parthey).

<sup>6</sup> See K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wisowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1371. O. Jessen *ib.* v. 587. H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 41 f. observes that Δικτυννα is the feminine form of Δίκτυς, as Δικτὴ of \*Δίκτος. In Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 171 the eponymous nymph of Mt Dikte is named *Dute*; but the interp. Serv. *ib.* tells of her the tale that is elsewhere told of Britomartis.

<sup>7</sup> J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i pl. 33, 23 (my

## 542 Marriage of the Sun and Moon in Crete

elsewhere<sup>1</sup>, she is assimilated to the huntress Artemis—an assimilation which in literature can be traced back to the time of Euripides<sup>2</sup>. Britomartis too, a goddess closely related to Diktynna<sup>3</sup>, was readily equated with Artemis<sup>4</sup>. A silver coin of Chersonesos to the north of the Dikte range has for its obverse a noble head of Zeus wearing a bay-wreath and for its reverse a goddess sitting on a decorated throne with a hind erect upon her outstretched palm (fig. 413)<sup>5</sup>. There can be little doubt that the die-sinker has

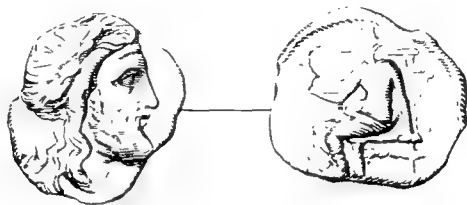


Fig. 413.

copied the actual cult-statue of Britomartis, who is known to have had a temple at Chersonesos<sup>6</sup>. Nor is the combination of Zeus with Britomartis meaningless: the two were linked

fig. 412) and 24, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 3 pl. 1, 9. Head *Hist. num.* p. 384, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1908 xi. 142 ff. pl. 9, 8.

<sup>1</sup> A copper of Domitian shows ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ as Artemis the huntress with bow and bound (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 343 pl. 33, 17. Head *Hist. num.* p. 479).

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *I. T.* 126 ὦ παῖ τὰς Λατοῦς, Δίκτυνν' οὔρεα. Aristoph. *ran.* 1359 f. αἶμα δὲ Δίκτυννα παῖς Ἀρτεμῖς καλὰ τὰς κινίσκας ἔχουσ' ἐλθέτω κτλ.

<sup>3</sup> K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1370 ff., K. Tumpel *ib.* iii. 880 f., 929, O. Jessen *ib.* v. 585 ff., Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* ii. 476, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 254 f.

If we may trust Solin. ii. 8 Cretes Dianam religio-sissime venerantur, Britomartem gentiliter nominantes, quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem (cp. Hesych. Βριτί· γλυκύ. Κρήτες repeated in Favorin *h. v.* p. 391, 11; Steph. Byz. *v. Γαζα*· τὰς παρθένους γὰρ οὕτω Κρήτες προσαγορεύουσι παρῶνς, *supra* p. 149 n. 1). Britomartis was probably a cult-epithet of Diktynna.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Kallim. *h. Artem.* 190 Βριτόμαρτις ὄνομα κυρίου τῆς νυμφῆς, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ Ἀρτεμῖς ἐν Κρήτῃ Βριτόμαρτις τιμᾶται, ὡς Διογενιανός, Hesych. Βριτομαρτις ἐν Κρήτῃ ἢ Ἀρτεμῖς. In Delos the festival of Britomartis followed immediately upon that of Artemis (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 209 citing *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 23 line 186 Ἀρτεμισίους Βριταμαρτίους).

<sup>5</sup> Drawn from a specimen in my collection. The only other specimen of this fine coin known to me is that in the British Museum, which owing to its poor state of preservation was wrongly described by W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1895 xv. 96 f. pl. 5, 11. Mr E. J. Seltman, from whom I procured my coin, points out that 'The seated Artemis with the deer on her hand forms an interesting pendant to the standing Apollo with the deer by Cnanehus' (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 75, *alib.*; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 197 ff. pl. 22, 9 f.).

<sup>6</sup> Strab. 479 Λύττου δὲ ἐπινειὸν ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη Σεργόνησος, ἐν ἣ τὸ τῆς Βριτομάρτους ἱερὸν. According to Solin. ii. 8 aedem nummis (sc. Britomartis) praeterquam nudus vestigia nullus licito ingreditur. ea aedes ostentat manus Daedali.

together at least in one remarkable tradition<sup>1</sup>. When Artemis came to be regarded as a moon-goddess<sup>2</sup>, the way was open for Diktynna on the one hand<sup>3</sup> Britomartis on the other<sup>4</sup>, to be identified with the moon<sup>5</sup>. But it must be observed that this identification was not made till Roman times; and even then no hint is dropped that the consort of Diktynna or Britomartis was solar. It is, therefore, highly precarious to quote the myth of Minos and Britomartis or Diktynna as a case of sun-and-moon marriage.

#### xix. Zeus and the Bovine Figures of Cretan Mythology.

In the last section we considered the myth of Pasiphae at Knossos and the myth of Europe at Gortyna. Both were found to involve the agency of a great fertilising bull. But here their resemblance ended; for, whereas the story of the bull and Pasiphae pointed to the annual celebration of a sun-and-moon marriage at Knossos, the story of the bull and Europe pointed rather to the annual celebration of a sky-and-earth marriage at Gortyna. It remains to ask what was the relation of Zeus to the bovine figures of both myths.

The Cnossian myth dealt with a solar bull, a lunar cow, and their offspring the semi-bovine Minotaur, whose astral character was indicated by his name *Ástérios* or *Asterion*. We have here evidence of a religious complex, forming an independent whole and apparently of great antiquity. Aegean place-names suggest that this cult of sun, moon, and stars was not confined to Crete, but extended to other islands<sup>6</sup>. Its connexion with Zeus, however, is

<sup>1</sup> Neanthes of Kyzikos *fiav.* 23 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 8 Muller) *ap. Favorin. loc.* p. 391, 7 ff. and *et. mag.* p. 214, 26 ff. *Νεάνθης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελετῶν φησι χρησµόν Διὸς θοῆναι. ὅτι ὁ ἐκ τῆς μητρός τῆς Ἑκάτης γενησόμενος μεταστήσει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτόν· γεννώσης δὲ τῆς Ἑκάτης, τὰς συμπαρούσας κόρας τῇ λεχοῖ ἀναβοῆσαι βρίτον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀγαθόν· παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐπίφθεγμα ὠνομάσθαι τὴν θεόν.* Zeus is here apparently the father of Britomartis by Hekate.

<sup>2</sup> Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 457—461, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1354, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1297 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cornut. *theol.* 34 p. 71, 5 ff. *Ἰανγ ἡ δ' Ἄρτεμις φωσφόρος μὲν ἐπωνομάσθη διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὴ σέλας βάλλειν καὶ φωτίζειν ποσῶς τὸ περιέχον, ὁπότεν μάλιστα πανσέληνος ἦ. δίκτυννα δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βάλλειν τὰς ἀκτῖνας—δίκειν γὰρ τὸ βάλλειν—κ.τ.λ., Verg. *Ciris* 305 Dictynnam divere tuo (sc. ο Britomarti) de nomine lunam, Paul. ex Fest. p. 72 Muller Dictynna Diana, quam esse lunam putabant, dicta, quod fulgore suo noctu omnia ostendat (cp. H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xviii. 342 and in his *Gotternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 42).*

<sup>4</sup> Verg. *Ciris* 305 cited *supra* n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Roscher *Ueber Selenē und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 116 ff.

<sup>6</sup> (1) Hesych. *Ἀστερίη· ἡ Κρήτη καὶ ἡ Ἀῆλος οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο.* (2) Asteria as a former name of Delos (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1780 f.; add schol. Ap. Rhod. i.

## 544 Zeus and the Bull in Cretan Myth

late and superficial. Pasiphae's bull according to certain Roman mythographers was sent by Zeus<sup>1</sup>, according to Christian writers of the fourth and subsequent centuries was Zeus himself<sup>2</sup>. But no ancient authority, either classical or post-classical, can be cited in support of the view that the Minotaur was Zeus incarnate<sup>3</sup>.

On the other hand, from Hesiodic<sup>4</sup> and even Homeric<sup>5</sup> times onward Zeus figured as the partner of Europe. The bull that bore her from Phoinike to Crete, though sometimes said to have been sent by Zeus<sup>6</sup>, is usually described as the god himself in animal shape<sup>7</sup>. In short, Zeus as a bull is an integral part of the Europe-myth. But here the moon was a much later accretion<sup>8</sup>, and the sun a mere afterthought, perhaps not even that<sup>9</sup>.

307, Verg. *culex* 15, Solin. 11. 19) was derived from the Titaness Astera or Asterie, whose tale was variously told. To escape wedlock with Zeus, she flung herself into the sea like a star (Kallim. *h. fr.* 36 ff.) or a quail (Apollod. 1. 4. 11). She scorned the advances of Zeus, and he, to punish her, changed her into a quail and cast her into the sea, where she became *Oryzini*, the 'Quail'-island, later called Delos (Hyg. *fab.* 53, Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 4. 796, cp. schol. Lyk. *Al.* 401, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 73, Myth. Vat. 1. 37, 2. 17, 3. 8, 36). She was ravished by Zeus, who took the form of an eagle (Ov. *met.* 6. 108). She was wooed by Poseidon, not Zeus (Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 124 f., 33. 336 ff., 42. 410). Zeus became a quail to consort with her sister Leto (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* arg. p. 297 Boeckh) or changed Leto into a quail (Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 72). Astera bore to Zeus Hekate (Mousaios *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 467, Cic. *d. nat. deor.* 3. 46) and the Phoenician Herakles (Eudoxos of Knidos *ap.* Athen. 392 b, Cic. *d. nat. deor.* 3. 42). Others connected the name Astera with the cult of Apollon (Solin. 11. 19). (3) Astera was an old name of Rhodes (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 132). (4) The *'Asrepioi vñpos* off Lade contained a tomb of Asterios, son of Anax son of Ge, with a corpse ten cubits long (Paus. 1. 35. 6). (5) Hesych. *Asrepioi* 'οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν Τέρεδον κατοικήσαντες'. (6) *'Asrepis*, the island near Ithake, was later known as *'Asrepia* (Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* n. 1787).

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> Epiphanius *anagoratus* 105, Nonn. *narr. ad Gregor. innot.* 1. 91 p. 158 = A. Westermann *Scriptores posticae historiae graeci* Brunsvigae 1843 p. 369, 1. schol. Clem. *Al. prot.* 4. 49. 3 p. 312, 15 Stahlin. (p. the statements that Pasiphaa, daughter of Atlas, bore Ammon to Zeus (*supra* p. 521 f.) and that Idana, wife of Minos, bore Asterion to the same god (*supra* p. 493 n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> This view I rashly advanced in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 410, cp. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 272. It is, I now think, untenable.

<sup>4</sup> Hes. *frag.* 209 Flach and Bakchyl. *frag.* 47 Jebb *ap.* schol. *Il.* 12. 292.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* 14. 321 f.

<sup>6</sup> Akousilaos *frag.* 20 (*frag. hist. (n.)* 1. 102 Muller) *ap.* Apollod. 2. 5. 7, cp. schol. Caes. Germ. *Abas* p. 395, 24 ff. Eysenhardt. See further L. Stephani in the *Compte rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 87 f.

<sup>7</sup> Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1. 1410 ff., Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1295 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 537 ff.

<sup>9</sup> The circle of rays surrounding the bull (*supra* p. 472 fig. 328) and Europe (*supra* p. 529 fig. 400) on coppers of Gortyna is possibly solar (cp. J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 118); but, since it occurs also on other coins of the same town with types of an eagle grasping a snake (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète antique* Macon 1890 i. 174 pl. 16, 3, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 44 pl. 11, 10) or a naked male figure with shield and spear (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 175 f. pl. 16, 8, 9, 10,



The conclusion to which these facts point is tolerably clear. At Knossos, where sun, moon and stars were essential, Zeus was not. At Gortyna, where Zeus was essential, sun, moon and stars were not. It follows that at Knossos and Gortyna Zeus had originally nothing to do with sun, moon and stars. Those writers that distinguish a Cretan solar Zeus from the ordinary Hellenic sky-god<sup>1</sup> must look elsewhere for arguments. The Gortynian Zeus was indeed, like Apollon at Athens, called *Hekatómbaios*: but he shared that title with the Arcadian Zeus<sup>2</sup>. And the oxen slain on his altar need not imply that he was solar. They would be equally appropriate to any fertilising god<sup>3</sup>.

It remains, of course, both possible and probable that sooner or later the Zeus of Gortyna took on a solar complexion. If Europe under Phoenician influence became the moon<sup>4</sup>, there was every inducement for Zeus to become the sun. Now Byzantine scholars actually mention a Gortynian cult of Zeus *Astérios*<sup>5</sup>. There is therefore much to be said for Dr Farnell's conjecture that Zeus

12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ciete etc.* p. 44 pl. 11, 9), I should prefer to regard it as a glory suitable to any divine personage. It is hardly to be classed as a 'purely decorative border' (G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 158).

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Gilbert G. Gottsch. p. 459: 'die Zeusmythologie von zwei völlig verschiedenen Ausgangspunkten sich entwickelt hat, indem der kretische Zeus, Zeus Kition, ein durchaus anderer ist als der Zeus Pelagikos der Achaeer: ist jener ein Sonnengott, so ist dieser ein Himmels-gott,' cp. *ib.* 293 'Die Geburt des Zeus auf Kreta ist ein feststehendes Dogma des hellenischen Glaubens und der hier geborene Sonnen-Zeus ist ein völlig anderer als der hellenische Himmelszeus,' *alib.*

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. 'Εκατόμβαιος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Ἀθηναίους· καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν Γορτύνῃ καὶ παρ' Ἀρλᾶσι καὶ Κρησίν.

<sup>3</sup> That Zeus at Gortyna was a ram-god appears from Kallim. *frags.* 100<sup>f</sup> no. 37 = Antig. *hist. mir.* 163 καὶ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ὕδατιον, οὗ οἱ ὑπερκαθίζοντες, δταν ὑετός ᾗ, διατελοῦσιν ἄβροχοι, παραδεδύσθαι δὲ τοῖς Κρησίν, ἀπ' ἐκείνου λούσασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς μίξεως, Sotion *frags.* 4 p. 183 Westermann ἐν Κρήτῃ ὀχετός ὕδατος ἐστίν, ὃν οἱ διαβαίνοντες ὄντος τοῦ Διὸς ἄβροχοι διαβαίνουσιν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τῷ ὀχετῷ εἰσιν.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 524 ff., 537 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Kedien. *hist. comp.* 124 A (1. 217 Bekker) αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Μενέλαος ἅμα τοῖς συγγενέσι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Κρήτην ἀπέπλει ὡς Ἀστερίῳ Διὶ ἐν Γορτύνῃ πόλει θυσιασών. Io. Malal. *chron.* 5 p. 94 Dindorf ἐν τῷ δὲ διαίειν τον Μενέλαον ἐπὶ τὴν Κρήτην θυσιάζοντα Διὶ Ἀστερίῳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐν τῇ Γορτύνῃ πόλει συνέβη κ.τ.λ., Tzetz. *ante-hom.* 99 ff. ὁς Μενέλαος τοῖο δεδεγμένος ἀγλαὰ δῶρα | ἔπλεον ἐς Κρήτην, Διὶ εἰο προπάτορι βέζων | Ἀστερίῳ, βασιλῆϊ Κρητῶν περ ὄντι | οἱ πρὶν γάρ τε Δίας πάντας καλεον βασιλῆας, | οὐνεκά μιν καλὸς Διὸς ἀστήρ σῆλητρον ὀπάξει, | ἔξοχα δ' αὖ μοῖρῃσι παραὶ Νεμέϊο Λέοντος, | ἐν πέμπτῃ δὲ μάλιστ'· τὸ γὰρ βασιλεύτατον ἄλλων, | ἡελίοιο Ζῆνα παρ' ἀκτίνεσσι φαίνειν, *chil.* 1. 473 ff. Μίνως ὁ Κρῆς ἐπῆρχε παῖς Διὸς τοῦ Ἀστερίου· | τοῖς βασιλεῖς δ' ἀνέκαθε Δίας ἐκάλουν πάντας, | ὡς τοῦ ἀστέρος τοῦ Διὸς, ἐν λεονταίαις μοῖραις | ὠροδρομοῦντος καὶ καλῶς κειμένου γενεθλίοις, | ἐργαζομένου βασιλεῖς καὶ στεμματηφοροῦντας, | τοῦ Ἀστερίου τοιγαροῦν Διὸς θανόντος τοῦδε, | ὁ Μίνως κ.τ.λ., in Lyk. *Il.* 1301 οὗτος δὲ ὁ Λυκόφρων τὸν Ἀστεριον λέγει Δία πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ Σαρπηδόνος, Μίνως καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυος.

## 546 Zeus and the Bull in Cretan Myth

*Astérios* was a sun-god of Phoenician character<sup>1</sup>. Only, we must suppose that this solarisation of the Gortynian Zeus took place at a comparatively early date. The relevant facts are these. The Cnossian Minotaur, who in some sense represented the sun-god<sup>2</sup>, was called *Astérios* or *Asterion*<sup>3</sup>. At Gortyna too the sun-god must have been worshipped; for here he had herds of cattle<sup>4</sup>.



Fig. 414.

Hesiod, Bakchylides and others state that Zeus, having consorted with Europe, bestowed her upon the Cretan king *Asterion*<sup>5</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> Farnell *Cults of Grk States* i. 44, citing the opinion of W. Robertson Smith (*Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup> London 1907 p. 292) that Zeus' *Ἀστῆριος* was the male counterpart of Astarte.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 490 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 492, 495.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 410 n. 9, 471 n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Hes. *frag.* 209 Flach and Bakchyl. *frag.* 47 Jebb *ap. schol. Il.* 12. 292, Apollod. 3. 1. 2 (*supra* p. 464), Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 353 ff., 2. 693 ff., *et. mag.* p. 588, 24 ff.

*Astérios*<sup>1</sup> or *Ásteros*<sup>2</sup>, who married her and, being childless himself, reared the children that she bore to Zeus. Finally, Tzetzes asserts that Sarpedon, Minos, and Rhadamanthys, these very fosterlings, were the sons of Zeus *Astérios*<sup>3</sup>. It looks as though the contamination of the Gortynian Zeus with the solar cycle had begun as early as c 700 B.C. At what date king *Asterion* or *Astérios* developed into Zeus *Astérios*, it is hard to say. A red-figured *amphora* and red-figured fish-plates at Saint Petersburg show Europe on the bull approaching Crete, where she is met by a Zeus-like king, presumably *Asterion* or *Astérios*. He advances to greet her sceptre in hand (fig. 405)<sup>4</sup>, or awaits on his throne the arrival of her *cortège*, the coming marriage being indicated by the presence of two Erotes (fig. 414)<sup>5</sup>. Perhaps the shift from king *Astérios* to Zeus *Astérios* was the work of the Hellenistic age—an age notoriously marked by recrudescence of the early belief in the essential divinity of kings<sup>6</sup>.

But by Hellenistic times *Astérios* had ceased to connote 'Solar.' To the average understanding the word now meant 'Starry' and nothing else. Hence Zeus was brought into more definite relation to the starry sky. Silver coins of Crete struck by Nero show Zeus with a thunderbolt in one hand, a sceptre in the other, surrounded by seven stars (fig. 415)<sup>7</sup>. A copper struck by Titus represents Zeus *Kretagenís* amid the same group of stars in the act of hurling his bolt (fig. 115)<sup>8</sup>. On another copper struck by Trajan the infant Zeus is seated on a globe with a goat beside him and the stars above (fig. 28)<sup>9</sup>. Nor was the connexion between the god and the king forgotten. We have already compared the last-named coin-type with that on which Domitian's infant son appears sitting on a globe and flanked by the stars (fig. 27)<sup>10</sup>. Similarly silver coins of

<sup>1</sup> Diod. 4. 60, Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 222 ff., 35. 384 ff., 37. 46 ff., 81 ff., 724 ff., 40. 284 ff., Heron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 570, cp. *ib.* 572.

<sup>2</sup> Lysk. *Al.* 1301 *Ἀστέρης* (Herwerden cj. *Ἀστρίης*, Wilamowitz cj. *Ἀστρί*; but see C. von Holzinger *ad loc.*). Cp. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 12, who calls him Xanthus.

<sup>3</sup> *Ireta. chit.* 1. 473, in Lysk. *Al.* 1301 (*supra* p. 545 n. 5).

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 531.

<sup>5</sup> A fish-plate found at Elteghen in 1879 (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1880 p. 105 ff. with fig.). Cp. three very similar plates from Great Blisniza previously published (*id. ib.* 1866 p. 79 ff. pl. 3, 1 and 2, *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* n. 379 f. no. 1915, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 365 Atlas pl. 6, 20 a, b, Reinach *Rep. Vases* 1. 21, 22, 5, 6).

<sup>6</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii 278, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 303.

<sup>7</sup> *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 165 pl. 40, 2, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 340 no. 34 (Vienna) pl. 32, 22 (= my fig. 415), cp. *ib.* no. 35 pl. 32, 21 on which Zeus wears a *himation* and an eagle is added in the field.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 51 f.

## 548 Zeus and the Bull in Cretan Myth

Crete struck under Caligula and Claudius have a head of Augustus with radiate crown (fig. 416)<sup>1</sup>, or Augustus radiate with sceptre and *phiale* sitting on a curule chair (fig. 417)<sup>2</sup> or on a car drawn by four elephants (fig. 418)<sup>3</sup>, in each case encircled by the same seven stars. The emperor poses as the Cretan Zeus<sup>4</sup>.



Fig. 415.



Fig. 416.

What was this group of seven stars? Dr B. V. Head, who formerly<sup>5</sup> left them nameless, now<sup>6</sup> follows J. N. Svoronos<sup>7</sup> in identifying them with the *septem triones*<sup>8</sup>, the 'seven stars' *par excellence*, best known to us as the Great Bear. They are in fact sometimes (fig. 418) grouped about the divinised emperor in ap-



Fig. 417.



Fig. 418.

proximately the same position as on a modern star-map, four of them forming an irregular square and three a broken line. This constellation was called *Helike* and connected with the Cretan nurse of Zeus<sup>9</sup>. Popular fancy may have traced in it some

<sup>1</sup> Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 335 pl. 32, 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 1 pl. 1, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 164 pl. 40, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 334 pl. 32, 2, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 1 pl. 1, 1, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 479.

<sup>3</sup> Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 335 f. pl. 32, 3 and 8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 1 pl. 1, 3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 164, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 479.

<sup>4</sup> *Head Hist. num.*<sup>1</sup> p. 384 'perhaps in the character of Zeus Kretagenes.'

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.*<sup>1</sup> p. 384.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.*<sup>2</sup> p. 479.

<sup>7</sup> J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115 f.

<sup>8</sup> So already Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 629, ix. 78 f., x. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Gündel in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2858 ff., who attributes the connexion to Epimenides.

resemblance to a 'Willow' or a 'Willow'-leaf<sup>1</sup>. If so, the sacred tree of Europe attained a scientific euthanasia in the text-books of Hellenistic astronomy, as did the bull of Zeus, which was likewise placed among the stars to be the constellation Taurus<sup>2</sup>.

## xx. The Bull and the Sun in Syria.

### (a) Zeus *Ádados* and Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*.

The bull appears as a sacred animal in connexion with the sky-gods of Syria also. And here again the cults in question took on a solar character and were ultimately fused with that of Zeus or Iupiter.

This was the case with Adad or Hadad, 'king of the gods' and consort of Atargatis. Since a common designation of Adad describes him as a deity of the west or Amurru<sup>3</sup>, it has been conjectured that he was originally a god of the Amorites, imported into the Euphrates-valley by an Amoritish wave of migration. However that may be, his worship, widely spread in Palestine and Syria<sup>4</sup>, had reached Greece before the close of the second century B.C.—witness a series of inscriptions found by the French in Delos<sup>5</sup>. From these it appears that a certain Achaïos son of Apollonios, a native of Hieropolis resident among the Delians, dedicated a temple etc. 'to Adatos and Atargatis the gods of his fatherland' and was elected, presumably by his fellow-countrymen, to serve as priest thereof for the year 137–136 B.C.<sup>6</sup>. Repairs of the sanctuary

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese regard as a Willow-leaf the stars δ, ε, ξ, ω, θ, ρ, η, ζ of the constellation Hydra (G. Schlegel *Uranographia chinense* The Hague 1875 cited by A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 n. 337–340).

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Phryniae frag.* 820 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ap. pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 14. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 21, cp. Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 31 Dindorf, Nonn. *Dion.* 33. 287, German. *Arat.* 536 ff. Others took the constellation to be Pasiphae's bull or the Marathonian bull (schol. *Atat. phoen.* 167), or Io the cow (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 21). It is probable too, though not certain, that the same constellation was sometimes regarded as the bull-form of Dionysos (A. W. Curtius *Das Stiersymbol des Dionysos* Köln 1892 p. 6 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 825 n. 3 and p. 943 n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Philon Bybl. *frag.* 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 569 Muller) ap. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10 31 'Αδωδός βασιλεὺς θεῶν.

<sup>4</sup> *Ma-Tu*, the ideographic form of *Amurru*. See further A. T. Clay *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites* Philadelphia 1909 p. 77 ff.

<sup>5</sup> W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1987 ff., ii. 1179 ff., A. Jeremias *ib.* iv. 19 ff., R. Dussaud in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2157 ff., M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 156 ff., *id.* *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 117 ff.

<sup>6</sup> A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 479 ff., G. Doublet *ib.* 1892 xvi. 161.

<sup>7</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 495 f. no. 12, 5 f. 'Αδάτωι καὶ 'Αταργάτει θεοῖς πατρίοις.

## 550 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

were carried out in the priesthood of Seleukos son of Zenodoros, another Hieropolitan<sup>1</sup>. A third priest, the son of one Apollonides, hailed from the same town<sup>2</sup>. But after a time the little Syrian community had perforce to content itself with Athenian priests<sup>3</sup>, and was so far Hellenised as to acquiesce in a dedication 'to Zeus *Adados*<sup>4</sup>'. The cult was now strengthened by the addition of the ever-popular Asklepios<sup>5</sup> and the identification of Atargatis with Aphrodite *Hagnē*<sup>6</sup>, who however seems gradually to have ousted Adad from his place of honour<sup>7</sup>.

The worship of Adad continued to spread westward, but from a second centre of diffusion and with a slightly different complexion. At *Baalbek*, an old town<sup>8</sup> between the ranges of Libanos and Antilibanos, the Syrian god was so far solar that, when in the age of the Diadochoi Greek settlers occupied the site, they identified him with their own Helios and named the town Heliopolis. This name, which survived an influx of Roman colonists probably in the time of Augustus<sup>9</sup>, enabled the priests of the Egyptian Heliopolis to claim that the Syrian cult was a mere off-shoot of their own<sup>10</sup>. But there is no doubt that they were wrong: the Heliopolitan god was essentially a Grecised form of the Syrian Adad. If colonists

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 496 no. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 1882 vi. 497 no. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 1882 vi. 497 no. 15, 498 nos. 16 and 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 1892 vii. 161 [ὁ δαῖνα] [Ἀπολλωνίου(?) Δαῖ Ἀδαῶν | [χαρ]ιστηριον. cp. *ib.* 1882 vi. 502 f no. 25, 2 ff. Δαῖ τῶν πάντων κρατοῦντι ' καὶ Μητρὶ Μεγάλῃ τῇ πάντων κρατοῦσῃ

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 1882 vi. 498 no. 16, 5 f. Ἀδαῶν καὶ Ἀταργάτει καὶ Ἀσκληπίω.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 1882 vi. 497 no. 15, 3 f. Ἀγνή Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἀταργάτῃ καὶ Ἀδαῶν, 498 f. no. 18, 1 f. Ἀταργάτῃ | [Ἀγ]νὴ θεῶν, 499 no. 19, 1 Ἀγνὴ θεῶν Ἀταργάτῃ, 500 ff. no. 24, 3 τῶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀγνὴ θεᾷ, 9 τῇ Ἀγνὴ θεᾷ (where Adad is assimilated to Helios).

<sup>7</sup> A Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 487.

<sup>8</sup> The name *Baalbek* means 'Lord of the Beka,' i.e. of the fertile valley between Libanos and Antilibanos. My friend Prof. F. C. Burkitt kindly informs me that the word *Beka* itself is of unknown significance. He adds that the name *Baalbek* occurs c. 400 A.D. in the 'Exploits of Mai Rabbulā' p. 196, last line (*infra* p. 555), and even before 340 A.D. in Eusebius *Theophania* 2. 14 (a work extant only in the ancient Syriac translation (Brit. Mus. Add. 12150 the MS. is dated 411 A.D.)). The passage in question, containing the earliest mention of *Baalbek*, is thus translated by S. Lee (*Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea on the Theophania* Cambridge 1843 p. 74): 'And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phoenicians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck, the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time, so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus.' Cp. *infra* p. 554 n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Baalbek* Berlin 1905 p. 4, cp. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 552.

<sup>10</sup> *Infra* pp. 552, 572 ff.

## Zeus *Adados* and Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* 551

came from Rome to *Baalbek*, Adad found his way from *Baalbek* to Rome. In the grove of Furrina on the east side of the Ianiculum several foreign deities were worshipped. Here an altar has recently come to light bearing the three-fold inscription 'to the god *Adados*,' 'to the god *Adados* of Libanos', and 'to the god *Adados* of the Mountain-top'. These titles perhaps indicate the growing tendency to equate Adad with Zeus the mountain-god rather than with Helios. Indeed, the Romans in general spoke of him as Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*. Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) began<sup>1</sup> and his successors down to Caracalla (211-217 A.D.) helped to complete on the akropolis of *Baalbek* a sumptuous complex of buildings, which included temples of Iupiter and Bacchus. Of these we shall have more to say. For the moment we are concerned to note that, starting from this great cult-centre, the worship of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* travelled far afield. He is mentioned, for example, in inscriptions from Athens<sup>4</sup>, from Aquincum<sup>5</sup> Carnuntum<sup>6</sup> and Siscia<sup>7</sup> in Pannonia, from the Latovici on the borders of Venetia<sup>8</sup>, from Puteoli<sup>9</sup>, the Portus Romanus<sup>10</sup> and Rome itself<sup>11</sup>, from

<sup>1</sup> A Phoenician dedication 'to the Baal of Libanon, his Lord' has been found in Kypros (*Corp. inscr. Sem.* no. 5, W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Eomun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 37, 66).

<sup>2</sup> P. Gauckler in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 p. 144 ff., C. Clermont-Ganneau *Revue d'Archéologie Orientale* Paris 1907 viii. 51, R. Dussaud in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2161, 2163. The altar is of white marble, 0.75 m. high: the inscription on its front is unfinished—ΘΕΩ ΑΔΑ ΔΩ ΑΝΕΘΗ (*sic*); that on the right reads ΘΕΩ ΑΔΑΔΩ (a carved *palera*) ΛΙΒΑΝΕΩΤΗ; that on the left ΘΕΩ ΑΔΑΔΩ (a carved ewer) | ΑΚΡΟΡΕΙΤΗ.

<sup>3</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* ii p. 280 Dindorf 'Ἡλῖος Ἀντωνίνος Πίος ὅστις ἐκτίσεν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τῆς Φοινίκης τοῦ Λιβάνου ναὸν τῷ Διὶ μέγαν, ἕνα καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα τῶν θεαμάτων.

<sup>4</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* in Suppl. no. 7280 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4284 [I. o.] m. et Veneri et Mercutio; Heliopolit[an]is.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3462 (cp. in Suppl. no. 13366) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4297 I. o. m. Dulceno; Heliopolitan.

<sup>6</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. nos. 11139, 11138 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4285 [I.] o. m. H., Veneri; Vietrici, 4286 I. o. m. Heliopolitano.

<sup>7</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3955 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4293 I. o. m. Heliopolitano.

<sup>8</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3908 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4296 I. o. m. D. et I. o. m. H.

<sup>9</sup> *Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1898 ii. 374 no. 2 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4289 [ex.] iussu I. o. m. Heliopolitan[is], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 1578 (cp. *ib.* no. 1579) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4290 ex iussu I. o. m. Heliopolitan[is] (cp. *ib.* no. 4291).

<sup>10</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 24 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4294 I. o. m. Angelo Heliop. See *infra* p. 567 n. 5.

<sup>11</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 420, 423, 422, 421 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 398 I. o. m. Heliopolitan[is] Κομμόδω | ἀνδρὶ βα[σι]λε[υ]σάτῳ | ἀσπιστῇ [τῆς] οἰκουμένης; | Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Commod[us] Antonino Pio [Felici Aug.] Sarm. Germanic[o], 4287 (altar shewing relief of a goddess with mural crown, who holds rudder

## 552 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

Massilia<sup>1</sup> and Nemausus<sup>2</sup> in Gaul, even from Magna in Britain (*i.e.* Carvoran on the wall built by Hadrian)<sup>3</sup>.

As to the character and ritual of the cult thus propagated an interesting account is given by Macrobius<sup>4</sup> (c. 400 A.D.):

'The Assyrians too worship the sun under the name of Jupiter, Zeus *Helioipolites* as they call him, with important rites in the city of Heliopolis. The image of the god was taken from a town in Egypt<sup>5</sup>, which is likewise named Heliopolis, in the days of Senemuris or Sencpos king of the Egyptians, and was conveyed to its destination first by Opias, legate of Deleboris king of the Assyrians, and by Egyptian priests, the chief of whom was Partenectis. After being kept for long by the Assyrians, it subsequently reached Heliopolis. Why this was done, and how, starting from Egypt, it came to be where it now is, an object worshipped with Assyrian rather than Egyptian rites, I refrain from saying, since it has nothing to do with the matter in hand. But that this divinity is at once Jupiter and the sun is manifest both from the nature of its ritual and from its outward appearance. It is in fact a golden statue of beardless aspect, standing like a charioteer with a whip in its raised right hand, a thunderbolt and corn-ears in its left—attributes which all indicate the combined power of Jupiter and the sun.

'In the cult attaching to this temple divination is a strong point; and divination is regarded as the prerogative of Apollon, who is to be identified with the sun. The image of the god of Heliopolis is carried on a litter resembling those used for the images of the gods at the procession of the Circus Games. It is usually borne by the chief men of the district. They shave their heads, purify themselves by a prolonged period of chastity, and are moved by the divine spirit, carrying the litter not according to their own inclination but where the god impels them to go<sup>6</sup>, just as at Antium we see the images of the *Fortunae* move forwards to deliver their responses. Persons at a distance also consult this god, sending documents folded and sealed—he replies in order to the contents about which they express a wish to consult him. Thus, when the emperor Trajan was going to lead an army from that district into Parthia, certain friends of his, devout men whose faith in this deity was based on convincing proofs, advised him to consult the oracle about the issue of his enterprise. Acting with Roman prudence, he first tested its trustworthiness, to make sure that human guile had no hand in the matter. He began by sending a sealed letter, to which he desired a written reply. The god bade paper be brought,

in right hand, *cornu opiae* in left, and stands between two lions) I. o. m. H., conservation imperii d. n. Gordiani | Pii fel. invicti Aug., 4295 I. o. m. H. Aug. | sacr., Genio Formarum, et cultoribus huius, loci, 2546 I. o. m. Heliopolitano. Of these inscriptions the first three probably came from the sanctuary on the Laniculum (*supra* p. 551).

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 404 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4295 Iovi o. m. H. prop. (*P. opio*? Frochner, *Propitio*? vel *Propagatori*? Hushfield).

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 3072 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4288 I. o. m. Heliopolitan., et Nemauso (on the left of this stone is the relief described and figured *infra* p. 569 t.; on the right a shield and a dagger<sup>3</sup> are carved; on the base is a sacred *crata*).

<sup>3</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 752 I. o. m., Heliopolit<sup>2</sup>, cp. *ib.* no. 753 I. o. m. [D.] H.

<sup>4</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 23. 10–20.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. *supra* p. 357.



sealed, and sent off, with nothing written on it. The priests, ignorant of the real circumstances of the correspondence, were fairly amazed at this action. Trajan, on receiving his answer, was deeply impressed; for he himself had sent a blank sheet to the god. He then wrote and sealed another letter, in which he asked whether he would return to Rome when the war was over. The god thereupon ordered that a centurion's vine-staff, one of the offerings dedicated in his temple, should be brought, broken into bits, wrapped in a handkerchief, and taken to him forthwith. The issue of the thing became clear when Trajan died and his bones were brought back to Rome. For the appearance of his remains was indicated by the broken pieces, and the time of his approaching death by the fact that it was a vine<sup>1</sup>.

To prevent my argument from ranging through a whole list of divinities, I will explain what the Assyrians believe concerning the power of the sun. They have given the name *Adad* to the god<sup>2</sup> whom they venerate as highest and greatest. The name is interpreted to mean "One One<sup>3</sup>." Him therefore they adore as a god mighty above all others. But with him they associate a goddess called *Adargatis*<sup>4</sup>. To these two they ascribe all power over the universe, understanding them to be the sun and the earth. They do not mark the subdivision of their power into this, that, and the other sphere by means of numerous names, but prefer to show forth the manifold glory of the double deity by the attributes with which they are adorned. These attributes of themselves proclaim a solar character. The image of *Adad* is seen conspicuous with rays slanting downwards, which shows that the force of the sky consists in the sunbeams sent down to the earth. The image of *Adargatis* is conspicuous with rays turned upwards, to show that whatever the earth produces springs from the force of the beams sent up on high<sup>5</sup>. Beneath this same image are the forms of lions, showing that it stands for the earth; just as the Phrygians represent the Mother of the gods, that is the earth, carried by lions.<sup>6</sup>

It might be inferred from Macrobius' account that the deities worshipped at *Baralbek* were *Adad* and *Atargatis*. It is, however,

<sup>1</sup> That is, the centurion's vine showed that Trajan would die in the course of the campaign (117 A.D.), it being a mark of military authority.

<sup>2</sup> Clearly Zeus *Heliopolitanus* is meant: see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1987, 41 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Opinions are divided as to the value of this interpretation (W. Drexler *ib.* i. 1987 f., E. Meyer *ib.* i. 2900 f.). My friend, the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns, Master of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, informs me that Macrobius, who is taking *Adad* to be a reduplicated form of *adu*, the Assyrian, Syriac, and Hebrew word for 'one,' is certainly wrong. The name must be connected with the verb *adadu*, which had two distinct meanings, viz. (1) 'to be sharp, keen, pointed,' and (2) 'to love.' If we associate *Adad* with the first *adadu*, the reference may be to his piercing weapon, the thunderbolt; if with the second *adadu*, we may compare the forms *adiu*, *dadiu*, and such names as David and Dido, which properly denote 'the Beloved One.' R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2157 says: 'Der Charakter des Gottes berechtigt die Annäherung mit dem arabischen *halidu*, "zerbrechen, krachen."' See further A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 23.

<sup>4</sup> On *Atargatis* see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1896, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 650 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Bundles of rays resembling wings start from the shoulders of various Assyrian deities, e.g. Samas the sun-god (Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 181 f. pl. 84, 3-7; G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*<sup>4</sup> London 1901 p. 656, M. Jastrow *Bildermaße zur Religion Babylonien und Assyrien* Gießen 1912 p. 100 pl. 48 ff. nos. 170 ff.).

probable that another Syrian god, Seimios by name, received joint honours with them: for inscriptions attest a Heliopolitan triad Latinised as Iupiter, Venus, and Mercurius<sup>1</sup>.

*Baalbek*, the seat of this remarkable cult, has seen many changes. Of its Syrian, Greek, and Roman phases we have already spoken. It remains to sketch its subsequent history and to indicate the present condition of its ruins.

Heliopolis was for long a battle-ground of paganism and Christianity. Of this great struggle we get but intermittent glimpses. In 297 A.D. Gelasinos the mime<sup>2</sup> was suddenly converted while in the very act of parodying the Christian rite of baptism: he at once made a profession of his faith, and was thereupon dragged out of the theatre by the enraged audience and stoned to death<sup>3</sup>. Later, Constantine the Great (306-337 A.D.) destroyed the temple of Aphrodite, instituted a Christian church in its stead, and abolished by law the ancient local custom of prostitution before and even after wedlock<sup>4</sup>. The pagans were furious and retaliated by prostituting the Christian virgins and heaping upon them the most infamous tortures<sup>5</sup>. About the same time the people seized the deacon Kyrillos, who had defaced many of their idols, did him to death and—if we may believe Theodoret—ripped him up and got their teeth into his liver<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* in Suppl. no. 7280 (Athens) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4284 [I. o.] m. et Veneti et Mercurio Heliopoli [t]ians Q. Tadius Maximus v. l. a. 150). A. von Domaszewski in the *Heidelb. Ztschrift* 1897 xvi Korrespondenzblatt p. 172 (near Selgenstadt) I. [o.] m. Heliop[ol]itano, Me[n]eri feleni, Mercurio [A]ug[ustinus] M. Iulius Marci fil. Fa[bi]a Rufus Papinianus Sentius Gemellus do[m]no Be[ne]dicti. praef. coh. A[q]uit. castris I. id. Im[ph]ia[o] n et Aqu[il]ia[o] cos. (c. 249 A.D.) v. s. s. l. m. P. Perdrizet in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 131 (cp. P. Ronzevalle *ib.* 1900 p. 255) I. o. m. H. Veneti Me[rcurio] M. Sentius En[im] M. Sentius ex[respons]o divi M. B. ( *Magna Baïmarcolis*), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* in Suppl. no. 11139 [I.] o. m. H. Veneti Victori M. Titus Heliodonius Aug. col. Kar. ( *augustalis or augur colonia Karmania*), v. s. sacerdotib. Vibio Crescente et Heren. Nigriniano, *ib.* in Suppl. no. 11140 [Iovi optimo maximo Heliopolitano et Veneti victori sacri] [pro salute imp. Caesaris M. Aurélii Antonini Compositi Augusti sacerdotibus] See now R. Dussaud in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 54.

<sup>2</sup> On the ugly connotation of the words *μῦθος, μυῦς* in the Hellenistic east see I. Bloch *Die Prostitution* Berlin 1912 i. 597.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. Pasch.* p. 513 Dindorf. See further the Rev. G. T. Stokes in Smith-Wace *Diet. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 617.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. *v. Constantin.* 3. 58 (cp. *supra* p. 550 n. 8), Sokr. *hist. eccl.* i. 18. On this custom consult E. S. Hartland 'Concerning the rite at the temple of Mylitta' in the *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 189—202, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 366 n. 2, Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>1</sup>; Adonis Attis Osiris<sup>2</sup> p. 32 f.

<sup>5</sup> Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 10, cp. Greg. *Naz. invectivae adv. Julian.* i. 86 f. (Migne xxxv. 616), Nikephor. 10. 9 (Migne cxlvi. 464 f.), Abulpharag. *hist. comp. dynast.* p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> Theodoret. *eccl. hist.* 3. 7.

Heathenism was for a while triumphant<sup>1</sup>. But in 379 A.D. Theodosios finally demolished<sup>2</sup> the great temple of Zeus and built a Christian church upon its site<sup>3</sup>. Even so religious rioting was not ended. About 400 A.D. Rabbûla, the future bishop of Edessa, went with his friend Eusebios to *Ba'albek* 'in order to obtain the crown of martyrdom by raising a disturbance in the great Temple—somewhat after the fashion of the late Mr Kensit. But the crown of martyrdom was not destined for Rabbûla, and the two enthusiasts only succeeded in getting themselves thrown down the temple steps<sup>4</sup>'. According to Michael the Syrian, the 'great and famous idol' of *Ba'albek* was still to be seen in the time of Justin ii (565–578 A.D.)<sup>5</sup>.

*Ba'albek* passed into Mohammedan hands in 634 A.D., and was subject to Arab rule till 1517, when the Turks gained possession of Syria. The akropolis with its ruined temples was early transformed into a strong citadel, the *K'ala'a*, which still stands much as it stood at the close of the thirteenth century with walls and towers, ports and loop-holes, in a wonderful state of preservation<sup>6</sup>.

'No ruins of antiquity,' says Mr W. B. Donne, 'have attracted more attention than those of Heliopolis, or been more frequently or accurately measured and described. They were visited by

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* 4. 22.

<sup>2</sup> It had been already overthrown by earthquakes (O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 138, *cf. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 5).

<sup>3</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 13 p. 344 Dindorf τοὺς δὲ ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάντας κατέστρεψεν ἕως ἐδάφους ὁ αὐτὸς Θεοδοσίος βασιλεὺς. κατέλυσεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιουπόλεως τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβύθιον τὸ λεγόμενον τρίλιθον, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανοῖς, *Chron.* P. 561 Dindorf Κωνσταντίνος ὁ αὐδιδιμος βασιλεὺς τὰ ἱερὰ μόνον ἐκλείσεν καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οὗτος Θεοδοσίος καὶ κατέλυσεν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιουπόλεως τὸ τοῦ Βαλανίου τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβύθιον [καὶ] τὸ τρίλιθον (*infra* p. 562 f.), καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανῶν.

Various attempts have been made to connect the word Βαλανίου with the name *Ba'al* (see the note by J. Markland in Dindorf's ed. of the *Chronicon Paschale* ii. 394 ff., M. A. Levy *Phœnicische Studien* Breslau 1856 i. 32 n. 1, and F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo univ. Oeniponte* 1908 p. 203). But Prof. F. C. Burkitt and Mr N. McLean both assure me that they are highly improbable, and independently suggest that we have here the Greek βαλανεῖον, which appears in Syriac as *balinā* (cp. S. A. Cook *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions* Cambridge 1898 p. 30). This is the more likely because in Christian times one of the lustration-basins in the precinct at *Ba'albek* was actually transformed into a swimming-bath (*infra* p. 559 n. 3).

<sup>4</sup> F. C. Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity* London 1904 p. 50, citing J. J. Overbeck *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulac Episcopi Edesseni, Balaci aliorumque opera selecta* (Oxford 1865 p. 196 'Exploits of Mar Rabbula').

<sup>5</sup> Michael the Syrian trans. J. B. Chabot ii. 262 f., cited by R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 Add. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 51.

<sup>6</sup> For further details of successive changes made in mediaeval times see O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 99–101, *cf. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 5 f.

## 556 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

Thevet in 1550; by Pococke in 1739-40; by Maundrell in 1745; by Wood and Dawkins in 1751; by Volney in 1785; and by many subsequent travellers, including the Duke of Ragusa, in 1834<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, despite the good work done by these explorers<sup>2</sup>, several problems still awaited solution. Fortunately a visit of the German emperor and empress on Nov. 1, 1898, led to a further and in many respects final exploration of the site (1900-1904) by O. Puchstein and a band of able associates. The results obtained by them<sup>3</sup> may be here summarised.

The *Propylaion*<sup>4</sup> in accordance with an ancient oriental scheme consisted of two towers united by a colonnade, and was approached by a broad flight of steps. The steps have disappeared; but much of the two-storeyed towers and at least the bases of the twelve columns remain, three of these bearing Latin inscriptions, which tell how Longinus, a life-guard of the first Parthian legion, and Septimius, an imperial freedman, in gratitude for the safety of Caracalla adorned their capitals with a sheathing of gilded bronze<sup>5</sup>.

Immediately behind the *Propylaion* lies a hexagonal court, once surrounded by columns, of which scanty traces are left<sup>6</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Donne in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 1037.

<sup>2</sup> See especially R. Pococke *A description of the East, and some other countries* London 1743 ii. 106-113. R. Wood *The ruins of Babylon, otherwise Helicopolis in Cheloveria* London 1757 with 46 pls., C. I. Volney *Travels through Syria and Egypt, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785* (English ed.) London 1787 ii. 232-248 with a plan and view, L. F. Cassas *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phénicie, de la Palestine, et de la basse Égypte* Paris 1799 (an 7) ii pls. 1, 3, 4, 15, 16, 17, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 47, 54, 56, 57, H. Frauberger *Die Akropolis von Babylon* Frankfurt a. M. 1892 with 10 figs., 20 photographic pls., a plan, and a restoration.

<sup>3</sup> O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 133-160 with figs. 1-9 and pls. 4-7, *id. ib.* 1902 xvii. 87-124 with 3 figs. and pls. 4-9, *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Babylon* Berlin 1905 pp. 1-40 with figs. 1-12, *id. Guide de Babylon* Berlin 1906 with figs. and plans, O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Babylon*. 30 Ansichten der deutschen Ausgrabungen Berlin 1910.

<sup>4</sup> O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 88 f., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Babylon* Berlin 1905 p. 8 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Babylon* Berlin 1910 pls. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 138 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4283 [I. o.] m. dis Helicopol. pro sal. | [et] victoris d. n. Antonini Pii fel. Aug. et Fulviae Aug. matris d. n. cast. senat. patris. Aur. Ant. Longinus specul. leg. i. [Antoniniana capita columnarum dua aerea auro inluminata sua pecunia ex voto l. a. s. On these two inscriptions see O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 154 n. 11. *Id. ib.* 1902 xvii. 89 publishes the third inscription: [I. o.] m. pro sal[ute] d. [n.] imp. Antonin[us] Pii Felici[s] . . . [Sep]tim[us] . . . [bas Aug. lib. caput columnae aeneum auro inluminatum votum sua pecunia l. a. s.].

<sup>6</sup> O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 139 f., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Babylon* Berlin 1905 p. 11 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Babylon* Berlin 1910 pls. 6, 7.

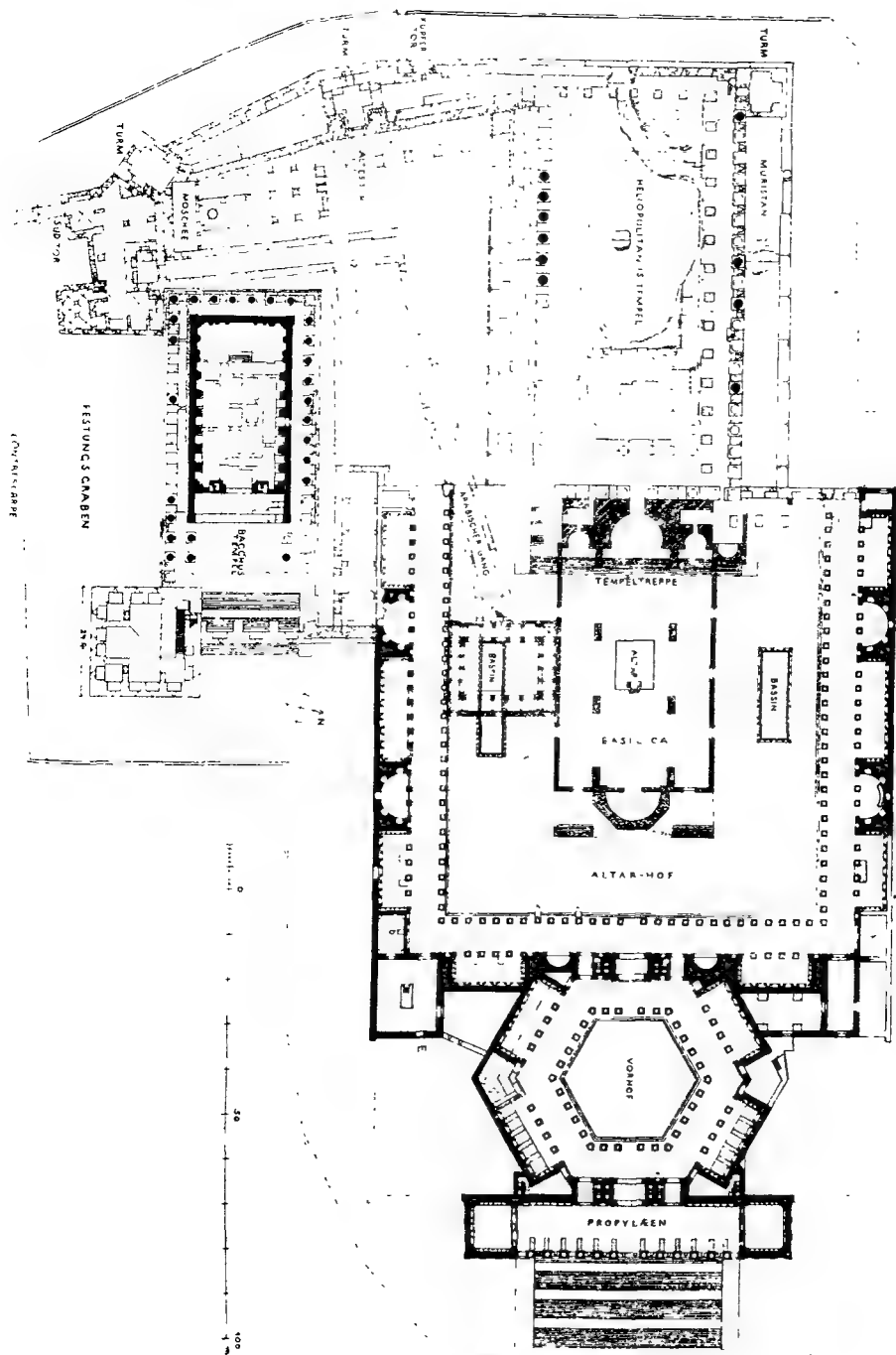


Fig. 419.

## 558 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

original intention of this court<sup>1</sup> is not known. Certain Helio-politan coins struck by Philippus Senior and his wife Otacilia (figs. 420<sup>2</sup>, 421<sup>3</sup>, 422<sup>4</sup>) have been thought to represent a cypress-tree seen through the central gate-way of the *Propylaion*<sup>5</sup>. If that were so, we might reasonably conjecture that the hexagonal court enclosed a sacred cypress-tree or cypress-grove. But the best-preserved specimens of these coins fully confirm the view<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 420.



Fig. 421.



Fig. 422.

advocated by Monsieur R. Dussaud<sup>7</sup> that we have here a corn-ear (cp. *infra* fig. 427) rather than a cypress-tree. The god within held

<sup>1</sup> It was, perhaps in the fourth century A.D., transformed into a Christian church and roofed over for the purpose, its walls being then first pierced with windows (O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Braklak* Berlin 1905 p. 12).

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. pp. lxxviii, 292 pl. 36, 6 Philippus Senior, with legend COLIVLA VGGEE IO MH COL HEL, *Coloniae Juliae Augusta Filialis* (Jovi Optimo Maximo Helio-politano) *Coloniae Helio-politae*. *Ib.* p. 293 Otacilia, with the same legend. Cp. F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 pp. 12 f., 403 Philippus Senior, 14 Otacilia.

<sup>3</sup> F. De Saulcy *op. cit.* p. 12 f. pl. 1, 5 Philippus Senior, with legend COLIVLA VGGEE IO MH. *Ib.* p. 14 Otacilia, with the same legend.

<sup>4</sup> F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 pp. 97 ff., 360 pl. 6, 5 Philippus Senior (Paris), with legend COLIVLA VGGEE IO MH. Cp. *Hunt. Cat. Coins* iii. 221 no. 6 Philippus Senior.

<sup>5</sup> The tree is described as a cypress by Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 93, Suppl. ii. 1344 f., Eckhel *Doctr. num.* vii. 2 m. 335, F. Lajard *op. cit.* p. 97 ff., F. De Saulcy *op. cit.* pp. 12 ff., 403. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* v. 302 no. 123 wrongly took it to be a cedar. A cypress is the central object on other coppers of Helio-polis, which show two naked athletes seated on rocks and supporting an agonistic urn above it (F. Lajard *op. cit.* p. 100 Valerian, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 295 pl. 36, 12 Gallienus).

Cypress-trees are not often associated with Zeus. But the temple of Zeus *Nemeios* at Nemea stood in a cypress-grove (Paus. 2. 15. 2) and the shrines used by the mystics of Zeus *Idaios* in Crete were roofed with cypress-wood (Eur. *Cretas frag.* 47; Nauck<sup>2</sup>): cp. the coin of Ephesos (*supra* p. 134 fig. 100) and Hemippos *frag.* 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 42 Muller) *ap. Diog. Laert.* 8. 10 ἀπείχοντο δὲ (sc. οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι) καὶ σοροῦ κνπαρισσίνης διὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἐντεῦθεν πεποιῆσθαι, Iambli. v. *Pyth.* 155 κνπαρισσίην δὲ μὴ δεῖν κατασκευάζεσθαι σωρὸν (leg. σορὸν) ὑπαγορεύει διὰ τὸ κνπαρίσσινον γιγομένην τὸ τοῦ Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἢ δὲ ἄλλον τινα μυστικὸν λόγον.

<sup>6</sup> T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 123 fig. 34.

<sup>7</sup> R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 92 ff.

corn-ears in his hand. Is it possible that his fore-court contained a patch of sacred corn<sup>1</sup>?

Beyond the hexagon was a large square court<sup>2</sup> with Corinthian porticoes on three sides of it, but never finished on the fourth. The bases and capitals of the columns were of limestone; their shafts of red Egyptian granite—monoliths 7·08 metres in height and finely polished. Numerous fragments of the richly decorated entablature still strew the ground. This court was flanked by apsidal niches and rectangular recesses; and beneath the floor was a vaulted *souterrain*. In the middle of the court was the great altar of burnt offering, now sunk in the floor of the later Christian *basilica*<sup>3</sup>. To right and left of the altar was an oblong reservoir for lustration-water, adorned with a mosaic floor, above which rose a circular baldachin presumably covering a fountain-statue. The whole court,

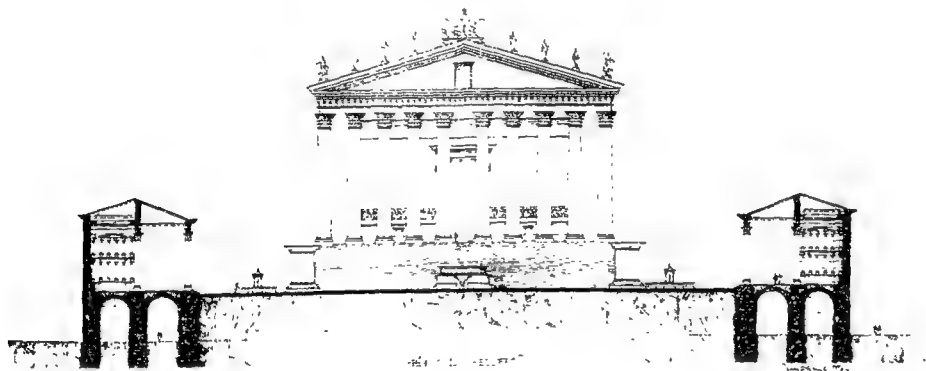


Fig. 423.

as inscriptions attest, was set out with bronze portraits of the imperial family (Sabina the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Gordian, etc.) and of other prominent persons (such as the officer Velius Rufus), all dedicated by colonists in Heliopolis.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the rites of Adonis as described by the schol. Theokr. 15. 112 εἰώθει γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἀδωνίους περὶ καὶ κριθὰς σπείρειν ἐν τισὶ προαστείουσιν (προαστείους G. Hermann, γαστείους Bast) καὶ τοῖς φυτευθέντας κήπους Ἀδωνείους προσαγορεύειν. The Ἀγροίηρος ἢ Ἀγρότης of Philon Bybl. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 567 Muller) appears to be Adad viewed as an agricultural god (R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Em.* viii. 56).

<sup>2</sup> O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 135 ff., 140 ff., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 14 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Baalbek* Berlin 1910 pls. 8—13, 14a, 15.

<sup>3</sup> The *basilica* was in all probability the church built by Theodosios (*supra* p. 555). It was originally entered at the eastern end, therein resembling the temple of Zeus, which it was designed to supersede. At some later date its entrance was shifted to the western end, that it might conform to the usual arrangement of a Christian church, while the southern lustration-reservoir was modified into a *piscina* or swimming-bath connected with it (*supra* p. 555 n. 3).

## 560 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

At the western end of the altar-court rose the temple of Zeus<sup>1</sup> (fig. 423). An imposing stylobate, some 7 metres higher than the level of the court, was mounted by means of a broad flight of steps. The temple-platform, exclusive of the steps, measured 47·70 metres

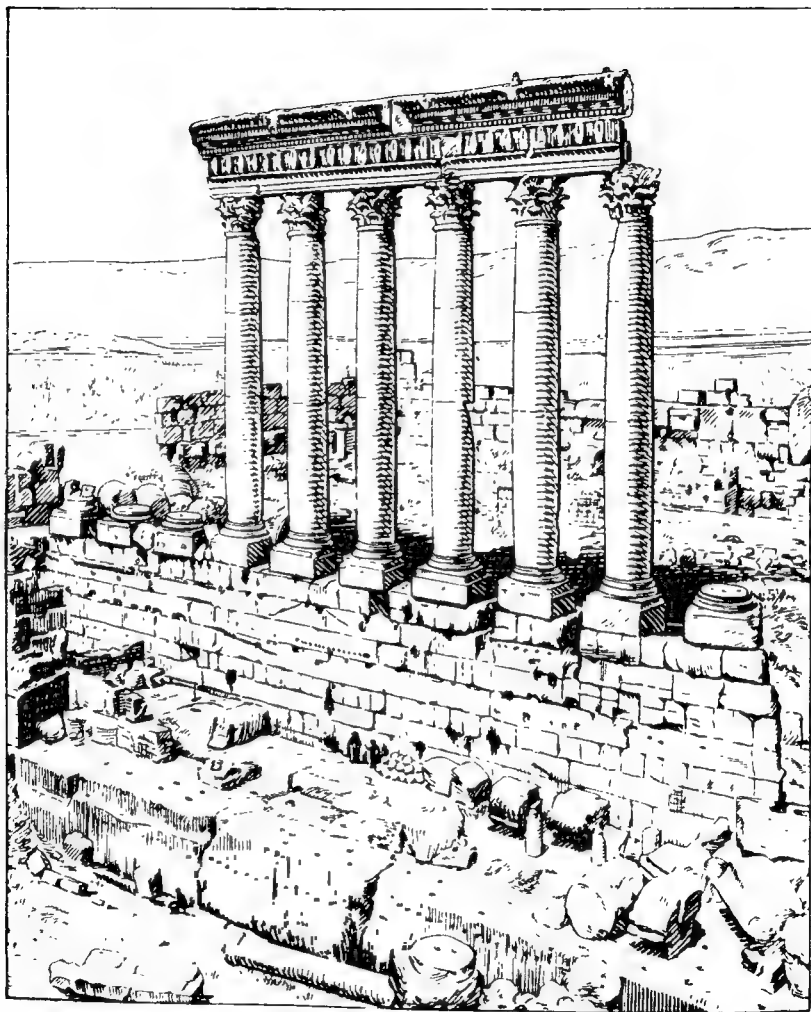


Fig. 424.

in width by 87·75 metres in length. Round it stood a single row of unfluted Corinthian columns. Ten of these were visible at either end and nineteen down each of the long sides. Six of them on the

<sup>1</sup> O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii 91 ff., *id. Führt durch die Ruinen von Baalbek* Berlin 1905 p. 21 f., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Baalbek* Berlin 1910 pls. 14<sup>b</sup>, 16, 17.



south still carry their entablature (fig. 424)<sup>1</sup>. The *naós* itself, except for sundry patches of a cement-paving, has entirely disappeared. And its foundation-walls are so imperfectly preserved that at present



Fig. 425.



Fig. 426.

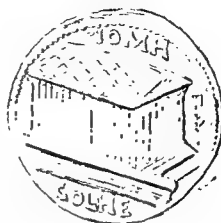


Fig. 427.

it has not been found possible to reconstruct the complete ground-plan with certainty. It is, however, clear that the temple was pseudodipteral, *i.e.* that in lieu of an inner row of columns it had



Fig. 428.

a very broad *ptéron* or ambulatory. The whole building is shown in perspective on coins of Septimius Severus, his wife Iulia Domna, Caracalla, Philippus Senior, and Otacilia (figs. 425<sup>2</sup>, 426<sup>3</sup>, 427<sup>4</sup>). It

<sup>1</sup> O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *op. cit.* pl. 17. In the background appears the snow-capped range of Libanos, in the foreground, the lowest course of the temple-terrace—gigantic blocks 4·12<sup>m</sup> high, 3·12<sup>m</sup> thick, and 9·50<sup>m</sup> long.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. pp. lxxvii, 290 pl. 36. 3 Septimius Severus, with legend IOMH COLHEL, *Iozi Optimo Maximo Heliopolitano Colonia Heliopol'ev.* *Ib.* p. 291 Iulia Domna, 293 Philippus Senior, with the same legend.

<sup>3</sup> E. De Sauley *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 8 f. pl. 1, 3 Septimius Severus, p. 9 Iulia Domna, p. 10 Caracalla, p. 14 Otacilia, all with the same legend.

<sup>4</sup> R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 94 f. fig. 23.

## 562 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

was supported on three sides—north, west, and south—by a terrace<sup>1</sup> consisting of a huge outer wall and a filling of massive stones. The construction of this outer wall was no light task, even for the all-daring engineers of Rome. A strong foundation of headers and stretchers was topped by a *podium* of colossal blocks. The lowest visible course was designed to exhibit a moulded base, though the

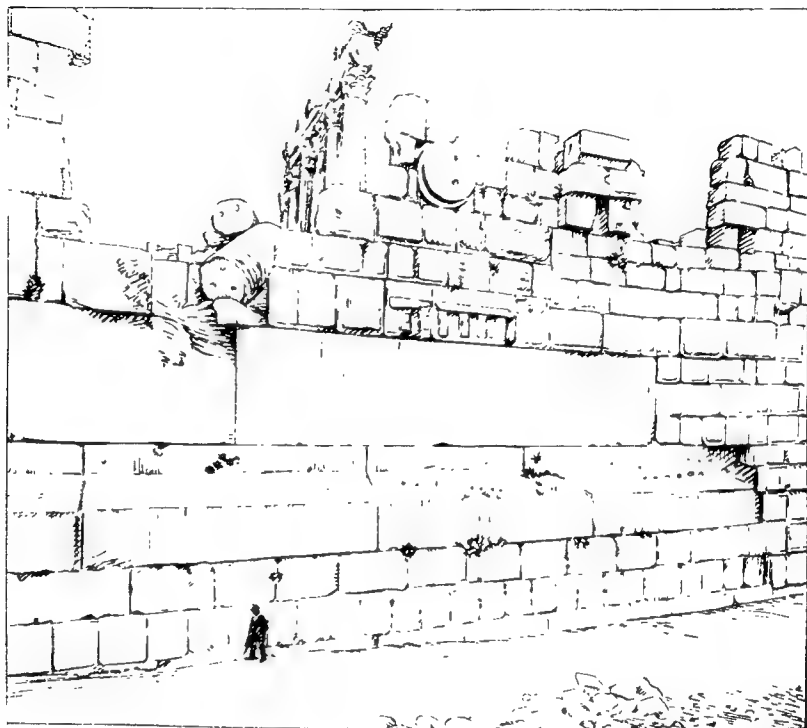


Fig. 429.

moulding was never completed. On this rested the main face of the *podium* (fig. 428)<sup>2</sup>. At the western end it was formed by three gigantic monoliths, each 4.34 metres high by 3.65 metres deep, and respectively 19.10, 19.20, and 19.56 metres long<sup>3</sup>. These enormous

<sup>1</sup> O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 91 ff., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 pp. 23 f., 34 f., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Baalbek* Berlin 1910 pls. 17, 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 428 is reproduced from a drawing by D. Krencker in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 93. It shows a section through the temple of Zeus from north to south. The extant portions of the terrace-wall to right (N.) and left (S.) of the temple are hatched; the original profile of the terrace is indicated by a dotted line.

<sup>3</sup> The dimensions are given by Durm *Baukunst d. Rom.*<sup>2</sup> p. 9 as 4<sup>m</sup> high and 19.45<sup>m</sup>, 19.21<sup>m</sup>, 19.52<sup>m</sup> long.

blocks were fitted together with astonishing precision (fig. 429)<sup>1</sup>, and, as R. Wood pointed out<sup>2</sup>, earned for the temple that towered above them the popular name of the *Trilithon*<sup>3</sup>. The unknown architect dreamed of employing an even vaster block; for in the neighbouring quarry lies half-finished a stone, which measures at one end some 4'30, at the other some 5'30, metres square and

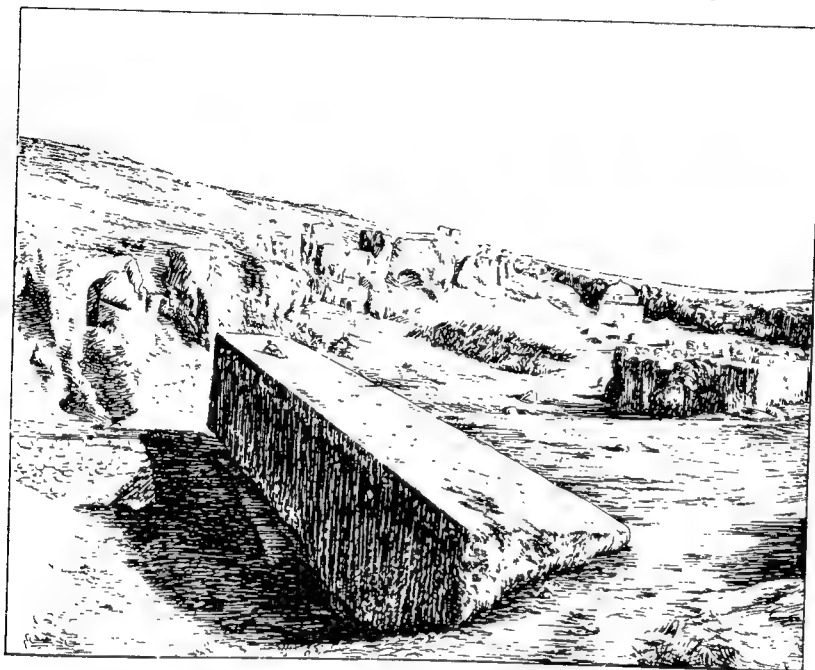


Fig. 430.

attains a length of 21·72 metres (fig. 430)<sup>4</sup>. Greeks and Romans alike seem to have argued that, the greater the god, the more grandiose must be his dwelling place<sup>5</sup>. And Zeus as lord of all

<sup>1</sup> O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii pl. 6.

<sup>2</sup> R. Wood *The ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* London 1787 p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 555 n. 3. A parallel is furnished by the fourth temple of Apollon at Delphoi, that built by Triphomios and Agamedes (Paus. 10. 5. 13), which was called τὸ ἄδευτον ἐκ πέντε λίθων (Steph. Byz. s.v. Δελφοί). It was the temple of epic times, the λαίωτος οἶκός (Il. 9. 404 f., Od. 8. 79 ff.), and its foundations are expressly said to have been 'broad and very long' (H. 11. 294 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> O. Puchstein & T. von Lupke *Baralbek* Berlin 1910 pl. 28. *Durm Baukunst d. Rom.* 2 p. 9 f. figs. 4 f. states that it measures 21·35<sup>m</sup> in length, 4·33<sup>m</sup> and 4·40<sup>m</sup> in height and breadth, and gives details as to the method of quarrying. The big stone, which would have weighed over 1200 tons, is locally known as the *Hadšar el hubla* (O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Baralbek* Berlin 1905 p. 6 f.).

<sup>5</sup> On colossal statues etc. as a means of literally 'magnifying' the god see *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 270 f.

## 564 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

demanded a supreme effort. But here, as in the case of the abandoned temple at Agrigentum<sup>1</sup>, men were attempting

‘The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard.’

Adjoining the great temple of Zeus was a second sacred edifice (fig. 431)<sup>2</sup>, smaller indeed but throughout more richly decorated and now standing in a far better state of preservation. Approached by a fine flight of 33 steps and raised on a stylobate 4.75 metres high, it is a peripteral temple with eight Corinthian columns on the short and fifteen on the long sides. These columns are unfluted, but those of the *pronaos* and the engaged columns of the interior are fluted. The roof of the *pteron*, the door-way of the *naos*, the inner surface of the walls, are all exquisite examples of Roman architecture. But perhaps the most interesting feature is an *adyton*

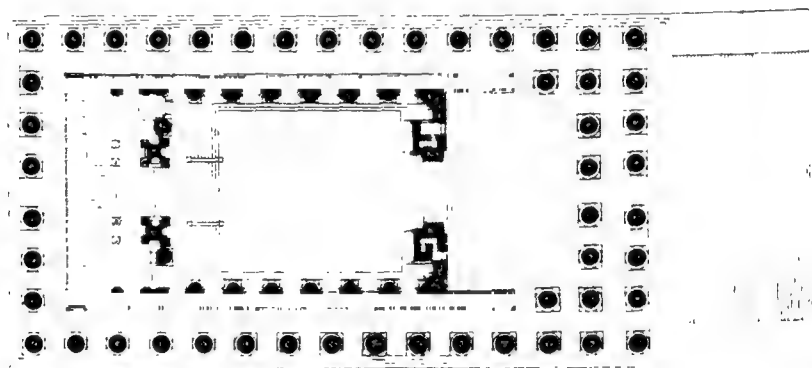


Fig. 431

at the west end of the building. Nine steps led up to the chancel, which was divided by half-columns into a central sanctuary and two wings. On the right a door gave access to a crypt, consisting of two vaulted chambers, below the *adyton*-floor. On the left seven stairs led up to a side-chamber, in which stood a table for offerings. In the middle, between the half-columns, a broader flight of seven steps formed the approach to an elaborate baldachin, beneath which, protected by screens, stood the actual cult-image. But of what deity? Since the door-way has on the under surface of its lintel an eagle grasping a winged *caduceus* between garland-bearing Erotes (fig. 432)<sup>3</sup>, it used to be assumed that this was the temple of Zeus,

<sup>1</sup> Duhn *Baukunst d. Gr.* p. 401 ff. figs. 369, 372.

<sup>2</sup> O. Puchstein in the *Fahrb. d. k. u. s. d. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 94 ff., 111 ff.; *Lehrbuch der Kunst von Baalbek* Berlin 1905 p. 29 ff.; O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Baalbek* Berlin 1910 pls. 18—26.

<sup>3</sup> R. Wood *The ruins of Baalbek, otherwise, Heliopolis in Coele Syria* London 1757 pl. 34; F. H. Fraubergel *Die Tempel von Baalbek* Frankfurt a. M. 1892 pl. 16.

the larger building being then regarded as that of Helios. But the coins figured above<sup>1</sup> make it certain that the larger building was the temple of Zeus: and the relief of the eagle carrying a *caduceus*, which occurs on other Syrian lintels, *viz.* on two of the precinct-gates of Baitokaike (*Ἡσὺν Σουλμάν*)<sup>2</sup>, is in all probability an apotropaic sign combining the solar eagle<sup>3</sup> with the *caduceus* of Hermes the gate-keeper. Better evidence is to be found in other parts of the temple-sculpture. The door-frame is embellished with bunches of corn and poppies and a string of vine-leaves and ivy. Low down on the left may be seen the infant Dionysos suckled by a nymph, with Pan, Satyrs, and Bacchants arranged above him; on the right, Erotes hard at work vintaging. The *prónaos* has also

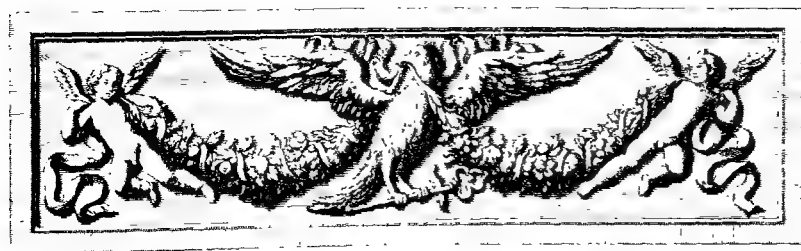


Fig. 432

an unfinished frieze, which represents a procession of twelve persons, headed by Nike, leading an ox and a fat-tailed sheep to sacrifice at an altar: of these persons one carries a roll of carpet, another a basket, a third a *kisté*. More convincing still is the adornment of the *ádyton*. One of the landings leading up to it is decorated with three dancing Bacchants. The baldachin on either side of the steps had reliefs, which can still be in part at least made out. On

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 561 figs. 425-427.

<sup>2</sup> R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1897 I. 328, P. Perdrizet in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des ins., et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 132. *Revue des études anciennes* (Annales de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux) 1901 III. 258 ff., cited by O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. Mus. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 VII. 98 n. 4.

Zeus Βαϊτοκαϊκῆς (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* III no. 4474, 20 Διὸς Βαϊτοκαϊκῆς) or Βαϊτοκαϊκεὺς (*ib.* no. 4475, 1 θεῷ Βαϊτοκαϊκεῖ) was the Grecoised form of the Baal worshipped at Baitokaike near Apameia on the Orontes. The property and privileges granted to his temple by one of the kings named Antiochos were increased by Augustus and confirmed (between 253 and 259 A.D.) by Valerian, his son Gallienus, and his grandson Saloninus (*Corp. m. r. Gr.* III no. 4474 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* III no. 184 and p. 972, Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr.* vol. no. 262). The inhabitants of Baitokaike described themselves as οἱ κατοικοὶ ('tenants') ἁγίου Οὐρανίου Διὸς (*ib.*). See further F. Cumont in Pauly Wissowa *Real-Enz.* n. 2779.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. for a Phœnician example *supra* p. 206 fig. 150.

## 566 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

the left Dionysos leans against a vine with Ariadne beside him and his *thiasos* grouped around. On the right the same deity as a child is seated on a pantheress, danced about by Bacchantes and Maenads. It can hardly be doubted that the temple as a whole was that of Dionysos, who at Heliopolis as elsewhere was worshipped side by side with Zeus.

We have yet to notice a remarkable and much-canvassed coin-type of Philippus Senior (figs. 433<sup>1</sup>, 434<sup>2</sup>). On a rocky eminence covered with shrubs rises a large temple with a flight of many steps leading up to it, and what looks like a terrace-wall beside it. Between the steps and the temple is an altar, and near by stands a vase. The precinct-wall encloses a considerable space to the left of the temple; and in the field beyond this space is a *caduceus*. Now the Germans have shown that the temple of Dionysos was later than the temple of Zeus and belonged to the same period



Fig. 433



Fig. 434

as the *Propylaeion*, which they hold to have been constructed c. 200 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Since, however, the capitals of the *Propylaeion* were still being decorated in the reign of Caracalla (211-217 A.D.)<sup>4</sup>, it is very possible that the new buildings were not finished till the time of Philippus Senior (244-249 A.D.). If so, it is open to us to suppose that certain coins issued by this emperor—himself an Arab of Trachonitis<sup>5</sup>—represented the akropolis as it looked before the recent building-operations<sup>6</sup>, whilst others struck in the names of the emperor and his wife displayed the new *Propylaeion* in all its

<sup>1</sup> E. De Saulley *Numm. matique de la Syrie*, sainte Paris 1874 p. 13 pl. 1, 4, with legend COLIAVGG FELIX (cp. *supra* p. 558 n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Galatia, etc. p. 293 no. 18 (vase in precinct, *caduceus* in field) pl. 36, 7, (cp. p. 293 no. 19 (vase in field, *caduceus* in precinct).

<sup>3</sup> O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek*, Berlin 1905 p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 556.

<sup>5</sup> *Aur. Viet. de César*, 28, 1 Arabi Thracomites, cp. Zonar. *epit. hist.* 12, 19 *ωρηγο δ' εκ Βοστανων*.

<sup>6</sup> Another possible explanation of the type would be to say that the die-sinker, in order to simplify his design, bodily omitted the *Propylaeion* and the temple of Dionysos.

## Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull 567

glory<sup>1</sup>. On this showing the temple here figured is that of Zeus<sup>2</sup>. To him belong the altar and the vase of purification, which were perpetuated on a grander scale by the altar of burnt offering and the lustration-basins of the later court<sup>3</sup>. The *caduceus* is the symbol of Hermes, who watched over the portals of the precinct<sup>4</sup> and was closely associated in worship with Zeus himself<sup>5</sup>.

### (β) Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull.

Thus far we have not found the Heliopolitan god associated with bulls. But copies of his cult-image, recognised in recent years, make it certain that he stood with a bull on either hand<sup>6</sup>. Of these copies the more important may be passed in review<sup>7</sup>.

A *stèle* of local limestone, discovered in 1900 at *Deir el-Qalā'a* by Prof. S. Ronzevalle of Beirut University, has a countersunk relief representing a god erect between two bulls (fig. 435)<sup>8</sup>. The dedication [I] O M H fixes the type as that of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, the figure, though defaced, bears out in the main the description cited from Macrobius<sup>10</sup>. It is, in fact, a beardless

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 558 figs. 420—422.

<sup>2</sup> Rasche *l.c.* *Vom.* iv. 93 (cp. *Suppl.* ii. 1345) assumes that it is a temple of Hermes. T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 126 ff. fig. 35 contends that it is the smaller temple, *i.e.* that which we now know to have been the temple of Dionysos. O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 3 describes it as an unknown temple, possibly situated on the neighbouring height of Sheik Abdallah.

W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 293 is content to regard it as the temple of Zeus. To this identification it might be objected that the akropolis is not really so high as the coin suggests. But the patriotic artist would tend to exaggerate its height, just as the patriotic poet calls the 'waterless' Anapos μέγαν ῥόον (Theokr. i. 68 with schol. *ad loc.* 'Anapos δὲ εὐφρατὶ ὁ ἀνευ πύσεως ὧν καὶ βλήχρον ἔχων ὑδάρι'). Besides, Adad was a mountain-god (*supra* p. 551).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 559.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. *supra* p. 565.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 554. This association perhaps has some bearing on the remarkable title *Angelus* given to Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* (*supra* p. 551 n. 10). The remarks of G. Henzen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxiii. 134 ff., of G. Wolff in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1867 xxv. 55, and of E. Aust in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2189, are hardly adequate.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. the great altar of Zeus at Pergamon (*supra* p. 119 f. fig. 88).

<sup>7</sup> For a full list see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 347 ff., n. 91 ff., 1905 i. 161 ff. = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903—1905 pp. 29 ff., 67 ff., 117 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Height 0.93<sup>m</sup>. S. Ronzevalle 'Notice sur un bas-relief représentant le simulacre du Jupiter Heliopolitanus' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 pp. 437—482, R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 348, 355 f. fig. 14 (an independent sketch marking the disk on the god's chest, etc.) = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 38 f. fig. 14. The inscription in letters of the third century runs: [I.] O. M. H. | M. Pultius Felicianus | et ? | M. Pultius Ti[be]r[im]us | fili[us]. The *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ni no. 14392a reads *Pultius* for *Pullius*.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. *supra* p. 561 figs. 425—427.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 552.

## 568 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

charioteer with a whip in his raised right hand. He wears, however, a *kálathos* or 'basket' on his head, adorned with two tiers of ovate-lanceolate leaves. Two long tresses of hair fall over his shoulders.



Fig. 435.



## Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull 569

A disk is suspended round his neck. The upper part of his body appears to be covered with scales. The lower part is encased in a sheath, which is carved with panels containing flowers of three or four petals apiece<sup>1</sup>.

Another limestone *stèle*, found in 1752 in the basin of the famous fountain at Nîmes and now preserved in the Maison-Carrée, bears in front a joint-dedication to Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* and Nemausus<sup>2</sup>. The latter god is symbolised on the right side of the stone by an oval shield and a *carnix* or Gallic trumpet. The former is represented on the left by his cult-image (fig. 436)<sup>3</sup>. On his head, which is beardless and faces the spectator, rests the *kálathos*, decorated with leaves and a string of jewels (?)<sup>4</sup>. His right hand clasps a whip, his left a bunch of corn. A collar of some sort hangs about his neck, and there are traces of two busts below it. The compartments of the sheath are filled with flowers of four and six petals each: one of these flowers is seen in profile

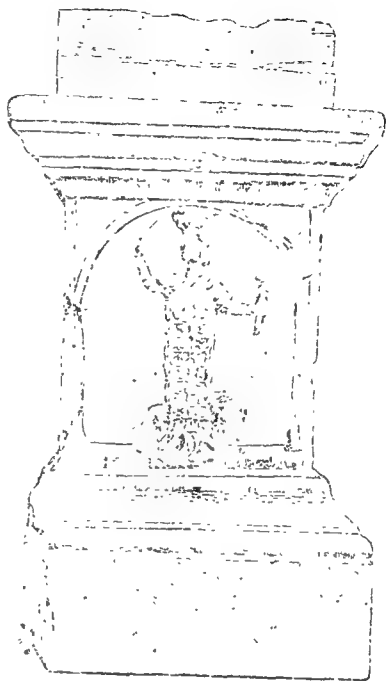


Fig. 436.

<sup>1</sup> Another limestone *stèle* from the same district repeats this design (S. Ronzevalle *loc. cit.* p. 454; R. Dussaud in the *Riv. Arch.* 1903 i. 348, 356, 359 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 39, 42). It is badly preserved, but retains in the left hand a fragment of the bunch of corn, and perhaps of the thunderbolt too, mentioned by Macrobius (so Dussaud *loc. cit.*; Ronzevalle saw in it a fir-cone partially sunk in an oval support).

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 3072 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4288 I. o. m. Heliopolitanus et Nemausus | C. Iulius Tib. fil. Fab. Tiberinus p. p., domo Beryto, votum solvit (*supra* p. 552 n. 2) in letters belonging to the end of the second century. Cp. the inscription on the *stèle* from Beirut (*supra* p. 567 n. 8). The dedications of the two monuments were obviously related to one another.

<sup>3</sup> Height of *stèle* 0.90 m. F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1876 n. 78 ff. pl. 21 published the left-hand relief, but made serious mistakes about it, supposing that the god was bearded, that his head was in profile to the right, that he was accompanied by one lion instead of two bulls, etc. These blunders were suspected by Ronzevalle *loc. cit.* p. 444 f. and F. Studniczka in the *Arch. ep. Mitth.* 1884 viii. 61. But for the first really accurate description of the *stèle* we are indebted to R. Dussaud in the *Riv. Arch.* 1903 i. 347, 353-355 fig. 13 *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 36-38 fig. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny in his list of precious stones includes 'Adad's kidney,' 'Adad's eye,' and

## 570 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

on its stalk. On the sides of the case are two thunderbolts. And to right and left of the god are the remains of his bulls.

A third *stèle*, found at 'Ain-Djouch, a well-pool to the east of *Baralbek* and published by O. Puchstein in 1902 (fig. 437)<sup>1</sup>, again shows the god standing with uplifted lash between two bulls, Immediately in front of him is a herm, attesting his intimate connexion with Hermes<sup>2</sup>. To right and left of the monument is a bull with a winged thunderbolt above it. Adad<sup>3</sup>, Zeus, and Jupiter could alike claim to be storm-gods.

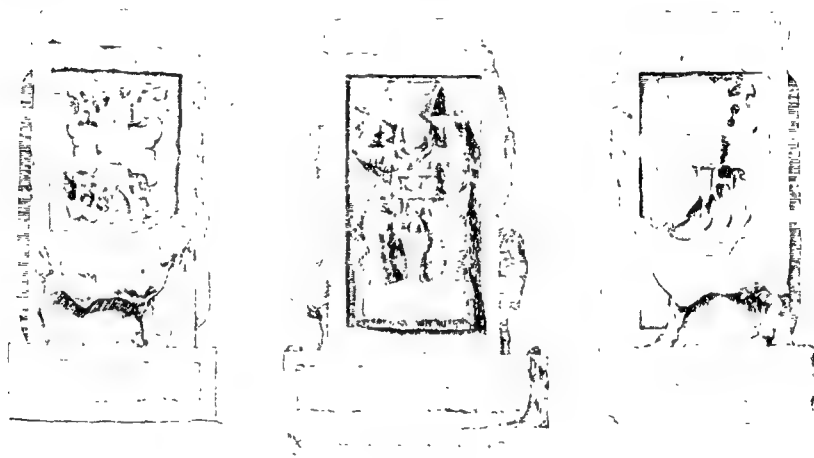


Fig. 437.

Somewhat more elaborate is a *stèle* of white marble, which came to light at Marseille in 1838 and is now in the Musée Calvet at Avignon (pl. xxxiii). Round the neck of the god is a pendant

<sup>1</sup> Adad's finger (*Ind. et t.* 37, 186 Adidu nophios sive renes, eiusdem oculus, dignus: deus et hic colitur a Syris).

<sup>2</sup> O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. Inst. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 102 f. figs. 10, 11. *Führer nach den Ruinen von Baralbek* Berlin 1905 p. 12 f. fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Several little lead figures found by the peasants in this locality likewise represent the Heliopolitan Zeus with Hermes, also Dionysos, and Helios or his Syrian counterpart (O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. Inst. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 102).

<sup>4</sup> *Satira* p. 553 n. 3, *infra* p. 570 n.

<sup>5</sup> Height 0.75 m. H. Bazin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1886 ii. 257 ff. 34, 26 published this relief as a Roman copy of Artemis *Diclynnia*. P. Wolters in the *Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1890 vi. 65 ff. fig. 14 was the first to detect in it Zeus *Ηλιοπολιτης*. But R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 347, 350, 353 fig. 11 *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 33—36 has contributed most to our understanding of its details. He points out that the neck-ornament is not composed of two dolphins (so Bonduand in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des insc. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 863), but of the solar disk with its uræus-snakes; that the herm does not rest on the lion's head and cannot therefore be the female consort of the god (so W. Gurlitt in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1891 xiv. 123), but is rather to be identified with some such god as *Baal-Marqed*, 'Lord of the Dance'



Jupiter *Helio-politains* on a marble *stèle* from Marseille.

See page 570 ff.



composed of the solar disk with two *uracus*-snakes. In the centre of his body-sheath appears a beardless herm wearing a *kálathos*; and below, a lion's head representing the *djinn*<sup>1</sup>, who bore the Grecised name *Gennaíos*<sup>2</sup>. Of the six busts visible on either side of the herm, the upper two are Helios with a *nimbus* and Selene with a crescent, then a deity with a *kálathos* and a nude Hermes (?),

(*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4536 = Karbel *Epiogr. Gr.* no. 835 Βαλμαρκώθ, κοίρανε κώμων, cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 317a), Latinised as Iupiter *Balmarcodes* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4327 Iovi Balmarcodi, 4328 I. o. m. Balmarcodi), who is known to have been called *Képios Γενναίος*, *Gennaeus Dominus* (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii 2834 f. vii. 1174, *infra* n. 2); and that the lower part of the relief closely resembles the base of a marble statuette from Byblos, now in the American College at Beirut, which shows the two bulls, the lion's head, and three busts above it (Herakles?; a goddess? with veil; a goddess?).

<sup>1</sup> On *djinn* = *Γενναίος* see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 374 n. 4, 381 n. 2 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 57 n. 4, p. 64 n. 2, cp. *ib.* 1905 p. 85 f.

<sup>2</sup> There was a lion-shaped image of *Γενναίος* in the temple of Zeus at Heliopolis (Damaskios *z. Indor. ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 348 b 4 f. Bekker τὸν δὲ Γενναίον Ἰλιουπόλιται τιμῶσιν ἐν Διὸς ἱδρισάμενοι μορφὴν τινα λέοντος. *Infra* ch. ii § 10 (a)). *Baal-Margod* at *Deir el-Qala'a* was entitled *Képios Γενναίος* (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 589 [Κυ]ρίω [Γ]εν[ν]αίω Βαλμαρκώδι τῷ καὶ Μηγρίν, κα[τ]ὰ κ[ε]λευσ[ι]ν | θεοῦ Ἀρεμθ[ι]νοῦ Μάξιμος | εὐχαριστ[οῦ]ν ἀνέθηκα) or *Gennaeus Dominus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 6673 Gen[nae]o Dom[ino] Balmarc[od]i | C. Vinni[us]). A Palmyrene god, presumably Malakbel (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 374 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 57), is called *Θεὸς Γενναίος* (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 637 Θεω Γενναίω Πατρῶω Μαζαζάνας | καὶ Μάρκος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέθηκαν ἔτους 589, μηνὸς Δύστρον i.e. in March 196 A.D.). At *Deir-Nabo*, twelve or thirteen hours' ride from Aleppo, is a dedication of an oil-mill etc. to a triad of gods including one simply described as *Λεων* (V. Chapot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 181 ff. no. 26 Σεμῖω καὶ Συμετῶω καὶ Λεωνι θεοῖς πατρίσιν τὸ | ἐλαιο[τ]ροπίον σὺν κατασκευῇ πάσῃ κ.τ.λ.—dated in the year 223 A.D.) and an inscription at Ny-Carlsberg of uncertain provenance (Leontopolis? cp. Strab. 812, *Ail. de nat. an.* 12. 7; or Heliopolis??) mentions the sanctuary of a god bearing the same name (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 732 Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω θεῶι Ἐπιφανεῖ καὶ Εὐχαρίστωι καὶ βασιλίσσῃ Κλεοπάτρῃ Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀντιπάτρον, γραμματεὺς | Ὀρνυμένους, ὁ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Λεοντος καὶ τὰλλα τὰ προσέχοντα | τῷ ἱερῷ ἱδρυμένος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν—to be dated after 193/2 B.C. but before 187/6 B.C.).

These leonine gods were solar (R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 pp. 85 f., 91 f.), and G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 59 pl. 3, 8 has recognised as *Γενναίος* the lion that appears on coins of Berytos with a radiate head under Valerian (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1514, iv 1570, cp. 1580) and with a globe on his head under Gallienus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. xlvii f., lix, 92 pl. 11, 6 = my fig. 438). A similar significance probably attached to the lion's head with a ball, often radiate, emerging from its brow on early electrum coins struck in the time of Alyattes<sup>2</sup>, 610—561 B.C. (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 pp. 82 ff., 90 ff. pls. 1, 32—51, 2, 52—73, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. xix, 1—4 pl. 1, 1—10, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 35 ff., 50 f. pl. 2, 4—16, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 644 f.): fig. 439 is from a specimen in my collection.



Fig. 438.



Fig. 439.

## 572 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

lastly a helmeted figure (Ares?) and a bearded god (Herakles?). The sides of the sheath are adorned with disks.

Minor works of art repeat the type with variations<sup>1</sup>. The bronze statuettes in particular add Egyptising details, which recall the belief that the cult-image at Heliopolis came from Egypt<sup>2</sup>.

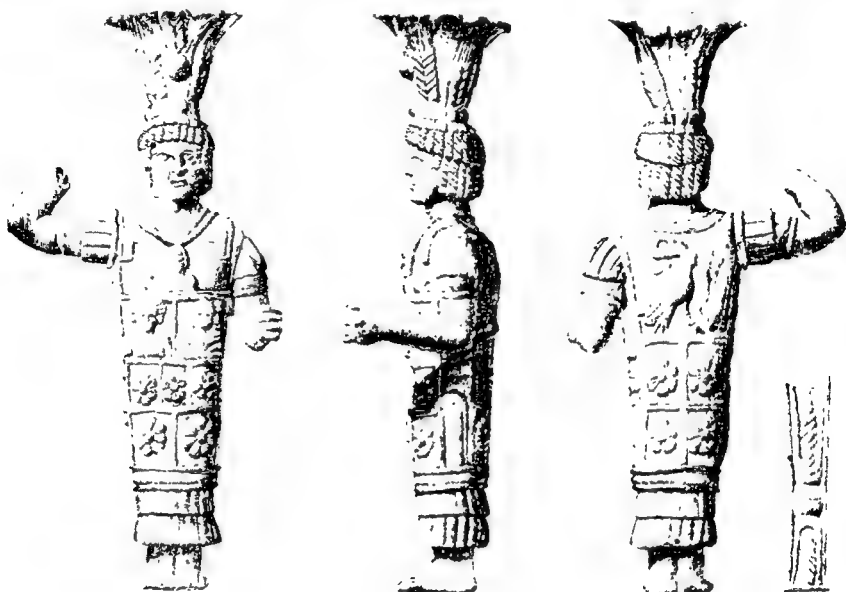


Fig. 440

A bronze in the Joanneum at Graz (fig. 440)<sup>3</sup> has the *kilithos* ornamented with a globe and corn-cars. The wig and the small false beard beneath the chin<sup>4</sup> are decidedly Egyptian in character.



Fig. 441

<sup>1</sup> For the coins (Neapolis in Samaria, Eleutheropolis and Nikopolis in Judaea, Dion in Dekapolis) and gems see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 349-ii. 91 n. 4. *id. Notes de mythologie grecque* Paris 1903-1905 pp. 32, 67 n. 4. Of the coins listed by him the most interesting is that of Dion figured *infra* p. 590. Among the gems note a red jasper from the Montlezum collection at Paris, published by T. Fajard *Recherche sur le culte, le symbolisme, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1849 pl. 14 c. 5 (fig. 441 enlarged 7), which surrounds the god's head with a radiate nimbus.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 550 n. 10 P. Perdrizet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 399-401 'Sur l'origine égyptienne de Jupiter Héliopolite' argues in favour of accepting Macrobius' assertion. S. Reinach *Culte, Mythe et Religions* Paris 1912 iv. 402-420 discusses the statue of an empress(?) as Isis or Isis-Tyche found at *Baalbek*.

<sup>3</sup> W. Gurlitt in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1891 xiv. 120 ff., from whose article I have taken the cuts representing the front, side, and back of the statuette; Reinach *R. p. Stat.* iii. 8 nos. 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 356 ff. fig. 15. *id. Notes de mythologie*

The sheath is figured in front with three busts, Kronos<sup>1</sup> above, Helios and Selene beneath; at the back with an eagle holding a wreath in its beak. Below the busts and the eagle are rosettes



Fig. 442 b.



Fig. 442 c.

of six or seven petals apiece. And on either side of the sheath is a thunderbolt.

*syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 39 ff. fig. 15 raises needless doubts (P. Perdrizet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 II. 401).

<sup>1</sup> So R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 I. 358 — *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 41. W. Gurlitt *loc. cit.* p. 124 had suggested *Caelus*.

## 574 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

A bronze from the Hamilton collection, now in the British Museum (fig. 442 *a, b*)<sup>1</sup>, has again an Egyptian-looking wig, and a lotos-flower on the *kálathos*. Besides the usual busts etc. there is an eagle with spread wings on the back and a thunderbolt below each arm.

The finest examples of this type are two bronzes in the de Clercq collection at Paris, both obtained at Tortosa in 1868. One (fig. 443 *a, b*)<sup>2</sup> shows the god wearing not only an Egyptian wig but



Fig. 443 *a*.

Fig. 443 *b*.

also a rudimentary *pschent* like that often worn by Horos. Beneath his chin is a short tenon for the attachment of a false beard. The

<sup>1</sup> Published as 'The Ephesian Artemis' in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 183 no. 1010 pl. 27, but correctly labelled in the show-case. (Cp. P. Perdrizet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 399-401 fig. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* p. 143 ff. no. 218 pls. 35, 1, 36, 2 f., R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 127 fig. 32.

Very similar is a bronze statuette from *Kir Djezzin* near Byblos, which formerly belonged to J. Loeytved of Beirut and is now in the Berlin collection (C. Clermont-Ganneau *Bullet. d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1905 vi. 78-81, 118 f. pl. 1, R. Dussaud *op. cit.* p. 125 ff. fig. 31 = my fig. 444). This too has Egyptising hair, a *pschent*, a small false beard, and numerous busts. J. Rouvier detected traces of gilding upon it.



whole *coiffure* is, in fact, Egyptian. The busts etc. on the sheath are exceptionally well preserved. In front at the top are Helios (?) and Selene, the former without rays round his head, the latter with a crescent between her breasts. Next come Kronos with his bill-hook and Zeus with his sceptre (?), Ares with helmet and lance. Aphrodite with sceptre and four-rayed star. Then follows a central panel showing Hermes in his winged *pitapos*. To right and left of him is a star with eight rays; and below him are two lion-heads. The sides of the figure are occupied by a couple of large winged thunderbolts. At the back between the shoulders is an eagle with spread wings grasping another bolt. Below this, two winged snakes knotted together and supporting or surrounding the solar disk. Finally, a series of five more busts—Poseidon with a trident; Demeter veiled and



Fig. 444.

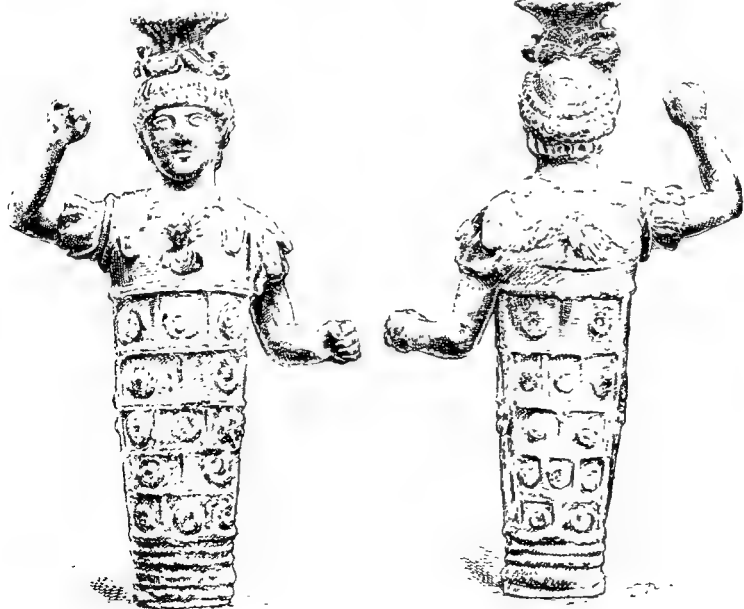


Fig. 445a.

Fig. 445b.

## 576 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

sceptred; Athena with *aigis*, helmet, and lance; Artemis with quiver; Herakles with lion-skin and club

The second statuette is simpler (fig. 445 *a, b*).<sup>1</sup> The beardless head wears a bay-wreath and is surmounted by a *kálathos*, on which are leaves or possibly rays in low relief. The breast has a single bust, that of a rayed Helios; the back, an eagle with spread wings holding a bolt. Beneath the arms are two wingless bolts. The rest of the sheathing is covered with disks that have a central boss. The bronze is broken off below.

It is noticeable that no bulls are figured on any of these statuettes. But it has been conjectured that bulls were originally associated with them, and the conjecture is confirmed by the fact that together with each of the Tortosa figures was found a bronze bull:

### (7) Adad or Ramman and the Bull.

Adad was connected with the bull long before he became known throughout the Greek and Roman world as the Zeus or Jupiter of Heliopolis. In the Babylonian and Assyrian religion Adad was also called *Ramman*, an epithet which, being the participle of the verb *ramanu*, 'to bellow or roar,' denotes properly 'the Bellowing or Roaring One.' Now Ramman is commonly represented on the cylinders as standing on the back of a bull (fig. 446)<sup>2</sup> or as planting one foot on a bull. It may

<sup>1</sup> De Ridder *Cat. Bronz. d'Égypte de Louvre* p. 145 f. no. 219 pls. 35, 2, 36, 4. R. Dussaud *op. cit.* p. 128 fig. 33.

<sup>2</sup> This was the view of W. Gurlitt *op. cit.* p. 125 n. 9 and of E. Studniczka in the *Arch.-ep. Mitt.* 1884 viii. 61.

<sup>3</sup> De Ridder *Cat. Bronz. d'Égypte de Louvre* p. 252 f. no. 363 (found with statuette no. 218; head turned slightly to right, *ib. id.* p. 252 no. 362 (found with statuette no. 219; head turned slightly to left, and tufts of hair between the horns forming a sort of rosette).

<sup>4</sup> On the admitted identity of Adad and Ramman see, e.g. A. Jeronias in Roscher *J. v. Myth.* iv. 19 ff., R. Dussaud in *Publ. Wissowa-Kon.-Luz.* vii. 2157 ff., M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 1561, *id.* *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Gressen 1902 i. 146 ff., *id.* *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 117 ff. Cf. Maspero *Le Dictionnaire de l'Égypte* London 1901 p. 658 n. 2.

It remains, however, possible that Adad and Ramman were at first locally distinct forms of the sky-god, Adad having come from the west country *Amurru* (*supra* p. 549 n. 4) and Ramman perhaps from Arabia (A. Jeronias *loc. cit.* p. 27). But

<sup>5</sup> The bull is sometimes winged, as in the rock-cut relief at Mahat (Roscher *J. v. Myth.* iv. 48 fig. 2), sometimes unwinged, as on the *shu'a* of Esurhaddon (680-669 B.C.) from Singeh in north-west Syria now at Berlin (von Luschan *Ausgrabungen in Syrien* Berlin 1893 i. 11-43 pl. 11).

<sup>6</sup> Figure a cylinder of sapphirine chalcidony from the ruins of Babylon, now in the

therefore<sup>1</sup>, fairly be inferred that Adad, otherwise styled Ramman,—the Rimmon<sup>2</sup> or Hadadrimmon<sup>3</sup> of the Old Testament,—was essentially related to the bull<sup>4</sup>. And, since a Susian deity obviously akin to Ramman is represented with bovine horns projecting from his head (fig. 447)<sup>5</sup>, it is probable that Adad or Ramman himself was sometimes at least conceived as a bull<sup>6</sup>.

But why was Adad regarded as a bull? The answer to this question depends of course upon the functions ascribed to the god. That he was a sky-god of some sort is certain. He was often associated with the great astrological triad Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar.

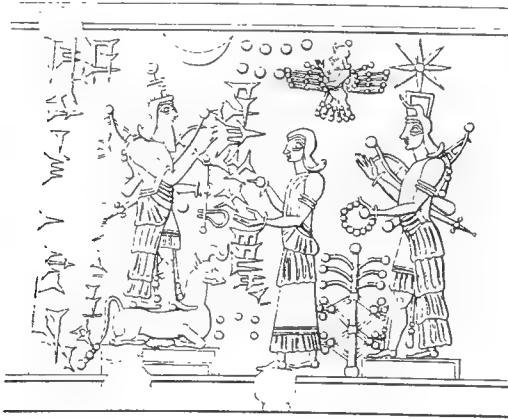


Fig. 446.

Sin was undeniably a moon-god and Šamaš a sun-god, while Ištar had come to be identified with the planet Venus. Adad—to judge from his names *Ramman*, 'the Bellowing,' *Birku*, 'the Lightning,' and from his attribute the thunderbolt—was most unmistakably a storm-god. He is, however, constantly coupled with

Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments religieux de Venus* Paris 1849 pl. 4, 11, W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 m. 8 fig. 6), on which Ramman has a horned head-dress and stands upon a reclining bull with Ištar before him and a worshipper between them.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings 5. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Zech. 12. 11.

<sup>4</sup> My friend the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns kindly tells me that the association of *Ramman* with the bull may involve a word-play, since *rīmu*, 'a bull,' was popularly taken to mean 'the bellowing, the roar.'

<sup>5</sup> A. H. Layard *The Monuments of Nineveh* First Series London 1849 pl. 65.

<sup>6</sup> I. Scheftelowitz 'Das Horneinmotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 456 ff.



Ramman cannot have been accidental. This double nature of Ramman—as a solar deity representing some particular phase of the sun that escapes us and as a storm-god—still peers through the inscription...from the Cassite period where Ramman is called “the lord of justice,”—an attribute peculiar to the sun-god; but in Assyria his rôle as the thunder- and storm-god overshadows any other attributes that he may have had<sup>1</sup>. Such being the character of Adad or Ramman, it may be conjectured that the bull was considered a fitting vehicle for him, partly perhaps because its bellowing resembled the sound of thunder, but mainly because its generative powers recalled the fertilising effects of rain and sun.

Nor is this conjecture wholly unsupported by evidence. ‘Ramman,’ according to G. Maspero, ‘embraced within him the elements of many very ancient genii, all of whom had been set over the atmosphere, and the phenomena which are daily displayed in it—wind, rain, and thunder. These genii...are usually represented as enormous birds flocking on their swift wings from below the horizon, and breathing flame or torrents of water upon the countries over which they hovered. The most terrible of them was Zu, who presided over tempests: he gathered the clouds together, causing them to burst in torrents of rain or hail; he let loose the winds and lightnings, and nothing remained standing where he had passed....Zu had as son a vigorous bull, which, pasturing in the meadows, scattered abundance and fertility around him<sup>2</sup>.’ Monsieur Maspero is here paraphrasing a Babylonian litany, which prescribes certain rites to be performed with an actual bull taken to represent a divine bull ‘child of the god Zû.’ This divine bull is described in the text as follows: ‘The great bull, the noble bull that wanders over shining pasture-ground has come to the fields bringing abundance. O planter of the corn, who dost bless the land with richest plenty, my pure hands have made their offering before thee<sup>3</sup>.’ Prof. Jensen connects this bull with the constellation Taurus<sup>4</sup>. But in any case it is invoked as a bringer of fertility.

The same group of ideas—storm-god, sun-god, fertilising bull—

<sup>1</sup> M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 166, *id. Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Gießen 1902 i. 150.

<sup>2</sup> G. Maspero *op. cit.* p. 6584.

<sup>3</sup> L. T. Harper ‘Die babylonischen Legenden von Liana, Zu, Adapa und Dilmun’ in the *Bibliotheca Assyriologica* Leipzig 1894 ii. 416f. See also A. Jeremits *Die altbabylonischen Gesetze für Vordunung, etc. i. d. Form d. alten Test.* Leipzig 1897 p. 73f. P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 p. 91 ff. The text is IV R 23 no. 1.

<sup>4</sup> L. T. Harper *loc. cit.* p. 417.

<sup>5</sup> P. Jensen *ibid.* p. 93.

## 580 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

gathers about another Mesopotamian deity. En-lil<sup>1</sup> or Ellil the Sumerian god of Nippur, bore a name which meant 'Lord of the Storm.' He was also addressed as the 'Great Mountain'. His temple at Nippur was known as E-Kur, the 'Mountain-House'—a term which became the general name for a sanctuary. And his consort Nin-lil, 'Lady of the Storm,' was described as Nin-khar-sag, 'Lady of the High Mountain.' Hence it has been inferred that he came into the Euphrates valley from the mountainous region lying to the east or north-east (Elam). On entering the fertile plain, where agriculture owed so much to the sweeping rain-storm, he readily acquired the character of a god who fostered vegetation:

O Enlil, Councillor, who can grasp thy power?  
Endowed with strength, lord of the harvest lands'  
Created in the mountains, lord of the grain fields'  
Ruler of great strength, father Enlil'  
The powerful chief of the gods art thou,  
The great creator and sustainer of life!<sup>2</sup>

Ninib, the ancient sun-god of Nippur, was affiliated to En-lil, and the two exercised a reciprocal influence over each other. Thus Ninib took on the traits of the storm-god, and En-lil became solar. In this double capacity En-lil was conceived as a mighty ox or bull with glittering horns. 'An entire series of hymns and lamentations,' writes Dr Jastrow, 'is recognised as addressed to Enlil from the opening words "the Bull to his sanctuary," where the bull designates Enlil'. In a fragment of a hymn, Enlil is described as

Crouching in the Lands like a sturdy mountain bull,  
Whose horns shine like the brilliance of the sun,  
Full of splendour like Venus of the heavens'.

In another composition the refrain reads, "A sturdy bull art thou." When we see votive offerings with the figure of a bull, or representations of a crouching bull with a human face<sup>3</sup>, we are tempted to assert that they are symbols of Enlil; and if this be so, further

<sup>1</sup> On En-lil see M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 pp. 52 ff., 116. *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Gressen 1905 I, 52 ff., and especially *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 pp. 18 ff., 67 ff. (after A. T. Clay 'Ellil, the god of Nippur' in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* xxiii, 269-279).

<sup>2</sup> *Cuneiform Texts* xv pl. II trans. M. Jastrow.

<sup>3</sup> M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 74 f.

<sup>4</sup> Langdon *Sumerian and Babylonian Pawns* no. 10, op. pp. 85, 127, 277, etc.

<sup>5</sup> H. C. Rawlinson *A Selection from the Mesopotamian Inscriptions of Western Asia* London 1891 iv<sup>2</sup> pl. 27, no. 2, Langdon *op. cit.* no. 18.

<sup>6</sup> See L. Heuzey *Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéennes* p. 269.

traces of the association between the god and the animal may be seen both in the colossal bulls which form a feature of Assyrian art and were placed at the entrance to temples and palaces, and in the bull as the decoration of columns in the architecture of the Persian period<sup>1</sup>.

With the bulls of En-lil Dr Jastrow further compares the golden calf made by Aaron at the foot of Mount Sinai<sup>2</sup> and the golden calves set up at Bethel and at Dan by Jeroboam<sup>3</sup>. The use of gold for these images was perhaps symbolic of the fiery deity whom they represented<sup>4</sup>. A magnificent thunderbolt of wood thickly overlaid with pure gold, and manifestly broken off from a cult-statue of Adad, has been found near his temple at Ashur<sup>5</sup>. And on the Berlin bronze of the Heliopolitan god<sup>6</sup> J. Rouvier detected traces of gilding<sup>7</sup>.

The foregoing facts may serve to throw light on a dark passage in the magical papyrus at Paris:

'Zeus went up into the mountain with a golden calf and a silver knife. To all he gave a share. To Amara alone he gave none, but said: "Let go that which thou hast, and then thou shalt receive—*psinother nopsither thernopsi*".'

A. Dieterich<sup>8</sup> supposed that this ascent of the mountain was a ceremony in the cult of Zeus *Panámoros*<sup>9</sup>, whose consort might have borne the uncompounded name *Amára*. E. Riess<sup>11</sup> suggests that Amara was an otherwise unknown Egyptian deity<sup>12</sup>. I would rather infer from the mention of the golden calf and the mountain

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* ii. 280 f., 334 ff.: v. 486 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. 32. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings 12. 28 ff. See further the learned dissertation of S. Bochart *Hiéroglyph. rec.* E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1793 i. 339—375 ('De aureis Aaronis et Jeroboam Vitulis').

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (θ), ch. ii § 3 (c) iii, ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (ε).

<sup>5</sup> W. Andrae *Der Ann-Adad-Tempel in Assur* Leipzig 1909 p. 77 f. pl. 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 574 n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 125.

<sup>8</sup> C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und Louven* Wien 1888 p. 41 pap. Par. 825 ff. ἀνέβη Ζεὺς εἰς ἔρος (= ὄρος) χρυσοῦν μόσχον ἔχων καὶ μάχαιραν ἀργυρέαν· πᾶσιν μέρος ἐπέδωκεν Ἀράρα μόνον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, εἶπεν ἰδὲ "ἐξάψες ὃ ἔχεις, καὶ τότε λήψει ψινώθερ ἢ νοψίθερ θερνώψι." The cabalistic formula with which this extract ends is found again in the Gnostic *Protis Sophia* p. 375 Schwartz *ψινώθερ θερνώψι νοψίθερ* spoken by Jesus to His Father (F. Granger in the *Chr. Rev.* 1912 xxvi. 1911).

<sup>9</sup> A. Dieterich *Ein Mithraskulturgut* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 20 f., 220 f., *u. Klein. Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 501.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-En.* i. 1726.

<sup>13</sup> *Id. ib.* cites *Cod. P. inv.* vi. in no. 4908 (Phila) Ἀμαρίων, μῦθος. For a gilded cow in an Egyptian rite see Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 39 οἱ αἰεῖς ἀλλὰ τε δρωσι σκιθρωπά καὶ βοῦν διαχρυσόν ἱματίῳ μελανί θυσίαν περιβαλλόντες ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς θεοῦ δεικνύουσι (βοῦν γάρ Ἰσίδος εἰκόνα καὶ γῆν νομίζουσιν) ἐπὶ τετταρας ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐπὶ δεκα ἐξῆς.

## 582 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

that we have here to do with a Grecised form of Adad, god of the Amorites. It may even be that the mysterious Amara was their mountain-goddess<sup>1</sup>.

### (c) Zeus (Adad) and Hera (Atargatis) at Hierapolis.

From Heliopolis in Koile Syria we pass northwards to Hierapolis in Kyrrhestike. This was an ancient Syrian town, originally called Mabog<sup>2</sup>, but better known as Bambyke. Its name was changed to Hierapolis by Seleukos Nikator the founder of the Syrian dynasty. The town was celebrated for its cult of the Syrian goddess Atargatis<sup>3</sup> or Derketo<sup>4</sup>, whom the Greeks identified with Rhea<sup>5</sup> or Aphrodite<sup>6</sup> or the Assyrian Hera<sup>7</sup>.

A valuable account of her temple and cult is given by the pseudo-Lucian in an Ionic treatise *On the Syrian goddess*. The temple stood on a hill in the middle of the town, surrounded by two walls, one old, one recent. The *Propylaea*, or gateways of the precinct faced the north and were some two hundred yards in length<sup>8</sup>. The temple itself was an Ionic building raised twelve feet above the ground and so turned as to look towards the sunrise. The golden doors of its *pronaos* gave access to a *naos* gilded throughout and fragrant with the perfumes of Arabia. Within this nave a short flight of steps led up to a *thalamos* or inner chamber, which was not closed by doors but visible to all, though only certain priests might enter it<sup>9</sup>. Our author describes its contents in detail<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Here are seated the cult-statues, to wit Hera and Zeus, whom they call by a different name. Both are of gold, and both are seated, but Hera is carried

<sup>2</sup> Mr S. A. Cook, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in Hebrew and Syriac, in a letter to me dated Nov. 21, 1911, but upon the same solution, but only to reject it. "Then the idea of the mountain-god suggested the Amurru, Lord of the mountain, who is a storm- and thunder-god of the Rammian type. But his wife would be Ashrita, an Ashtar figure, and it is a wild guess that a feminine of Amurru has been artificially formed here!"

<sup>3</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 5, 81.

<sup>4</sup> Ath. *deipn.* 12, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Strab. 748.

<sup>6</sup> Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 14. Plin. *nat. hist.* 5, 81. *Derketo* is the Syrian *Taratu*, an abbreviation of *Atargatis*, the Syrian *Pu'at* (E. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 240).

<sup>7</sup> Loukian. *op. cit.* 15, cp. 32. Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 11 ff. Long.

<sup>8</sup> Plout. *7. Chrys.* 17, *supra* p. 550.

<sup>9</sup> Loukian. *op. cit.* 1. The author of the *de dea Syria* throughout speaks of the goddess as Hera. Cp. Plout. *7. Chrys.* 17.

<sup>10</sup> Loukian. *ib.* 28 *αἰγάθος ἄνθρωπος ἕκαστος ἀργυρεῖται*. Presumably *αἰγάθος* here means *αἰγλος*, though the editors of Lucian take it to mean *ελος*, and certainly *ib.* 30 it bears the latter sense.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. the internal arrangement of the temple of Dionysos at *Boeotia* 7 (*supra* p. 564).

<sup>12</sup> Loukian. *ib.* 31 ff.



by lions, while her partner is sitting upon bulls. Indeed, the statue of Zeus looks like Zeus in every respect, head, clothing, and throne: you could not, even perversely, compare him to another. But Hera, when you come to look at her, will be found to exhibit a variety of forms. The general effect is certainly that of Hera: but she has borrowed particular traits from a variety of goddesses—Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis, and the Moirai. In one hand she holds a sceptre, in the other a spindle: on her head she wears rays and a tower: and < she has too ><sup>1</sup> a decorated band *kestós*, with which they adorn none save the goddess of Heaven. Without she is covered with more gold and precious stones of very great value, some of which are white, others watery, many the colour of wine, many the colour of fire. Besides, there are many sardonyxes, jacinths, and emeralds<sup>2</sup>, brought by men of Egypt, India, Aithiopia, Media, Armenia, and Babylonia. But a point more worthy of attention is this: on her head she wears a stone called *Lychnis*, which derives its name the "lamp-stone" from its nature<sup>3</sup>. By night there shines from it a broad beam of light, and beneath it the whole nave is lit up as it were with lamps. By day its radiance is feeble, but it has a very fiery appearance. There is another remarkable thing about this image *Λύχνη*: if you stand opposite and look at it, it looks at you: as you shift your ground, its look follows you: and, if another looks at it from a different position, it has the same effect upon him as well. Between these two figures stands another golden image *Λύχνη* in no way resembling the rest. It has no shape of its own, but beats the forms of the other deities. The Assyrians themselves call it a sign, they have given it no special name, indeed they do not even speak of its origin and form. Some ascribe it to Dionysos, others to Deukalion, others again to Semiramis: for on the top of it there is perched a golden dove, on account of which they say that it is the sign of Semiramis<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Loukian *l.* 32 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτῖνάς τε φορεῖ καὶ πύργον, καὶ ἔχει καὶ ἑστὸν τῷ μόνῳ τὴν Ὀρμάνην κοσμεῖσσι. So I would restore the passage, which, as printed by Dindorf and others, would imply that she wore the *kestós* on her head.

<sup>2</sup> Not, of course, the true emerald, which is found only in America, but the green quartz known as the peridot or false emerald (L. Babelon in Daremberg-Saglio *Dic. Ant.* II. 1467 ff., *supra* p. 357 n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> On this stone see further L. Babelon *ib. cit.* p. 1465. It was found in the Indian river Hydaspes to the sound of flutes while the moon was waxing (Plout. *de flux.* I. 2). The chalcedony, which resembled it, came from the land of the Libyan Nasamonens, where it was said to spring from a divine shower and was found by the reflected light of the full moon (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 104, Isid. *orig.* 16. 14 5, cp. Stah. 830, 835).

<sup>4</sup> The story of the mythical, as distinct from the historical, Semiramis is first found in Ktesias—Near Askalon was a large lake full of fish, by the side of which Derketo had a precinct. She was represented with the face of a woman and the body of a fish. The tale told to explain her double form was as follows. She had fallen in love with a handsome Syrian youth who sacrificed to her. She bore him a daughter, and then, out of shame, made away with her lover, exposed the child in a rocky desert, and flung herself into the lake. The babe, nurtured by doves on milk and cheese, was discovered by the herdsmen and brought up by Simmas, a man set over the royal herds, who called her *Semiramis* after the Syrian word for 'doves' (Ktesias *ap. Diod.* 2. 4, *Tric. Hist.* 9. 502 ff., Athenag. *supra* also *p. 30 Ch. viii*, 30 p. 40 Schwartz, Loukian. *l. de syr.* 14, Hesych. s.v. Σεμίραμις). At the close of her life Semiramis changed herself into a dove and flew off with a number of other birds (Ktesias *ap. Diod.* 2. 20, Loukian. *ib. cit.*, *Ov. m. t.* 4. 47 ff., *supra* p. 367). Both accounts add that the Syrians or Assyrians pay divine honours to doves (cp. Xen. *an.* 1. 4. 9, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 9 p. 30, 11 ff. Stahlin,

## 584 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

Twice every year it journeys to the sea to get the water that I mentioned<sup>1</sup>.

It appears, then, that the *theïemēs* at Hierapolis contained a statue of Atargatis carried by lions; a statue of her partner (resembling Zeus) seated on bulls; and between them an aniconic 'sign' surmounted by a dove. It can hardly be doubted that here, as at Heliopolis, the partner of Atargatis was Adad identified with Zeus. The similarity of the two cult-centres, which may well presuppose—as J. Garstang holds—a common Hittite nucleus, comes out clearly in connexion with their oracular practices. The

Cornut, *theol.* 6 p. 6, 11 ff. Lang, *Phaion* 77. Fasn. *f. de p.* 8, 14, 64 with Head *H. num.* p. 804, Tib. 1, 7, 17 ff.).

A related myth is the following. Certain fish found a great egg in the river Euphrates. They rolled it ashore. A dove, or doves, sat on it and hatched out Venus the Syrian goddess. She besought Iuppiter to put the fish among the signs of the zodiac. And the Syrians still abstain from eating these fish, and regard doves as divine (Nigidius *ap. schol.* Caes. Germ. *Italia* p. 402, 12 ff. Fyssenhardt, *Hyg. fr.* 197, Ampel. 2, 12). The fish in question were really Venus and Cupido, who, scared by the sudden appearance of Typho, had flung themselves into the Euphrates and taken the form of fish (Diogenes of Erythrai *ap. Hyg. poet. ast.* 2, 30, cp. *Myth. Vat.* 1, 861).

According to R. Azarri *Mar Enan* 21 and R. David Ganz *Chrenolega* ann. 1958, Semiramis and all the kings of Assyria had the dove as their military standard—a doubtful assertion (S. Bochart *Hierozon rec.* L. 1, C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 II p. 28, 333).

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* IV, 694 conjectures that doves were associated with Semiramis for two reasons. On the one hand, Semiramis was assimilated to Ishtar, and the dove was sacred to that goddess. On the other hand, the Assyrian word for dove (*tummatu*) was not very unlike the Assyrian name of Semiramis (*Šammuramat*).

<sup>1</sup> This refers to a myth and a rite described by the pseudo-Lucian *v.* 12 f. Beneath the temple at Hierapolis was a small hole, through which the flood had run off. Hence Deukalion built altars and a temple of Hera over it, and introduced a custom kept up in memory of the event. Twice a year water was brought from the sea by the priests and a multitude of people from Syria, Arabia, and the region beyond the Euphrates. The water was poured out in the temple and ran off through the small hole beneath it. See further *infra* p. 591 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Imperial bronze coins of Hierapolis show Atargatis in three attitudes, (1) wearing a turreted head-dress, *chiton*, and *pallos*, holding two ears of corn in her left hand, a *tympanon* in her right, and seated on a throne with a lion couching at either side of it (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 144 pl. 17, 14); (2) in the same pose, but holding a *tympanon* in her left hand and resting her right elbow on the throne (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 145 pl. 17, 17; *Humb. Cat. Coins* III, 138 f. pl. 71, 22, cp. *v.* III, 139 pl. 71, 24); (3) with turreted head-dress, *chiton*, and *pallos*, holding a sceptre in her right hand, a *tympanon* in her left, and seated on the back of a lion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 144 pl. 17, 12; *Humb. Cat. Coins* III, 139 pl. 71, 22, cp. *ib.* III, 140). Cp. J. Garstang *The Syrian Goddess* (London 1913) p. 20 ff. with Frontisp. figs. 1-8.

<sup>3</sup> S. Remach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1902 I, 31 argues that we must not press the text of Loukian, *de dea Syr.* 31 ἀμφὶ κοῦραι ἄλλα τρεῖς αἱ ἱερὲς ἑκατόντα, αἱ δὲ ταύροις ἐπείθουσι to mean that Zeus and Hera were literally seated on their sacred beasts, rather they were flanked by them. So also K. Dussaud *op. cit.* 1904 II, 242 n. 1-3. *Arch. de myth. de la province* Paris 1902 p. 68 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. *infra* p. 586 f.

<sup>5</sup> *op. cit.* p. 553.

<sup>6</sup> This is the thesis of J. Garstang *op. cit.* pp. VII, 111, 17 n. 49, 27, 70 n. 43.

pseudo-Lucian, having described the statues of the inner shrine, goes on to say that in the main body of the temple, on the left hand side, there was set a vacant throne of the Sun and next to it a clothed and bearded image (*xōanon*) of Apollon. *At propos* of this last divinity he continues<sup>1</sup>:

'When he is minded to deliver an oracle, he first stirs in his seat, and the priests at once lift him up. If they do not, he sweats and stirs again more decidedly. When they stoop and carry him, he drives them on, whirling them round in every direction and leaping from one to another. At last the chief-priest meets him and asks him questions concerning all things. He, if he refuses to do aught, retreats backwards, if he approves of aught, drives his bearers forwards like a charioteer. So they gather their oracles and do nothing either of religious or of private import without him.'

This image of Apollon in the nave must be carefully distinguished from the image of Zeus seated on bulls in the inner place. Macrobius<sup>2</sup> describes the former in terms that preclude identification with the latter:

'The natives of Hieropolis, Assyrians by race, comprise all the powers and virtues of the sun under the form of a single bearded image, which they call Apollo. His face is represented as having a pointed beard; and a basket (*calathus*) projects above his head. His image is adorned with a breast-plate. The right hand holds erect a spear, and on it stands a small statuette of Victory. The left stretches out a flower. A Gorgon-headed *aggis* fringed with snakes passes over his shoulders and clothes his shoulder-blades. The eagles beside him look as if they were flying. Before his feet is a female form, to right and left of which are statues of women. these are surrounded by the twisted coil of a snake. The beard below his chin signifies that rays are shot downwards on to the earth. The golden basket rising aloft indicates the apex of the upper air, from which the sun is supposed to derive its substance. The representation of a spear and a breast-plate adds a resemblance to Mars, whom I shall subsequently prove to be one with the sun. The Victory testifies that all things are subject to the power of this luminary. The flower bears witness to the bloom of those things that are sown, generated, cherished, nurtured, and matured by the said deity. The female form stands for the earth, on which the sun is shining from above: the other two statues of women enclosed in their circle signify matter and nature regarded as fellow-servants. The snake shows the sinuous course of the luminary. The eagles, whose swift flight is high over all else, point to the altitude of the sun. A Gorgon-vest is added because Minerva, whom tradition takes to be the rightful owner of this garb, is the virtue of the sun. Porphyrius too asserts that Minerva is the sun's virtue, which furnishes the minds of men with wisdom. Indeed that is why this goddess is said to have sprung from the head of Jupiter, in other words, to have arisen in the topmost portion of the upper air, where the sun originated.'

But, though we cannot equate the male statue of the inner sanctum with that of the nave, it is possible that after all they were effigies of the same god. When the pseudo-Lucian, who identified the inner statue with Zeus, says that 'you could not, even

<sup>1</sup> Loukian, *de dia Syrr.* 36, cp. *ib.* 10.

<sup>2</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* I. 17. 66 ff.



pseudo-Lucian. We can now for the first time realise how accurate and trustworthy his description is. 'It has no shape of its own, but bears the forms of the other deities!'. This sceptre or standard is neither anthropomorphic nor theriomorphic, but the four medallions, if such they are, that are hung upon it may well have borne the effigies of the temple-deities. Again, 'on the top of it there is perched a golden dove!'. The word used here for the 'top' (*korymbē*) is the word applied in late Greek to the apex of a triangle<sup>1</sup>. Hence the coin, which shows a bird sitting on the pediment of the *acdicula*, aptly illustrates the text. On the whole it seems probable that a royal sceptre or standard, enclosed in a shrine of its own, was the central object of worship<sup>2</sup>. In which connexion it must be observed that a series of silver coins, bearing in Aramaic letters the name *Abd-Hadad* and representations of Atargatis, has been ascribed to a sacerdotal dynasty at Hierapolis c. 332 B.C.<sup>3</sup>. This attribution squares with my contention that Atargatis at Hierapolis was associated with Adad, and that the sceptre or standard of a divine king figured prominently in the same cult. A further allusion to the cult may be detected in two small bronze coins of the town, which exhibit respectively a humped bull with a crescent above it<sup>4</sup> and a lion in a laurel-wreath inscribed 'of the Syrian goddess'.

In Roman times her temple was plundered by Crassus, who spent many days making an inventory of its treasures 'with scales and balances'. But with regard to the decline and fall of the cult no details are on record.

The old name of the town, Mabog or Mambog<sup>5</sup>, which had

<sup>1</sup> *Strab.* p. 583. The exact words are: τὸ δὲ υιοφῶν υἱὸν ἰδὼν οὐκ ἔχει, φορέει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν εἰδῶς. <sup>2</sup> *Strab.* p. 583. ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ αὐτοῦ περισσέμνη χρυσῆ ἐπέστηκε.

<sup>3</sup> *E.*, *Polyb.* 1. 42. 3, 2. 14. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See now J. Garstang *The Syrian Goddess*, London 1913 pp. 23 ff., 73 n. 45, who claims that this cult-object was originally a pillar-altar with a pigeon or dove upon it (like those represented in the Hittite sculptures of Fraktin and Yama: *ib.* fig. 4, vi. *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 150 pl. 47; J. W. Crowfoot in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 40 ff. fig. 4), later conventionalised into a Roman standard in an *αὐτῶν* (σημαῖον = *signum*, as Prof. R. C. Bosanquet suggested).

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. lvi.

<sup>6</sup> *ib.* pp. liv, 138 pl. 17. 8 (struck in the time of Antoninus Pius).

<sup>7</sup> *ib.* pp. liv, 142 pl. 17. 11, *Hunt. Cat. Coins* iii. 138, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 138 pl. 17. 7 (a silver coin of Hierapolis c. 331 B.C. inscribed in Aramaic letters with the name of Alexander: the reverse type is a lion walking towards a bird perched on a flower).

<sup>8</sup> *Plout.* vi. *Crat.* 17.

<sup>9</sup> V. W. Yorke in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 316 no. 22 publishes an inscription found by him at Perre (*Perre*), which speaks of a certain *Mau* βοτῆς. He suggests that Mabog or Mambog became in Greek *Bau* βοτῆς. D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907-1908 xiv. 196 likewise posits Mambog as the original form.

## 588 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

doubtless always been current among the native Syrians, reasserted itself in post-classical days<sup>1</sup>, and the place is still called Mumbijr. Its ruins were discovered in 1699 by the Rev. H. Maundrell, who writes as follows of 'Bambych':

'This place has no remnants of its ancient greatness but its walls, which may be traced all round, and cannot be less than three miles in compass. Several fragments of them remain on the east side, especially at the east gate, and another piece of eighty yards long, with towers of large square stone extremely well built. On the north side I found a stone with the busts of a man and woman, large as the life; and, under, two eagles carved on it. Not far from it, on the side of a large well, was fixed a stone with three figures carved on it, in basso relievo. They were two syrens, which, twining their fishy tails together, made a seat, on which was placed, sitting, a naked woman, her arms and the syrens' on each side mutually entwined. On the west side is a deep pit of about one hundred yards diameter. It was low, and had no water in it, and seemed to have had great buildings all round it, with the pillars and ruins of which it is now in part filled up, but not so much but that there was still water in it. Here are a multitude of subterraneous aqueducts brought to this city, the people attested no fewer than fifty. You can ride nowhere about the city without seeing them.'

R. Pococke in 1745 gives a more detailed account of his visit to 'Bambouch'.<sup>2</sup> After describing the walls, gates, water-channel, etc. he continues:

'At the west part of the town there is a dry bason, which seemed to have been triangular; it is close to the town wall: At one corner of it there is a ruined building, which seems to have extended into the bason, and probably was designed in order to behold with greater conveniency some religious ceremonies or public sports. This may be the lake where they had sacred fishes that were tame. About two hundred paces within the east gate there is a raised ground, on which probably stood the temple of the Syrian goddess Atargatis... I conjectured it to be about two hundred feet in front. It is probable that this is the high ground from which they threw people headlong in their religious ceremonies, and sometimes even their own children, though they must inevitably perish. I observed a low wall running from it to the gate, so that probably it had such a grand avenue as the temple at Genêh; and the enclosure of the city is irregular in this part, as if some ground had been taken in after the building of the walls to make that grand entrance; it is probable that all the space north of the temple belonged to it. A court is mentioned to the north of the temple, and a tower likewise before the temple, which was built on a terrace twelve feet high. If this tower was on the high ground I mentioned, the temple must have been west of it, of which I could see no remains; it possibly might

<sup>1</sup> The mediæval variants are collected by L. B. James in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 1064.

<sup>2</sup> D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* p. 183 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Travels in Palestine* ed. by L. Wright (London 1848) p. 507.

<sup>4</sup> R. Pococke *A Description of the East and Some other Countries* (London 1745) ii. 116 f. He notes 'that Hierapolis in Asia minor has much the same name, being called Pambouk Calasi [The cotton castle]'. See further D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* p. 196.

have been where there are now some ruins of a large building, which seems to have been a church with a tower; to the west of which there are some ruinous arches, which might be part of a portico.<sup>1</sup>

In 1850 Lieut.-Col. Chesney<sup>1</sup> included 'Munbedj or Bambuche' in the report of his great expedition: within the city he noticed—

'four large cisterns, a fine sarcophagus, and, among other ancient remains, the scattered ruins of an acropolis, and those of two temples. Of the smaller, the enclosure and portions of seven columns remain; but it seems to possess little interest, compared with the larger, which may have been that of...the Syrian Atargatis. Amongst the remains of the latter are some fragments of massive architecture, not unlike the Egyptian, and 11 arches form one side of a square paved court, over which are scattered the shafts of columns and capitals displaying the lotus.'

Nowadays even these scanty relics of the great temple have disappeared. Dr D. G. Hogarth and Mr R. Norton in 1908 were unable to locate it. Dr Hogarth says<sup>2</sup>:

'As a result of the Circassian occupation almost all the standing remains of antiquity, noticed by travellers from Maundrell to Chesney, have disappeared. I failed to find any traces of the Theatre, the Stadium, or the two Temples. Indeed the only obvious pre-Islamic structures *in situ* are firstly, the walls of the outer *enceinte*, evidently of late construction, to judge by tombstones used therein and lately extracted by the Circassians...: these walls are banked up with silt and overgrown with grass. Secondly, scanty remains of a stepped quay-wall or revetment, with water-stairs at intervals, which surrounds a large pool, some three acres in area, in the centre of the western half of the site<sup>3</sup>.... These remains extend all along the western bank and are visible also on the southern, but are obliterated elsewhere. The pool is said to be perennial and of some depth in the centre, and it can hardly be other than the [sacred lake mentioned by the pseudo-Lucian]. I cannot say if its depth be really above 200 cubits, as the treatise alleges; but the altar in the middle, to which the votaries used to swim, has disappeared....Just before the [modern town] is reached, the ground rises abruptly to a plateau, and probably here was an inner wall, making a smaller and earlier *enceinte* round the great Temple and its immediate precinct. The position of the Temple may have been more or less where the large mosque, built about thirty years ago, now stands; but no confirmatory indications are visible. The whole eastern half of the site right up to the eastern wall, which has been greatly quarried of late, is occupied by the houses, courtyards, and gardens of modern Mumby. In the east centre the ground rises to a low hill on which some of the better Circassian houses are built. If this were not the site of the Temple, it was probably an Acropolis. It is not quite so near the Sacred Lake as the mosque site<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lieut.-Colonel Chesney *The Expedition for the Survey of the River Euphrates and Tigris* London 1850 I. 420 f.

<sup>2</sup> D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* pp. 187, 189.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 188 fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Hogarth notes further a much defaced limestone lion near the south-east angle of the wall (*ib.* p. 188 fig. 2); four terra-cotta heads of a goddess who, to judge from the most complete specimen, was represented as clasping her breasts (*ib.* p. 190 fig. 3); sixteen inscriptions; etc.

## (e) Zeus (Adad) at Dion, Rhosos, etc.

Heliopolis and Hierapolis were not the only towns in which the Syrian Zeus was worshipped as a bull-god<sup>1</sup>. To Dion, near Pella in Koile Syria, belongs a copper coin of Geta, showing a god who stands erect with a couple of humped bulls recumbent at his feet. He wears a *chiton* and a *himetion*. On his head, which is horned, is a *kriathos*. His right hand grasps a sceptre tipped by an eagle; on his left rests a Victory holding a wreath (fig. 450). A copper of Rhosos on the Gulf of Issos likewise represents a horned deity who stands on a base between two reclining bulls; from his head rises a *crux ansata*; his right hand grasps a thunderbolt, his left an ear of corn (?); and on either side of him are the caps of the *Diaskourei* (fig. 451). Gabala, a Syrian coast-town between Lardikeia and Paltos, worshipped a similar deity. And a unique



Fig. 450.



Fig. 451.



Fig. 452.

silver tetradrachm of Antiochos xii, now in the Dresden cabinet attests the same cult. It has for a reverse type a bearded god standing on a base of two steps between a couple of recumbent bulls. He wears a pointed head-dress, a long *chiton* with a broad knotted belt, and a *himetion* buckled round his neck. Both hands are extended, and the left holds a two-leaved ear of corn (fig. 452).

<sup>1</sup> The deity represented on coins of Neapolis in Syria (H. de Sauley *Monnaies de la terre sainte*, Paris 1874 p. 280 f. nos. 5-7 and perhaps p. 285 f. nos. 1-3; *Recherches sur le culte, les pratiques, les monuments, les monuments de l'Égypte*, Paris 1837 pl. 33, 3 and 4); Heliopolis (ibid. p. 243 no. 2) and Nikopolis in Judaea (H. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Münz. Ztschr.*, 1901 p. 13 f.) is the Zeus of Heliopolis (ibid. p. 572 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> H. de Sauley *Monnaies de la terre sainte*, Paris 1874 p. 283 pl. 19, 9. ΔΕΙΗΝΩΝ CEH (in the year 268 of the Pompeian era = 204 A.D.) *Revue Arch. Coins Galatie*, etc. pp. lxxv, 303 pl. 38, 4. *Head Hist. num.* 7, 787.

<sup>3</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Münz.* p. 440 no. 8. *Ch. de la monnaie* pl. 7, 223. *Head Hist. num.* 7, 782.

<sup>4</sup> F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hist. Stud.* 1898, vi. 170 n. 9, citing A. L. Millin *Acad. Gall. myth.* p. 89 pl. 14 no. 16 and F. Chapard *Revue Arch. Coins Galatie*, etc. pp. lxxv, 303 pl. 38, 4. *Head Hist. num.* 7, 787.

<sup>5</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Münz.* p. 437 no. 121 pl. H. 15, 1. *Head Hist. num.* 7, 782. Paris 1800 p. clxxv fig. 39. W. Wroth in the *Nouv. Revue Arch. Third Series* 1890 x. 327 f. *Head Hist. num.* 7, 772.



### (§) Characteristics of the Syrian Zeus (Adad).

As at Heliopolis<sup>1</sup>, so at Hierapolis and elsewhere the bulls associated with Adad (Zeus) marked him as a god of thunder and fertility. The Rhodian coin, which represents him with a thunderbolt and a *crux ansata*, indicates both aspects of his being. At Hierapolis the latter was the more prominent, to judge from the local myth and ritual. He was here a fitting partner of Atargatis (Hera), a

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 576 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to Loukian, *de dea Syr.* 17 ff., the temple at Hierapolis was rebuilt by Stratonike [the second wife of Seleukos I Nikator], who was afterwards married to her step-son [Antiochos I Soter]. Stratonike was bidden by Hera in a dream to raise to her the temple at Hierapolis. The king [Seleukos] sent her thither under the charge of his friend Kombabos, a very handsome youth. Kombabos, fearing the result of this commission, mutilated himself, put his *aïdoia* in a small jar along with myrrh, honey, and other perfumes, sealed it and gave it to the king as a priceless treasure to be kept against his return. The king set another seal upon it and entrusted it to his stewards. When Stratonike had been three years building the temple, Hera, angry at the delay, struck her with a passion for Kombabos. At first she concealed her feelings; but at last she made herself drunk and confessed her love. Kombabos rejected her overtures. She then threatened to lay violent hands upon herself. Whereupon he told her of his mutilation and so cured her madness. But she still loved him and enjoyed his company. Meantime the king sent for Kombabos. (Some say falsely that Stratonike accused Kombabos to him of attempting her honour, cp. the tales of Sthenobolia and Phaidra.) Kombabos was imprisoned, arraigned, and condemned to death. He then called for his treasure, broke the seal, and proved his innocence by exhibiting the contents. The king, convinced, promised to put his accusers to death, to bestow upon him much gold and silver, Assyrian raiment, and royal horses, and to grant him the right to approach himself unannounced 'even'—said he—*ἢν γυναικὶ αὐα εἰσέσθωαι*. Kombabos finished the temple and in future dwelt there. A bronze statue of him by Hermokles of Rhodes, which stands in the temple, shows a feminine form in masculine attire: for such was his aspect. But a stranger woman, who once came to a festival, fell in love with him and, on discovering his condition, slew herself: so he, discouraged at it, changed his practice and put on a woman's dress. His friends showed their sympathy with him by mutilating themselves and sharing his mode of life. (Others tell a sacred tale to the effect that Hera loved Kombabos and, to prevent him from being lonely, sent upon his friends this desire for self-mutilation.)

In this myth Kombabos is obviously a Syrian parallel to Attis, who, according to one version (Prudent, *Peristrophe*, 10, 196 ff.), unmanned himself to escape the embraces of Kybele: cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* *Rev.* p. 1542 n. 3. Hera, i. e. Atargatis, here corresponds with Kybele. The transference of the tale from the goddess Hera to the mortal Stratonike perhaps implies that the Syrian queen played the part of the goddess. Those who identified Atargatis with Rhea ascribed the foundation of her temple and cult to Attis (Loukian, *de dea Syr.* 15).

<sup>3</sup> The statements of the pseudo-Lucian with regard to the ritual at Hierapolis may here be summarised.

In this *Propheta* stand two *θαλάμῳ*, dedicated by Dionysos to his step-mother Hera, and reaching to a height of thirty fathoms. Twice a year a man climbs up one of them and spends seven days on the top. Most persons say that he associates up there with the gods, invoking their blessing upon the whole of Syria, and that the gods, since he is near them, hear his prayers. Others connect the custom with Deukalion's flood, when men, to escape the water, climbed mountains and high trees [cp. *supra* p. 584 n. 1]. Lucian compares rather the *τεροσπαστα* of the Greeks, small wooden men with large *aîdîa*

## 592 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

goddess whom the Greeks described as 'Nature or the Cause that made out of moisture the first principles and seeds of

seated on the *φάλλος* raised for Dionysos, and notes that on the right of the temple at Hierapolis is seated a small bronze figure of a man with a large *αὐτοῖον*. However that may be, the Syrian climbs his *φάλλος*, as an Arab or an Egyptian climbs a date-palm. On the top he erects a hut and receives offerings. A man standing below shouts up the name of each donor. He, up above, invokes a blessing upon the latter and, during his prayer, beats a vessel of bronze, which makes a great clanging reverberation. He keeps a sleepless vigil; for, should he sleep, a scorpion would climb up and attack him (p. 10 and 28 f.). [In the *Jahrb. d. k. u. k. Inst. 1912* xxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 13-16 R. Hartmann attempts to show that a bronze statuette at Stuttgart represents this *φάλλοβάτης*—an improbable view. The *περὶ πάσσαρον* in question may, I think, be illustrated from a black-figured *kylix* at Florence published by H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antiken-sammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 95 no. 50 (Preuss. in the *Archiv für Anthropologie* N.F. 1903 i. 129 ff. figs., A. Dieterich *Museum für Leipzig* and Berlin 1905 p. 107 ff. figs.) and Milan *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 n. 78 ff. figs. 262 a, 262 b; cp. Hdt. 2. 48. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 12. 36. F. Cumont —E. Cumont *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la petite Arménie* n. 337 figure cylinders of enamelled terra cotta, c. 7500 high, found at Erzingian and thought by the Turks to be *φάλλος* used in the cult of the Syrian goddess. On the beaten gong see the *Journ. Hitt. Stud.* 1902 xvii. 5-28.]

Outside the temple is a large bronze altar and countless bronze statues of kings and priests, including Semiramis, who claimed divine honours, Helene, Hekabe, Andromache, Paris, Hektor, Achilles, Nireus son of Aglana, Philomele and Prokne as women, Tereus as a bird, Semiramis again, Kombabos, Stratonike, Alexander, Sardanapallos. In the courtyard great bulls, horses, eagles, bears, and lions roam about; they are all sacred and harm no man (*ib.* 39-41).

Numerous priests slay victims, or bear libations, or are 'fire-bearers', or wait beside the altar: more than 300 of them come to the sacrifice. All wear white garments and a felt cap, except the chief priest, who alone wears a purple robe and a golden tiara. Besides, there are other sacred persons: flute-players, pipers, eunuchs and frenzied women (who dote upon them) *ib.* 22). All come to the sacrifice, which takes place twice a day. During the sacrifice to Zeus they keep silence, during that to Hera they sing, play the flute, and shake rattles (*ib.* 42-44).

Near the temple is a lake containing sacred fish of various kinds. The large ones have separate names and come when called. One of them is decked with gold, having a golden object attached to his fin. The lake is said to be over 200 fathoms in depth. In the midst of it is a stone altar, thought by many to be floating on the water. It is always wreathed and perfumed; many persons under a vow swim to it daily and bring the wreaths. Important festivals are held here, known as 'Descents to the Lake,' because all the deities come down to the lake. Hera arrives first to save the fish, for, if Zeus saw them before her, they would all perish. He too comes to look at them; but she blocks the way and implores him to depart. On the occasion of their greatest festivals [cp. *supra* p. 584 n. 1] they go down to the sea. Each man returns bearing a vessel of water sealed with wax. A sacred 'cock,' living on the lake, receives the vessels, inspects their seals, and earns many *mina* for himself by unfastening them. The men then take the vessels to the temple, pour their libations, offer sacrifices, and so return home (*ib.* 45-48).

The greatest festival known to the winter is, however, celebrated at the beginning of spring and named the 'Pyre' or the 'Torch.' They cut down great trees and erect them in the courtyard. On these they hang live goats, sheep, etc. together with lards, garments, and objects in gold or silver. When all is ready, they bear the deities round the trees, which they fire and consume on the spot. This festival is attended by a multitude from Syria and the surrounding districts, all who come bring with them their own deities and images of the same. On certain specified days the crowd assembles in the

all things' and again as 'her who gave mankind their earliest knowledge of all that is good for them!'

(η) *Ba'al-tars and Zeus Térsios.*

Akin to the Syrian Adad, though not identical with him, was a god worshipped since Hittite times in Kilikia and the

precinct, but outside the temple: here many eunuchs and sacred men perform their orgies, cutting their fore-arms and striking each other on the back. Many, standing by, play the flute; many bear drums, others sing inspired and holy songs. On these days too, while the eunuchs are raising their din, madness falls on many a young man, who flings aside his garments and with a great cry rushes into the midst of them. He seizes a sword; for there are swords in plenty placed there on purpose. With this he mutilates himself and runs through the town holding in his hands the parts that he has cut off. When he has flung them away into a house, he receives from that house feminine attire and a woman's ornaments (*l.c.* 49-51).

A dead eunuch is buried in a peculiar fashion. His comrades carry him out to the suburbs, set him down on the bare, cast stones over him, and return. They may not enter the temple-precinct for the next seven days. If any of them sees a corpse, he does not enter the precinct that day, but purifies himself on the morrow and enters it. If one of them own household has died, they wait thirty days, shave their heads, and then enter. The beasts that they sacrifice are oxen both male and female, goats, and sheep. Swine only they deem unclean and neither sacrifice nor eat; others, however, deem them not unclean but sacred. They regard the dove as an object of the greatest sanctity: they will not even touch it; or, if they do so by accident, they are unclean throughout that day. Hence doves dwell with them, enter their houses, and feed for the most part on the ground (*l.c.* 52-54).

When a man goes to Hierapolis to attend a festival, on first entering the town he shaves his head and eyebrows and then sacrifices a sheep. Most of it he cuts up and eats, but the fleece he lays on the ground. Kneeling upon it, he draws the feet and head of the beast over his own head, and at the same time offering prayer he asks the deity to accept his present sacrifice and promises a greater one in future. After that he wreathes his own head and the heads of all those that have come on the same errand with him. From the moment when he quits his own country for the journey he must use cold water both for bathing and for drinking and must always sleep on the ground, it being forbidden to mount upon a bed till he has reached his home again. In Hierapolis he is received by a host whom he does not know. Certain hosts are there assigned to each town, the office being hereditary. Those that discharge it are called by the Assyrians 'teachers,' since they explain the rites to their guests. They do not offer sacrifice in the sanctuary itself; but, having brought the victim to the altar and poured a libation over it, they lead it home alive, and, on reaching every man his own dwelling, sacrifice it and pray. Another sacrifice is performed thus: they wreath the victims and cast them alive from the *Propylaea*, the victims being killed by the fall. Some even cast their own children down hence, but not as they do the beasts: they put them in a sack and lower them by hand, joining at the while and declaring that they are not children, but oxen (*l.c.* 56-57 p. 442 nn. 1, 2). They are all tattooed, some on the wrist, others on the neck. Just as at Troezen lads and lasses must not wed till they have shorn their hair for Hippolytus, so at Hierapolis young men offer the first hairs of their beards, while girls have a sacred tress meant from their birth onwards. On reaching the sanctuary they cut the hair and, placing it in vessels of silver or often of gold, nail it to the temple-wall and inscribe it with their names (*l.c.* 58 p. 23 ff. [17], 55-60).

<sup>1</sup> Plout. *l.c.* *Crit.* 17.



seen at Ivriz, where a singularly fertile glen runs far into the northern flank of Mount Tauros. Prof. J. Garstang describes the scene in graphic language:

'At the foot of the rock a stream of water, clear and cool, bursts out in tremendous volume, and, supplemented by other similar sources, becomes in a hundred yards a raging and impassable torrent, roaring with a wonderful noise as it foams and leaps over the rocks in its course. Before joining the main stream of the valley it washes at a bend the foot of a bare rock, upon which from the opposite side there may be seen the famous sculptures, the most striking of all known Hittite works, and one of the most imposing monuments of the ancient East.

The treatment of these sculptures is all in relief. In composition there are two persons represented: the Peasant-god, a gigantic figure fourteen feet in height, distinguished by the bunches of grapes and bearded wheat which he holds, and the King-priest, an heroic figure eight feet in height, facing towards the god, with clasped hands raised in adoration or thanksgiving for his bounty.

The god is clad in the short tunic, short-sleeved vest, pointed cap, and shoes with turned-up toes, characteristic of the godlike figures on all Hittite sculptures. But here the sculptor has elaborated his theme, and has worked into it ideas or conceptions which we may reasonably suspect were derived ultimately from the East through the intermediary of Cilicia. The figure is squat and stolid, and the face almost Semitic... Perhaps the most peculiar and Oriental detail is to be found in the horns which decorate the helmet, of which four pairs are visible. In front of the right foot is the suggestion of a bolted implement, possibly a plough.

There are three short inscriptions accompanying these figures. In that which is carved before the face of the god, Professors Sayce and Jensen both find the name of Sandes in the first line: the W-like sign below the divided oval that signifies divinity. In the next line, as in the overlap of the first and second lines of inscription behind the king, we find the same name read Aymnyas as in the inscriptions of Bor and of Bulghar-Maden. This point is of importance in considering the history of the Hittite peoples when, as it seems, the central authority was no longer at Boghaz-Kem. For the date of these sculptures, if only from their close analogy in treatment to those of Sakje-Geyzi, may be put down to the tenth or ninth century B.C. It would seem indeed that we are here drawn into relation with the kingdom of Greater Cilicia, which, with Tyaná probably as capital, took the place of the Hatti-state within the Halys, as the dominant Hittite state at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

Sandas was clearly a god of fertility. The bovine horns on his tiara, the grape-bunches and corn-ears in his hands, the plough<sup>(2)</sup> at his feet, all point in that direction. At Tarsos in the fourth century B.C., while retaining his old attributes the grapes and the corn, he acquired the characteristics of Zeus. On silver coins

97. O. Hoyer in Roscher *l.c.* *Myth. u. s.* 330 f. fig. 2. J. Garstang *Ann. Soc. Arch. Hittite*, London 1910 pp. 191-195 p. 27 (from a cast at Berlin).

<sup>(2)</sup> See e.g. J. G. Frazer *l.c.* 22. E. Meyer *Gesch. d. Alt. u. d. Mitt. d. Ost.* Stuttgart 1909 I 25, 64 ff.

## 596 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

struck in Kilikia by the satrap Datames, 378—374 B.C. (figs. 454, 455)<sup>1</sup>, he appears under the name *Baal-toris* enthroned with an eagle-sceptre in his right hand, a corn-ear and a bunch of grapes in his left: beside him is an incens-burner, and beneath his throne a variable symbol—a pomegranate-flower, a bull's head, the fore-

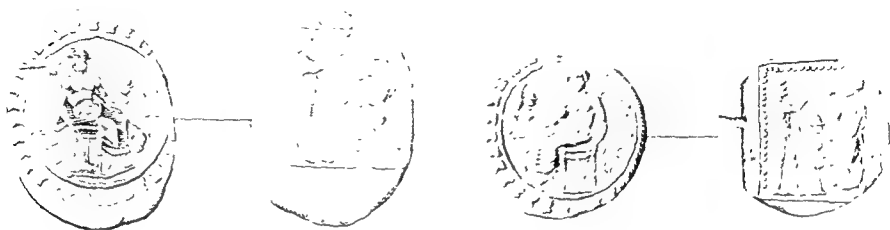


Fig. 454.

Fig. 455.

part of a humped bull, the entire bull crouching, a knuckle-bone, a lion, a bird. The whole design is surrounded by a circle with projections like battlements, probably meant for the town-wall. Silver coins issued by Mazaios, as satrap of Kilikia, 361—334 B.C. and Trans-Euphratesia, 351—334 B.C. (figs. 456, 457)<sup>2</sup>, together with

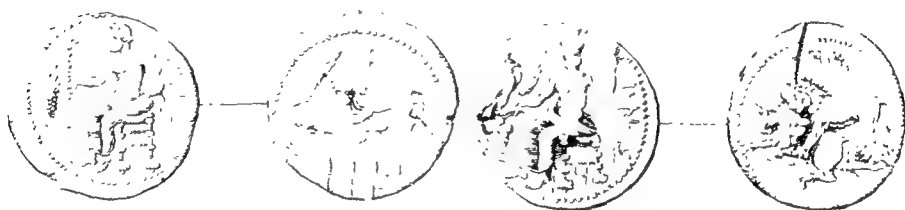


Fig. 456.

Fig. 457.

others issued by Arsames as satrap of Kilikia, 334—331 B.C.<sup>3</sup>, show the same deity enthroned with a lotos-sceptre and grouped in various ways with one or more of his attributes—an ear of corn, a bunch of grapes, and an eagle. On coins struck by Mazaios as general of Dareios in Syria and at Babylon, 334—331 B.C.<sup>4</sup>, and as governor

<sup>1</sup> *Babylon Mem.* n. 2, 469 ff. pl. 129, 4, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17. *Mon. Catal. C. 6*, Lycimnia, no. p. 1671 pl. 29, 11, 12, 13. *Heb. et. Catal. C. 6*, n. 547. *Heb. et. Catal. C. 6*, p. 730 ff. figs. 322, 1. Fig. 454 is from a specimen in my collection, fig. 455—*Babylon Mem.* n. 2, 4131 pl. 120, 14.

<sup>2</sup> For the coinage of Mazaios cf. *Le Mon. Catal. C. 6*, n. 547, recently proposed by *Babylon Mem.* n. 2, 4131 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Mem.* n. 2, 445 ff. pl. 111, 14, 20 pl. 112, 1, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Mem.* n. 2, 451 ff. pl. 112, 12, 20, 22, pl. 113, 11, 12, 14. Figure two specimens in my collection.

<sup>5</sup> *Mem.* n. 2, 461 ff. pl. 113, 1, 18 pl. 114, 1, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Mem.* n. 2, 471 ff. pl. 114, 15, 20.

of Babylon under Alexander the Great, 331—328 B.C.<sup>1</sup> *Baal-tars* loses his distinctive attributes altogether. And on later pieces struck by the generals of Alexander, e.g. by Seleukos in 321—316 and 312—306 B.C. (fig. 458)<sup>2</sup>, he drops not only his attributes but

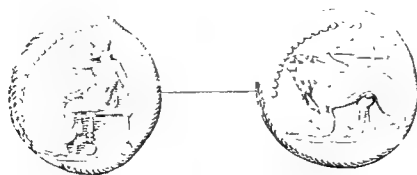


Fig. 458

also his title *Baal-tars* and appears as a purely Hellenic Zeus. In the third century B.C. he was known at Tarsos as Zeus *Térsios*.

The identification of Sandas with Zeus was due partly to the fact that Sandas was the chief god of the district<sup>3</sup> and partly to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ill. cat.* n. 2, 475 ff. pls. 114, 21 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ill. cat.* n. 2, 481 ff. pls. 115, 116, 117, 101, 14—17, 21—25. I figure a specimen in my collection.

<sup>3</sup> Eustath. *ad* Dionys. *per.* 807. Βασιλευς δὲ ὄρεσι τὴν κλήσιν τῶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Διὸς Τέρσιου τοῖς ἐκὼ καλούμενος. ὁ δὲ καὶ περὶ Τέρσιου παρῶντα ὄρεα τοῦ ἐστραχίου ἀνασπόμεναι τὴν πόλιν, ὅθεν τὸ τοῦ ἐκὼ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κτιστὸν χλῆρον τῶν ἐκείων ἐστὶν ἐκασταὶ, καὶ οὗτος χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος. Cf. Steph. Byz. *art.* Ταῖος.

Among the commonest types of the later copper coins of Tarsos is that of Zeus enthroned (*Ill. cat.* *M.* *cat.* *Ill. cat.* pls. 177, 181 ff., 190, 192 pls. 32, 12, 33, 4, 9). *Hunt. Cat. Conv.* n. 548, pl. 100, 12. Head *Hist. num.* p. 732 f.

<sup>4</sup> Another Cilician god, Olymbus, who passed as being the brother of Sandas (Steph. Byz. *art.* Ἀδωνάειος, ὅς ἐστι δὲ ὁ Ἀδωνάειος Περὶ καὶ Οὐλὰ ὁ παῖς, καὶ Οὐστῆος καὶ Σαῖδος καὶ Κράτος καὶ Ρεσ καὶ Ἰεπίτος καὶ Οὐλῆτος), was worshipped by natives of Anazarbos as Zeus (*Ill. cat.* *M.* *cat.* *Ill. cat.* pls. 177, 181 ff., 190, 192 pls. 32, 12, 33, 4, 9). *Hunt. Cat. Conv.* n. 548, pl. 100, 12. Head *Hist. num.* p. 732 f.

Another Cilician god, Olymbus, who passed as being the brother of Sandas (Steph. Byz. *art.* Ἀδωνάειος, ὅς ἐστι δὲ ὁ Ἀδωνάειος Περὶ καὶ Οὐλὰ ὁ παῖς, καὶ Οὐστῆος καὶ Σαῖδος καὶ Κράτος καὶ Ρεσ καὶ Ἰεπίτος καὶ Οὐλῆτος), was worshipped by natives of Anazarbos as Zeus (*Ill. cat.* *M.* *cat.* *Ill. cat.* pls. 177, 181 ff., 190, 192 pls. 32, 12, 33, 4, 9). *Hunt. Cat. Conv.* n. 548, pl. 100, 12. Head *Hist. num.* p. 732 f.

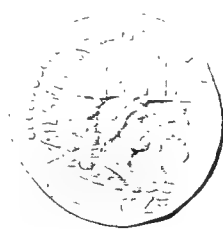


Fig. 459

## 598 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

fact that Zeus too was a giver of fertility<sup>1</sup>. But this identification, though favoured by the satraps and generals, did not adequately express the popular conception of Sandas, whose prototype in the Hittite religion appears to have been the son-god rather than the father-god<sup>2</sup>. Hence side by side with Zeus, the supreme dispenser of all things good, the Tarsians worshipped Herakles, the more human and approachable avenger of all things evil. The coins struck by Datames, which represented *Baal-tars* as a Zeus-like deity seated on a throne, supplement this obverse type by a reverse of exceptional interest (figs. 454, 455). Within a square frame surmounted by antefixes etc. and probably intended for a sacred edifice are two male figures with an incense-burner between them.

in my collection (fig. 460): obv. [KAIΣAPEΩN Φ] ANAZAPBΩ head of Zeus, facing right; rev. ΕΤΟΥΣ ΒΑΡ (=132-113/114 A.D.) head of Tyche, veiled and bearded; and it would seem reasonable to conclude that on the acropolis

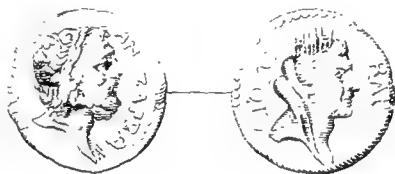


Fig. 460.

of Anazarbos there was an important cult of Zeus, who had heretofore dispossessed Olymbros. See further A. von Domaszewski 'Zeus *Olymbros*' in the *Nouv. Zeil. für*, 1911 pp. 10-12.

<sup>1</sup> A coin of Tithopoli in Cilicia, struck by Hattian, shows Zeus with sceptre and cornucopia (fig. 461 = W. Wroth in the *Nouv. Chron.* Third Series 1900 xv. 293 no. 29



Fig. 461.

pl. 14, 10, Imhoof-Blumer *Klein. Münzen* n. 494, Head *Hel. Münz.* p. 734) - in attribute which he there shares with the local Tyche (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycæonia, etc. p. 231 pl. 38, 71; cp. *num. p.* 501 f. pl. xxxi, Zeus on a copper of the Italian Lokroi enthroned with a sceptre in his left hand and a cornucopia behind him (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 369, Gaumeri *Mon. H. ant.* p. 161 pl. 113, 13), an archaic Jupiter bearing a *patera* in his right hand, a cornucopia in his left, on a base at Berlin which probably dates from the reign of Commodus and is inscribed L. O. M. . . summo . . . exsuper[an]ti[us]mo[do] (R. Kekulé von Stradonitz

'Über das Relief mit der Inschrift C. I. L. vi. 426' in the *Saturnus, etc. d. Abhandl. Wiss. Berlin* 1901 p. 387 ff., L. Cuntz in the *Leipzig. Zeil.* 1906 ix. 323 ff., A. v. Domaszewski *ibid.* 1911 xv. 313, Renach *R. p. Rel.* ii. 32 no. 2), another archaizing Jupiter, with *corolla* on head, *patera* in left hand, over which hovers a butterfly, and cornucopiae on right, on an engraved gem at St Petersburg (L. Stephant in the *Compt. rend. St. Pé.* 1873 p. 150, *ibid.* 1877, p. 100, Renach *Pl. in. Grav.* p. 134 no. 3 pl. 123, cp. *ibid.* p. 124 pl. 191, 4, cp. *num. p.* 354 pl. xxxi, 11).

<sup>2</sup> If Sandas at Izniz had corn-ears, grapes and a plough (*num. p.* 594 f.), Zeus had corn-ears at Heliopolis (*supra* pp. 552, 558 f., 569, 572), grapes and a plough in Phrygia (*supra* pl. 4 n. 2, 399 f.).

<sup>3</sup> J. Garstang *The Lami of the Hittite*, London 1910 pp. 195, 238, 240, 378 f.



On the right stands Datames himself in *chiton* and *himation* raising his hand with a gesture of adoration. On the left is the nude form of Herakles with arm out-stretched towards the satrap. Before Datames is his name in Aramaic lettering—*Tidāmrā*. Behind Herakles on certain specimens (fig. 455) room is found for a second Aramaic word—*ana*. Now it has been universally supposed that *Ana* must be the name of the naked god, and attempts have been made to connect him with the Assyrian *Anu*. But I am informed by my friends Prof. R. H. Kennett, Prof. F. C. Burkitt, and Mr N. McLean, that *ana* is ordinary Aramaic for 'I (am)', and that 'I am Datames' would have been the normal commencement of a royal or quasi-royal proclamation. I would therefore suggest that this much-disputed type simply represents Datames announcing himself as a worshipper of Herakles (Sandas).

Sandas as figured on coins of Tarsos from about 164 B.C.



Fig. 462



Fig. 463



Fig. 464.

onwards (figs. 462—468) bears a much closer resemblance to the ancient Hittite son-god<sup>1</sup>. He stands on the back of a lion, which

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank my friend Mr N. McLean, Lecturer in Aramaic to the University of Cambridge, for examining a number of these coins and deciphering their legend. Mr McLean tells me that it might possibly be read as *Tidāmrā*, but that there is in Aramaic no such use of a quant *n* as would justify the transcription *Tidāmrā* (Head *Hitt. num.* 2 p. 730).

<sup>2</sup> This word is placed either in the narrow space at the back of Herakles' knee (Babylon *Mus. Gr. et Lat.* 2, 4131 pl. 109, 13 and 15) or outside the frame behind Herakles (*ib. id.* pl. 109, 14; my fig. 455).

<sup>3</sup> Babylon *Mus. Gr. et Lat.* 2, 4131. Paris 1893 pp. clvi—clix, cf. *Mus. Gr. et Lat.* 2, 4131 ff., G. L. Hill in the *Bull. Mus. Gr. et Lat.* Lycabon, etc. p. lxxx, Head *Hitt. num.* 2 p. 731.

<sup>4</sup> P. Gardner *Typ. of Gr. Coins* p. 171 pl. 10, 29 regards as plausible an interpretation put forward by Honoré d'Albert, duc de Luynes *Noms sacrés des satrapes* (*et de la Perse*) Paris 1846 p. 20, 77, that Sandinapalos represented by the Greek artist as an effeminate Zeus or Dionysos is here snapping his fingers (Athen. 530 A ff.) at Herakles, who exhorts him to better things! But such moralising is, as Prof. Gardner admits, 'a rare or unprecedented occurrence among Greek coins.' Frankly, it is unthinkable.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. Mus. Gr. et Lat.* Lycabon, etc. pp. 178 ff., 189, 206 pls. 32, 13—16, 33, 1, 34, 2, 36, 9, *Hitt. Mus. Gr. et Lat.* 2, 4131 pl. 60, 11, Head *Hitt. num.* 2 p. 732 f., P. Gardner *Typ. of Gr. Coins* p. 206 pl. 13, 20.

<sup>6</sup> In the rock-carvings of Eski Kaya near Boghaz-Köy the Hittite son-god stands on the back of a lioness or panther: if the animal is really turned as in Perrot—Chippiez *Hitt. de l'Art* 18, 637 fig. 313; for the panther, as opposed to the lion, in early art is

## 600 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

is both winged and horned. He is draped and wears a tall head-dress. He carries bow-case and sword, and grasps a double-axe in his left hand. Occasionally also, as befits a god of fertility, he holds a branch<sup>1</sup> or flower (fig. 463)<sup>2</sup> or wreath (fig. 464). He thus differs widely from the Grecised representation of him as Herakles. Indeed, we should not know him for the same deity, were it not that he is sometimes nude (fig. 463)<sup>3</sup> and always stretches forth his right hand in what is clearly a characteristic gesture<sup>4</sup>.

Certain coins struck at Tarsos by the Seleucid kings of Syria from Alexandros i Balas (150—146 B.C.) to Antiochos ix Kyzikenos (113—95 B.C.) show Sandas between two small cones or altars on



Fig. 462



Fig. 463

a pyramidal structure topped by an eagle with spread wings (figs. 465, 466).<sup>5</sup> This erection has been thought to represent the 'Pyre' made for Herakles (Sandas) at the Tarsian festival of *Pyra*;<sup>6</sup>

usually represented with his head full-beaked, not in profile, see L. Bouter 'Histoire et numismatique de la R. M. de Syrie' *Revue numismatique* 1910 p. 149 H. G. Spring *Die Münzen der Antike* London 1912 p. 138 ff. He wears a short tunic, shoes with upturned toes, and a conical flat-topped hat. He grasps a staff in his outstretched right hand and a double-axe in his left while a lion-dog hangs by his left flank (fig. 467). *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lyconia, etc. p. 179 pl. 32, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *L. p.* 179 pl. 33 a flower with three petals; Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Die Münzen der Antike* Leipzig 1889 p. 70 pl. 12, 7 (= my fig. 463).

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lyconia, etc. p. 178 pl. 32, 14, p. 186 pl. 34, 2, p. 206 pl. 36, 9. *Imhoof-Blumer* *Die Münzen der Antike* p. 60, 11. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 70 f. pl. 12, 8, 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lyconia, etc. p. 179 pl. 33, 1. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 70 pl. 12, 7.

<sup>5</sup> I take this gesture to be expressive of power. In the Old Testament a 'stretching out arm' is constantly found with that connotation (Is. 6, 6; Deut. 4, 34, 5, 15, 7, 19, 9, 29, 11, 2, 1 Kings 8, 43, 2 Kings 17, 36, *ibid.*).

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lyconia, etc. p. 180 f. pl. 33, 2, 3. *Imhoof-Blumer* *Die Münzen der Antike* p. 548. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 72 pl. 28, 8, p. 78 pl. 24, 6, p. 89 pl. 24, 3, p. 112. *Head of Herakles* p. 732 f. P. Gardner *Types of Greek Coins* p. 206 pl. 14, 17. *Anson Num. Chron.* p. 2, 50 f. 53—55.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. P. Gardner *Types of Greek Coins* p. 206. *Head of Herakles* p. 733 (probably the pyre, etc.). Mr G. L. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lyconia, etc.



## 602 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

Again, the eagle on its apex resembles the eagle on the pyramidal roof above the stone of Zeus *Kaisios* at Seleukeia Pieria<sup>1</sup>. Finally, the whole Tarsian structure is quite unlike any other pyres figured on Greek or Roman money<sup>2</sup>, but both in form and in decoration so strikingly similar to the pyramids of Jupiter *Pelichenus*<sup>3</sup> that we are fully justified in explaining it by the help of their analogy.

If Sandas at Tarsos had among his attributes both grape-bunches and a pyramid topped by an eagle, we may perhaps venture to connect his name with another Cilician coin-type (figs. 469—474)<sup>4</sup>, in which appears a pyramid flanked by two birds or



Fig. 469.



Fig. 470.



Fig. 471.

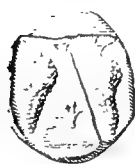


Fig. 472.



Fig. 473.



Fig. 474.

by two grape-bunches<sup>5</sup>. Certain examples of this coinage (fig. 472) exhibit on the pyramid a symbol resembling the three-petalled flower sometimes held by Sandas<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Append. B Syria.

<sup>2</sup> For the pyre of Zeus *Synetos* as shown on coins of Amaseia see the *Clavis, Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79 f., *Foll.-Leuz.* 1904 xv. 296, 306 f. (add. now Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* pp. 27, 32, 35 f., 38 ff. pls. 4, 22, 5, 12, 14, 26, 6, 1—4, 7—10, 12 f.); the only hint of a pyramidal top is on a specimen struck by Caracalla (*ib.* p. 39 pl. 6, 3, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 11 pl. 2, 4). Roman *conservatio*-pyres (listed by Rosche *Lex. Num.* ii. 806—809, vii. 1067 f., Suppl. ii. 17 f.) are regularly staged towers, not pyramids.

*Infra* p. 615 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2, 869 f. pl. 137, 12—14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycæonia*, etc. pp. cxviii ff., 96 pl. 16, 1—4, Anson *Num. Gr.* v pl. 4, 120—123, *Head Hist. num.* p. 717. The attribution of these unepigraphic coins is doubtful. Most numismatists now assign them to Mallos, but on inadequate grounds—see Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinm. Munzen* ii. 435 f., who proposes Aphrodisias and is followed by Head *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> On the evolution of these birds and grape-bunches from mere granulated patches see the careful note of Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycæonia*, etc. p. cxix.

<sup>5</sup> Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2, 869 f. pl. 137, 14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycæonia*, etc. p. 96 pl. 16, 3, Anson *Num. Gr.* v pl. 4, 122, *Head Hist. num.* p. 717. Cf. the plant-sign discussed by Sir Arthur Evans *Scripta Minora* Oxford 1909 i. 215 f. ('Catalogue of Hieroglyphic Signs' no. 92).

The significance of the pyramid as a cult-object is uncertain. I am disposed to think that, like the Babylonian *zikkurat* or 'high'-place<sup>1</sup>, it was the conventionalised form of a mountain<sup>2</sup>, originally viewed as the dwelling-place of the deity. Sandas' prototype, the son-god of Boghaz-keui, stands on the back of a lioness, which itself is standing on a mountain-range. Sandas' own effigy is carved on the rock-walls of Ivriz at the foot of Mount Tauros<sup>3</sup>. Such a god might be suitably represented in relief on a stone pyramid at Tarsos.

It is possible, though not certain, that Sandas was sometimes called Di-Sandas, the prefix serving to emphasise his relation to Zeus. If so, a parallel might be sought among such compound names of deities as Dio-Pan<sup>4</sup>, Zeno-Poseidon<sup>5</sup>, etc.<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 475.

<sup>1</sup> M. Jastrow, *Assyria and Chaldea as they Really Appeared* (New York and London 1911) p. 282 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A coin of Kaisarea in Cappadocia, struck in 113 A.D., shows a pyramid (*Hunt. Cat. Coins*, n. 581 no. 3), which is perhaps equivalent to the type of Mount Argaios on other coins of the same town (*ibid.* n. 581 ff. pl. 62, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Galatia, etc. 1910, xxxv ff., 45 ff. pl. 8 ff.). <sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 604 f. <sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 594 f.

<sup>5</sup> Hieron. *hron. ann.* 191, 509. Hercules cognomento Desaneus in Phoenice clatus habetur, unde ad nostram usque memoriam a Cappadocibus et Helensibus (i.e. Helimnibus, Alensibus) Desaneus (Weincke cf. Desandus) dicitur. Synkell. *hron.* 153 D n. 290. Dindorf: Ἡρακλῆς τῆς φωνῆς ἐν Φοινικῇ γινώσκεσθαι Δεσανδῶν ἐπικλεθῆναι, ὡς καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐπὶ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων (Movers cf. Aitōn, Alrens Κελακῶν), Tusch. *hron.* vers. Armen. m. 28 Schöne. Hercules in Phoenice cognoscebatur Desandas appellatus, quique hactenus quidem a Cappadocibus et Helensibus (ita) nuncupatur.

<sup>6</sup> E. C. Movers *Die Phoeniz* (Berlin 1841) 460 suggested that in Synkell. *loc. cit.* Δεσανδῶν was a false reading for Σαρδῶν due to dittography (ΔΣ = the M of γινώσκεσθαι). But his suggestion is unconvincing.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* *hron.* 191, in no. 4538 (a rock-cut inscription from the grotto of Pan at Baupis, the ancient Kaisarea/Pancas) Cougny *Ant. Pal.* 1891, i. 343 τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φωνῆς (Echo) ἀεθέτης φωνῆς ἢ Δεσανδῶν Οὐκίστω ἀρητηρ Ἀντισαχόου γῆρας.

<sup>8</sup> *Top.-Top.* 1904 xv, 278, and especially W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* m. 1224-1230.

<sup>9</sup> H. Usener in the *Strona H. Musiliana* Lipsiae 1900 p. 315 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1093.

## 604 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

In conclusion it may be pointed out that Sandas, though essentially a god of fertility, was also in Hellenistic times connected with the sun<sup>1</sup>. The eagle on his pyramid was presumably solar, for, as Monsieur R. Dussaud has proved, the king of birds had constantly this significance in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age<sup>2</sup>. To cite but one example: a bronze brought from Nizib by Monsieur L. de Contenson (fig. 475)<sup>3</sup> shows a splendid eagle on a discoid base, which bears the name *Hēlios* and probably represents a sacred stone, perhaps that of Emesa<sup>4</sup>. Again, the eight-rayed star that appears on the coins besides the flower-holding Sandas<sup>5</sup> may also fairly be reckoned as a solar symbol.

### (θ) Zeus *Dolichaíos* and Iupiter *Dolichenus*.

Zeus *Dolichaíos*<sup>6</sup> or *Dolichenós*<sup>7</sup>, better known as Iupiter *Dolichenus*<sup>8</sup>, furnishes another example of a Hittite god surviving into the Graeco-Roman age. He seems to have been originally akin to, or even one with, the Hittite father-god<sup>9</sup>, though—as we shall see—he bears some resemblance to the Hittite son-god also. In the central scene of the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui (fig. 476)<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Various scholars from E. Curtius (*Syriacische und Arabische Mythologie*, Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 n. 490, 634) to W. Wright (*The Epigraphy of the Hittites*, London 1886 pp. 181, 186 n. 1) have held that Sandas was from the first a sun-god (see O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.*, iv, 350).

<sup>2</sup> R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.*, 1903, i, 134 ff. = *Et. Arch. de Syrie et de Palestine*, Paris 1903 pp. 15—23 ('L'éagle symbole du dieu solaire'). *Arch. et Ep.*, 1901 fig. 138, 206 fig. 150, 205 fig. 237, 341 n. 7, p. 207 fig. 432.

<sup>3</sup> R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.*, 1903, i, 141 f. fig. 9 = *Et. Arch. de Syrie et de Palestine*, Paris 1903 p. 22 f. fig. 9. The bronze, inclusive of the base, is 0.10' high.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* Additions et Corrections p. 1671.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. Mus. Carr. Coll. Lyc. cont.*, etc. p. 179 pl. 33, 1. Imhof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tras. und Phoen. in der östl. Prov. Mesopotamien und Syrien* Leipzig 1889 p. 70 pl. 12, 7 f. — my fig. 463).

<sup>6</sup> Steph. Byz., s. *Δολιχίη*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ins. et Ep. Mitt.*, 1891 xiv, 37.

<sup>8</sup> The most complete monograph on Iupiter *Dolichenus* is A. H. Kan *Die Iovis Dolicheni cultus* Gromingae 1901 pp. 1—109. See also Custos Scoll. 'Über den Dolichenus-Cult' in the *Sitzungsber. der kais. Akad. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 xii, 4—90 pls. 1—6, *ib.*, xiii, 233—260 pls. 1 ff., suppl. pl. 1 f., L. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.*, 1191 ff., Overbeck, *Gr. Rom. Myth.*, Zeus p. 271 ff., St. Remach in Daubenberg-Saglio *Dict. Arch.*, n. 329—332, L. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-En.*, v, 1276—1281, and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.*, p. 1583 n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 2 ff. 'Iupiter autem Dolichenus idem est ac deus summus Hittitarum.' 1 f.

<sup>10</sup> L. Messerschmidt *Corpus inscriptionum Hittitarum* Berlin 1900 p. 21 ff. pl. 27, 1, pl. 29, 9—11, J. Garstang *The Language of the Hittites*, London 1910 p. 214 pl. 65 f. with bibliography *ib.* p. 396. The central scene appears to represent the union of the Hittite father-god at the head of the left-hand procession with the Hittite mother-god and her son at the head of the right-hand procession. The father-god, who stands on the bowed heads of two attendants, wears a high head-dress, a short tunic, and shoes with upturned toes. He carries a mace in his right hand and an emblem of uncertain significance

the father-deity has at his side a bull<sup>1</sup>, which as his *alter ego* wears



Fig. 476.

the same high head-dress as he does. On a Hittite cylinder at Berlin<sup>2</sup> the same god wears a horned cap and holds his bull by

(supposed to be a combination of the split oval or sign of divinity with the trident-fork that symbolises lightning) in his left. The handle of a short sword is seen at his waist; and beside him appears the fore part of a bull wearing a high head-dress like his own.

<sup>1</sup> E. Gauguin, *op. cit.* p. 215 and in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (London 1913) p. 10 n. 30 takes this animal to be a goat. But...

<sup>2</sup> E. E. Lipold *Introduction à l'étude de la civilisation hittite* (Mithras et le monde hittite) Paris 1847 pl. 35. 2. H. Winkler in the *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* (1864) 1864, (who reads the Babylonian inscription on this Hittite seal as 'Achilidesan, servant of the god Tishab'), W. H. Ward in the *Annals of the British Museum* (1899) iii. 184 fig. 20. A. Jerrold in Roscher *Lexikon Mythologie* iv. 53 f. fig. 15. The king

## 606 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

a leash. On another cylinder in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan (fig. 503)<sup>1</sup> he again holds the crouched bull by a leash, and on it stands a nude festoon-bearing goddess, the prototype of Europe<sup>2</sup>. Finally, on another Hittite cylinder in the British Museum (fig. 477)<sup>3</sup> the god is seen standing, like Ramman<sup>4</sup>, on the bull's back.

In classical times this long-lived deity drew his cult-epithet from Doliche, a little town<sup>5</sup> in the Syrian district of Kommagene, on the road from Germanikeia to Zeugma. The rocky hill, on which his temple once stood, is still called Tell Duluk and is now crowned by the small chapel of a Mohammedan saint, the successor of *Dolichenus* himself<sup>6</sup>. Strangely enough the monuments illus-

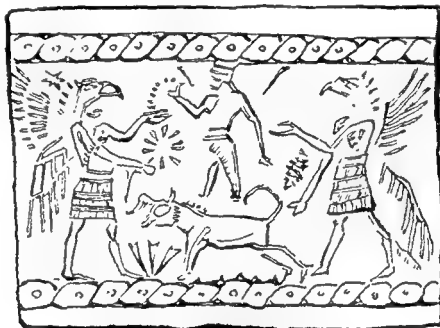


Fig. 477.

trative of the ancient cult have, with a single exception, been found outside the limits of Asia. The said exception (fig. 478)<sup>7</sup> is a limestone *stelé* discovered in or near Mar'ash, hardly a day's journey from Doliche, and probably dating from the first century B.C. It represents in an architectural frame-work the god standing upright on a small bull which appears to be moving from left to right. He is a bearded figure whose raised right hand held some attribute now broken off in all probability a double axe, and whose left hand grasps a thunderbolt. He is clad in Persian costume,

accompanied by the divine attendant (*Ura'ia*) stands before the god, who carries a bundle of weapons. In the field is a star for sun and the Egyptian *ankh* for air.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bible and the Eastern Religions and Legends* (New York 1912) p. 103 pl. 51, 60, 186, *intro* p. 644.

<sup>2</sup> So H. Prins in the *Atto. Mitth.* 1910 x. xv. 169 n. 2 (*Ura'ia* p. 526 n. 2).

Published by W. H. Ward in the *Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 21 fig. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Suzra* p. 577 fig. 446.

<sup>4</sup> Theodor *Zeits.* 5. 4.

<sup>5</sup> K. Humann and O. Puchstein *Kommagene und Adaman* Berlin 1896 p. 400.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* p. 399 fig. 58. Kan *Zeits.* p. 35 no. 1.



wearing boots, hose, a short *chiton* with a broad belt, and a *kandys* or cloak, which is fastened round his neck and is blown back by the wind.

Syrian troops—and to a less extent, Syrian merchants, slaves and freedmen—carried the cult of this obscure divinity far and wide through the Roman world<sup>1</sup>. It is attested by a numerous series of inscriptions<sup>2</sup> dating from c. 130 to c. 265 A.D., that is, from the time of Hadrian to the time of Gallienus. They are most in evidence during the reigns of Commodus (180—192 A.D.), Septimius



Fig. 478.

Severus (193—211 A.D.), Caracalla (211—217 A.D.), and Alexander Severus (222—235 A.D.). Commodus was an enthusiastic votary of such deities as Isis and Mithras. Septimius Severus was much under the influence of Julia Domna, his Syrian wife. Caracalla, their son, himself visited Syria in 215 A.D. Alexander Severus had spent his childhood in Syria as priest of the sun-god Elagabalos<sup>3</sup>, and was, owing to the designs of Artaxerxes king of Persia,

<sup>1</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 11 ff.; E. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *R. E.*, *Zeus*, s. 1276 f.

<sup>2</sup> They are collected and arranged in geographical order by Kan *op. cit.* pp. 34—109. A good selection of them is given by Dessau *Inscr. Lat.*, s. nos. 4296—4324.

Kan *op. cit.* pp. 16—19; E. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *R. E.*, *Zeus*, s. 1276—1278.

<sup>3</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 17 f.; E. Cumont *op. cit.* pp. 1276, 1278.

<sup>4</sup> Lampird, *z. G. Arch.*, 9, 4 and 6.

<sup>5</sup> Herodian, *z. 3*, 3 f.

## 608 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

forced to watch the province with anxious interest<sup>1</sup>. No wonder that under these emperors with their Syrian connexion the cult of Iupiter *Dolichenus* became popular.

At Rome he had two sanctuaries, one on the Esquiline, the other on the Aventine. A couple of marble tablets, found in 1734 on the Esquiline near the Tropaea Marii, record that in the reign of Commodus the chapel of Iupiter *Dolichenus* was, at the bidding of the god, enlarged by a certain D. Iunius Pacatus and his son Alexander, and further that on August 1, 191 A.D. soldiers belonging to the second cohort of the Guards presented the god with a tetrastyle dining-room (*tetrastylum*), a fountain (*nymphaeum*), a bowl with a small column, an altar with a small marble column, another small column, a little wheel (*orbiculus*) with a small column, and decorated the whole chapel<sup>2</sup>. On the Aventine too there was a *Dolocenum*, which was still standing in the fourth century<sup>3</sup>, though no dedications to the god of so late a date are recorded. It adjoined the sites of S. Alessio and S. Sabina, as is clear from several inscriptions found there<sup>4</sup>. One of these throws some light on the nature of the cult. It runs as follows<sup>5</sup>:

*Good Luck<sup>6</sup>.*

*In accordance with a behest of Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest, the Eternal, to him who is the Preserver of the Whole Sky, a Godhead Pre-eminent, a Provider Invincible<sup>7</sup>, L. Tettius Hermes, a Roman knight, a candidate<sup>8</sup> and patron of this place, to secure the safety of himself, of Aurelia Restituta his wife,*

<sup>1</sup> Dion Cass. 80. 4. 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 4140, 4140 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 65 f. no. 640, 640 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. cl.* no. 4315<sup>a</sup>, 4315<sup>b</sup>, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 356 f. Other inscriptions which may be referred to this cult-centre are listed by Kan *op. cit.* p. 66 ff. nos. 65—74.

<sup>3</sup> The *Notitia regionum urb. civ.* (written between 334 and 357 A.D.) and the *Curia nona ubi regionum xiv* (written between 357 and 403<sup>2</sup> A.D.) both say: Regio xiii Aventinus continet . Dolocenum (H. Jordan *op. cit.* Berlin 1871 ii. 561 f.). Their archetype was written between 312 and 315 A.D. (*id. ib.* ii. 540).

<sup>4</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 70 ff. nos. 75—81, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 167 f. n. 43.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 406, 30758 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 70 f. no. 75 Wilmanus *Lat. inscr. Lat.* no. 92, 3 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. cl.* no. 4316.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. W. Larfeld *Homöer's Wort- und Satzbau in Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i. 436 ff. The Latin *bona fortuna* corresponds with the Greek ἀγαθὴ τύχη as a preliminary formula for the sake of an auspicious beginning—see Dessau *Inscr. Lat. cl.* nos. 467, 4316.

<sup>7</sup> *h. f.* ex praecepto I. o. m. D. aeterni, conservator totius populi et universi praesentissio (*ib.*) exhibitor invictio, etc. On the epithet *aeterni* see L. Cumont in the *Rev. Philol.* N. S. 1902 xxxi. 8.

<sup>8</sup> The term *kandidatus* here and in similar inscriptions (Pauli—Wissowa *Rechtswörterb.* 1466 f.) implies, not merely the ritual use of white clothing (L. Mommsen on *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 406—413 and in the *Epigraph. arch.* iv. 532), but also that a complete analogy existed between the election of public priests and that of magistrates (L. Cumont *ib. cit.* p. 106 f.).

## Zeus *Dolichaíos* and Iupiter *Dolichenus* 609

of *Tettia Pannuchia* his daughter, of his household, of *Aurelius Lampadius* his well-loved brother, and the safety of the priests, the candidates, and the worshippers of this place, presented and dedicated the marble tablet with the *proscœnium*<sup>1</sup> and *columus*.

Those, whom *Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest*, has chosen to serve him *M. Aurelius Oenopio Onesimus* by the sign of *Acacius* notary, and *Septimius Antonius* by the sign of *Olympius*, father<sup>2</sup>, candidates, patrons, well-loved brothers and most honoured colleagues; *Aurelius Magnesius*, *Aurelius Scapianus*, *Antonius Marianus*, *M. Iulius Florentinus*, chief persons<sup>3</sup> of this place; and *Aurelius Severus* the veteran, curator of the temple; and *Aurelius Antiochus*, priest, *Geminus Felix* and *Vibius Eutychianus*, litter-bearers of the god<sup>4</sup>: Co . . . . . centianus

From this it appears that at Rome *Iupiter Dolichenus* was regarded as a sky-god ('Preserver of the Whole Sky'), whose principal priests—like the high officials of the Eleusinian mysteries—exchanged their old names for new and sacred titles. The title 'Provider Invincible' suggests that he was, on the one hand, a god who fertilised the earth for the benefit of men, on the other hand, a being comparable with various semi-barbaric deities described by the Greeks as 'Zeus the Unconquered Sun'.<sup>5</sup> It was probably as a solar power that he ordered the erection of a statue of Apollo in his precinct<sup>6</sup>; for two inscriptions found at Rome link his name in close and yet closer connexion with that of the sun-god. One is a dedication—

*To Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest, the Eternal, and to the Sun, the Worthy, the Pre-eminent—*

the other<sup>7</sup> a similar dedication—

*To Iupiter Dolichenus, the Best, the Sun Pre-eminent, and to Iuno the Holy Mistress, the Castors and Apollo the Preservers*

<sup>1</sup> The word *proscœnium* is used of a *παρά* or porch in front of the temple (*De Vit. Lat.* l. vi. § 7; 'proscœnium' § 3).

<sup>2</sup> An inscription on a statue of Apollo, now at Charlottenhof near Potsdam but doubtless derived from the precinct of *Iupiter Dolichenus* on the Aventine, mentions the same two persons by their ritual names only, ex praecepto [I. o. m. D.] per Acacium notarium [et] Olympium [patrem, [Antonii Mariani patris et filius simulacrum] statuerunt (*Cerf. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 408, 30759 = *Kan. ep. lat.* p. 72 no. 78 = *Wilmanns Inscr. Lat.* no. 92, 1 = *Dessau Inscr. Lat.* no. 4318). The title *pater* in both inscriptions means *pater sacrorum*.

<sup>3</sup> principes—hunc loci. Cp. the *princeps sacrorum* of the Jews (*De Vit. Lat.* l. vi. § 7; 'principes' § 22).

<sup>4</sup> lectearii dei. This implies that the image of the god was sometimes paraded in a litter or *feretrum* (Smith—Wayte—Marshall *De Vit. Lat.* ii 824).

<sup>5</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough* i. Taboo p. 382 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* pp. 190, 193. <sup>7</sup> *Supra* n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Cerf. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 412 = *Kan. ep. lat.* p. 69 no. 72 = *Dessau Inscr. Lat.* no. 4319; I. o. m. a. D. et Soli digno pres. etc. This should be read *Int. optima maxime aeterno* rather than *Inscr. Dolichenus et Soli aeterno pres. int. sacra*, etc. Cp. *Kan. ep. lat.* p. 76 no. 88 I. o. m. D. et Soli sacrum.

<sup>9</sup> *Cerf. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 413 = *Kan. ep. lat.* p. 68 l. no. 71 = *Dessau Inscr. Lat.* no. 4320.

## 610 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

The first inscription couples, the second to all appearance identifies, Jupiter *Dolichenus* with the Sun. If he, like other Syrian gods<sup>1</sup>, was regarded by the Romans as a solar power<sup>2</sup>, we can understand a curious third-century relief found at Rome near the *Scala santa* in 1885 (fig. 479)<sup>3</sup>. It was dedicated by M. Ulpius Chresimus, priest of Jupiter *Dolichenus*, not, as we should have expected, to *Dolichenus* himself, but 'to the Invincible Sun' etc.<sup>4</sup>; and it represents the old priest beside the young sun-god with the moon and two stars in the background.



Fig. 479.

One of the inscriptions cited above associates Jupiter *Dolichenus* with a partner-goddess called 'Iuno the Holy Mistress,' and another, probably from the same Esquiline precinct, entitles her 'Iuno the Holy'. A pair of dedications from the Aventine speaks of 'Iupiter

no. 4320 (dated 244 A.D.): I. o. S. p. D. 'et Iunoni sanctae; herae, Castorib. 'et Apollini conservatoribus, etc. This should be read *Iovi optimo soli* (rather than *sancto*) *pro tantissimo Dolicheno* (rather than *digno*) *et Iunoni sanctae herae* (rather than *IIrae*), etc. Probably Dessau no. 4320, like Dessau no. 4319, came from the *Dolichenum* on the Aventine; for the former mentions the same priest, C. Fabius Germanus, as the latter and likewise refers to the *candidatus huius loci* (op. *supra* p. 608 n. 81).

<sup>1</sup> I. Cumont in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1902 xxvi. 8 n. 5 remarks: 'Le syncrétisme impérial a considéré tous les Baals syriens comme des dieux solaires.'

<sup>2</sup> This is needlessly doubted by Kan *op. cit.* p. 4 f.

<sup>3</sup> O. Marucchi in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comm. di Roma* 1886 p. 136 ff. pl. 5, A. von Domaszewski *Die Religion des römischen Imperiums* Tübingen 1895 p. 64 no. 134 pl. 3, 5, Remach *Röm. Relief.* iii. 230 no. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 31181 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 74 no. 82: *Soli invicto pro salute imperatorum et gen(eratorum) eq(uitum) sing(ularum) eorum M. Ulpius Chresimus sacerdos Iovis Dolicheni* [v. s. l. l. m.]. The inscription was found in the *Castro equitum ingenuorum* (H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae* 2 Berlin 1912 p. 66).

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 367 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 99 f. no. 74 (dated 218 A.D.) *Iunoni sanctae m(atri) Iovis Dolicheni* etc.

## Zeus *Dolichaíos* and Iupiter *Dolichenus* 611

*Dolichenus*, Best and Greatest,' and of 'Iuno the Queen' respectively<sup>1</sup>. Two more, from Caerleon-on-Usk in Monmouthshire<sup>2</sup> and from Netherby in Cumberland<sup>3</sup>, again link this Iupiter with his Iuno.

The solar aspect of Iupiter *Dolichenus* and his association with a female partner are alike supported by the extant monuments of his cult. These are fairly numerous and for the most part represent the god as a Roman soldier in full armour. He commonly, however, wears a Phrygian cap instead of a helmet. His raised right hand holds a double axe, his left hand grasps a thunderbolt. By a device already familiar to us<sup>4</sup> he is shown standing on the back of his sacred animal, the bull, which always appears to move from left to right.

This type occurs sometimes in the round<sup>5</sup>. For example, about the year 1648 A.D. a marble statuette, now preserved at Stuttgart, was found in the harbour of Mar-seille, where it had sunk in some Roman shipwreck. It portrays the god as a beardless warrior erect on the bull's back. His usual attributes are missing; but an eagle is perched on the ground beneath the bull, and a conical pillar rises from the ground behind the warrior's back. The base is inscribed *To the Dolichenium god* (fig. 480)<sup>6</sup>. Again, a marble statuette found at Szalan-kemen, probably the site of Acumincum a Roman station in Lower Pannonia, and purchased for the Vienna collection in 1851, repeats the theme with some variations. The god is here bearded and wears a Phrygian cap. His breast-plate is decorated with an eagle. Another eagle is perched between the

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 366 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 73 f. no. 81 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4321: Iovi optimo maximo Dolichen. Paezon Aquiliae Bassillae actor cum Paezusa filia sua d. d.

*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 365 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 73 f. no. 81 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4321: Iunoni reginae Paezon Aquiliae Bassillae actor cum Paezusa filia sua d. d. Since Iuno Regina had a temple of her own on the Aventine (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Festspiel in der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 165 ff., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Festspiel in der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1912 p. 18), it seems probable that the new-comer Iupiter *Dolichenus* here claimed to be the consort of this ancient goddess, whose temple had been dedicated by the dictator Camillus.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 98 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 90 no. 112 (on an altar found in 1653 A.D., but now lost) Iovi o. m. Dolichu[no et] Iunoni [Cornelius?] Aemilianus Calpurnius Ruilianus [vir] c[on]s[ul] (laussumus) legatus Augustorum, monitu.

*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 956 (on a small altar). Iovi optimo maximo Dolichenoi, Iunoni reginae, Mercurio sancto, Fortunae votum] m[er]ito? or else Fortunatus v. s. l. m.?

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 606 f. fig. 478.

<sup>5</sup> Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 nos. 2-5, *Bibl. Mus. Cat. Sculpturae* iii. 6 f. no. 1532 fig. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 40 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 98 no. 132: deo Dolichenio Octavianus Paternus ex missu eius pro salute sua et suorum. On this statuette see further Custos Seidl *Z. f. kl. Arch.* xii. 35 f. pl. 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

## 612 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

horns of the bull. A third is indicated in relief on a short column, which serves as a support to the bull's body. The right fore-foot of the beast is raised and rests upon a ram's head<sup>1</sup>. The base, as before, bears an inscription *To Jupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest* (fig. 481):



Fig. 480



Fig. 481.

How such statuettes were erected and what was the general aspect of a *Dolichenus*-shrine, may be inferred from the finds made in 1891 by J. Dell at Petronell, the ancient Carnuntum in Upper Pannonia. The shrine was a small but strongly-walled chamber approximately square in plan and entered through a doorway on the east (fig. 482)<sup>2</sup>. In the middle rose a rectangular pillar, built, like the walls, of rag-stone with inserted tiles. This pillar had

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 391 f., 425 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* in no. 3253 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 42 no. 26. I. o. m. Dol. Aureli Sabianus et Maximus et Apollinaris sacer. vot. l. l. pos. Aurelius Apollinaris is presumably the M. Aur. Apollinaris, a *decurio* of Mursella, who dedicated two altars, likewise found at Szalan-kemen, to I. o. m. D. et deo paterno. Comageno (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* in Suppl. no. 10243 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 42 f. no. 27). On the statuette here reproduced see further Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 34 f. pl. 1, Overbeck *op. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

<sup>3</sup> J. Dell in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1893 xvi. 176—187 with figs. 14—24 and pl. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 177 fig. 14 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 47 f. fig.

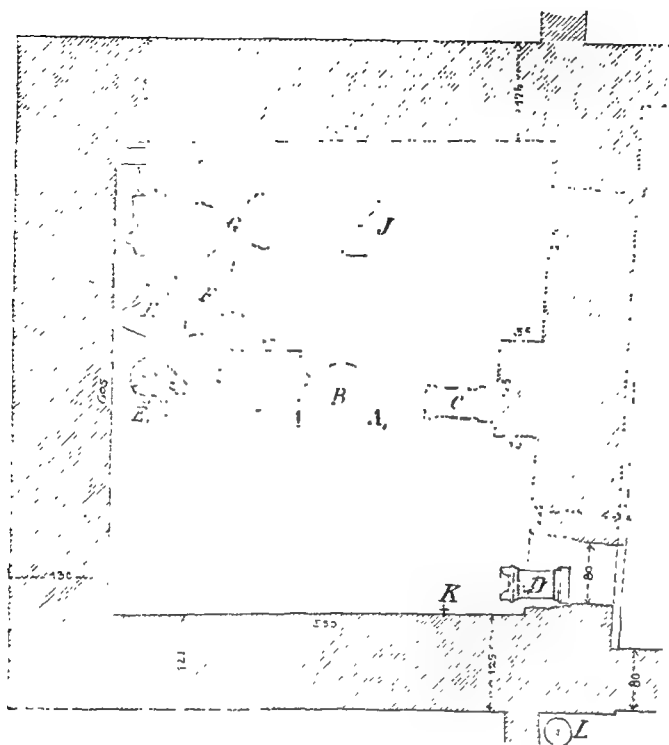


Fig. 482.

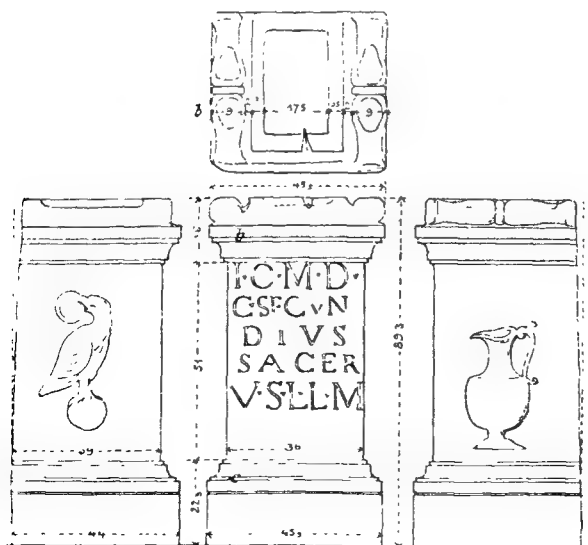


Fig. 483.

## 614 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

once held up a vaulted roof, above which there had been a second room with a tiled mosaic flooring. The walls of the lower chamber were plastered and showed traces of paint. Its floor was laid with big square tiles. Three overturned altars (*B, C, D* in fig. 482) bore

inscriptions *To Jupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest*<sup>1</sup>: the most perfect of them (*C*) is here represented (fig. 483)<sup>2</sup>. Beside these altars the shrine contained a limestone relief, a marble statue, and a bronze statuette, all representing the god. The relief (*E, E<sub>1</sub>*) is a tapering slab with rounded top, set on a moulded base (*F*): its background is painted blue and inscribed in red letters with a dedication to



Fig. 484.



Fig. 485.

Jupiter, who stands as usual on his bull (fig. 484)<sup>3</sup>. The statue (*H*), broken but still well-preserved, shows him erect on the ground:

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. nos. 11131, 11132, 11133. J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 178 ff. figs. 16, 17, 18, L. Bormann *ib.* pp. 210 ff. 215 f., Kan *op. cit.* p. 501, nos. 42, 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11132. J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 180 f. fig. 17, E. Bormann *ib.* p. 215 f., Kan *op. cit.* p. 51 no. 43; L. o. m. D. [C. Secundus sacerdos] v. s. l. l. m.

<sup>3</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11129. J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 182 f. fig. 20, E. Bormann



his right hand uplifts a double-axe; his left holds the remains of a thunderbolt and rests upon a rock (fig. 485)<sup>1</sup>. Of the statuette (*K*) all that remains is a raised left arm wearing a tight sleeve and grasping a winged bolt: the sleeve was once silvered, and the spikes of the bolt have thin silver-foil twisted round them (fig. 486).

But the most complete and interesting monuments relating to the cult of this god are certain triangular plates of bronze, about

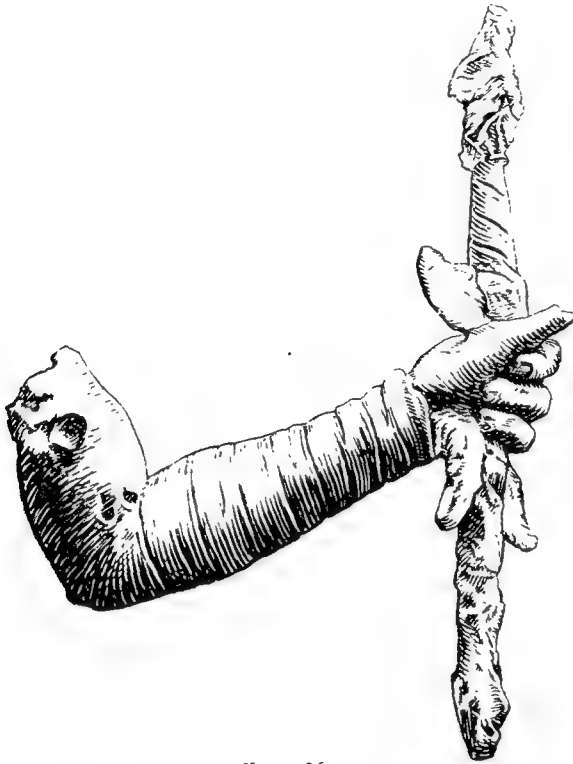


Fig. 486.

a foot from base to apex, which have here and there come to light. The national museum at Pesth possesses a pair, which either formed back and front of the same dedication, or less probably were combined with a third, now missing, to make a pyramid. They were discovered at Komlod in Hungary, a place which has been

*ib.* p. 213 ff., Kan *op. cit.* p. 50 no. 41. The inscription runs: I o. m. Dolichen. Attilius; Primus > leg. XIII Geminio; ex evocato leg. X Geminio; Ptole. Fideles; ex viso pro salute sua et suorum, v. s. l. l. m. do Sergia mo (domi) Marsis.

<sup>1</sup> J. Dell *ib. cit.* pp. 182, 184 fig. 22, Kan *op. cit.* p. 49 no. 39.

<sup>2</sup> J. Dell *ib. cit.* p. 181 f. fig. 19, Kan *op. cit.* p. 49 f. no. 40.

## 616 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

identified with Lussonium in Lower Pannonia. The reliefs on these plates appear to have been partially gilded and silvered. The first plate (fig. 487)<sup>1</sup> represents a bearded Iupiter *Dolichenus* in his accustomed attitude. Close to his head is a star (possibly the planet Iupiter). A Victory with wreath and palm approaches him. Before him burns a small altar. His bull stands on a base inscribed *To Iupiter Dulchenus*<sup>2</sup> and flanked by busts of Hercules with his club and Minerva with her helmet and lance. Above the main design are two panels of diminishing size: the lower one contains busts of the Sun and Moon, the upper one, a lily-plant. The

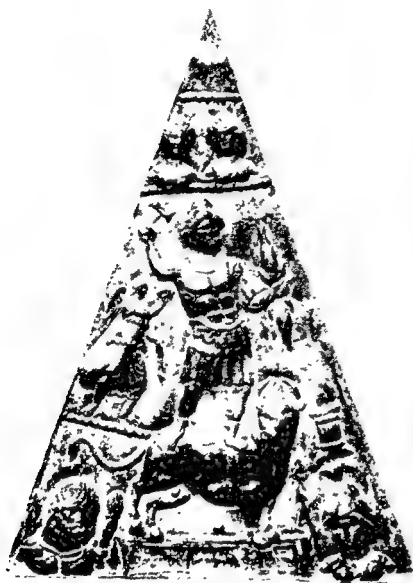


Fig. 487.

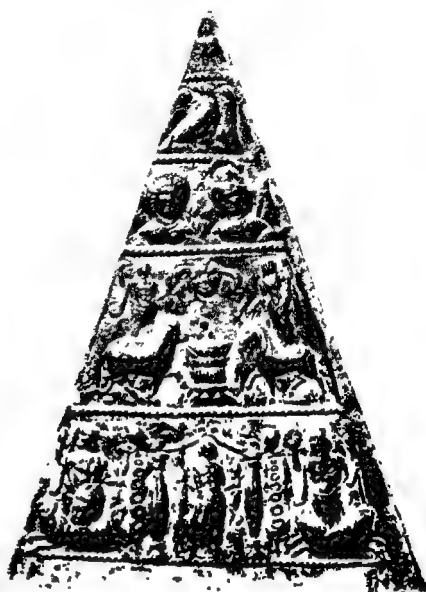


Fig. 488.

second plate (fig. 488)<sup>3</sup> is divided into five registers. Highest up is the same lily. Then comes an eagle with spread wings. Next

<sup>1</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 43 f. no. 28, a. The best publication of this plate is that of Desjardins and F. Römér *A. N. Muséum égyptien égyptien. Monuments égyptiens du Mus. National.* Budapest 1873 p. 11 f. pl. 5, whence it is reproduced by A. von Domaszewski in the *Wiener Zeitschrift* 1895 xiv. 59 f. pl. 4, 1<sup>a</sup>. See also Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 36 f. n. 3, 1. E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1193 f. fig. 4. S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dut. Ant.* ii. 331 fig. 2489. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus* p. 271 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3316 Iovi Dulcheno P. A. LL. (i. e. P. Ael.) ; Lucilius 7 coh. I. A. peq. (i. e. centurio cohortis) I Alptimorum eq(uitatae)).

<sup>3</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 43 f. no. 28, b. Desjardins and Römér *op. cit.* pl. 6 is reproduced by Domaszewski *loc. cit.* pl. 4, 1<sup>a</sup>. See also Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 36 f. pl. 3, 2. Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 56 f. pl. 5, 8. A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 ff. fig. 17. S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dut. Ant.* ii. 332 fig. 2490. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus* p. 271 f.

to it, in a separate panel as before, are busts of the Sun with a whip (?) and the Moon with a torch. The compartment below shows in the centre an altar burning, above which a large but indistinct object (possibly a bunch of grapes with two fluttering *lemnisci*) appears in the air. To the left of the altar stands Iupiter *Dolichenus* on his bull: his right hand is raised and holds an uncertain attribute (? double-axe badly rendered); his left grasps a thunderbolt. To the right of the altar stands a goddess, presumably Iuno, on an *ibex*. The lowest and largest division represents Iupiter uplifting his right hand and holding a thunderbolt in his left over a lighted altar. He stands in a small distyle temple, to either side of which is a legionary standard surmounted by its eagle. These standards in turn are flanked by two deities, probably intended for forms of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*<sup>1</sup>. Each of them has corn-ears or perhaps a spiky thunderbolt in his left hand: one uplifts his right hand; the other holds in it a flower-shaped (? solar) disk. Both are standing behind the foreparts of two bulls conjoined by means of similar flower-shaped disks. The two bronze plates are bounded along their common sides by a leaf-pattern. It has been stated that their apex was formerly adorned with a small winged Victory standing on a globe and holding a palm-branch in her left hand. But the statement appears to be a mere conjecture: in any case the little figure has vanished.

In the Archaeological Institute at Vienna is a pair of similar, but fragmentary, plates, found at Traizmauer, the ancient Trigrisamum in Noricum. The front (fig. 489)<sup>2</sup>, which still shows traces of silvering, presents in high relief a bearded Iupiter *Dolichenus* with axe and bolt. Above him is an eagle with folded wings. At his right side, on a smaller scale, is a god, like himself bearded and wearing a Phrygian cap, who holds a spear in his right hand, a quartered globe or disk in his left. This god stood originally behind the foreparts of two bulls, the horn of one being visible under his arm<sup>3</sup>. Other fragments belonging to the same plate show parts of the bulls behind which a corresponding god stood on the left of Iupiter, and in a lower register beneath this figure a goddess more

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 567 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 55 ff. no. 58, a, A. von Domaszewski *loc. cit.* p. 60 pl. 4, 2<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>c</sup>, G. Loeschke 'Bemerkungen zu den Weihgeschenken an Juppiter Dolichenus' in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1901 cvn. 69, R. Munsterberg 'Bronzereliefs vom Limes' in the *Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 229 ff. figs. 99, 100, 101.

<sup>3</sup> R. Munsterberg *loc. cit.* p. 230 f. fig. 102 well compares a small bronze statuette of unknown origin now at Vienna, which shows a bearded god wearing a *kilathos* and uplifting a double-axe and a three-petalled flower between two bulls emergent from either side of him.

## 618 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

like Venus than Iuno. Lowest of all came a handled label, probably bearing an inscription. The back-plate (fig. 490)<sup>1</sup>, which, when found, was fitted into a groove formed by bending round the

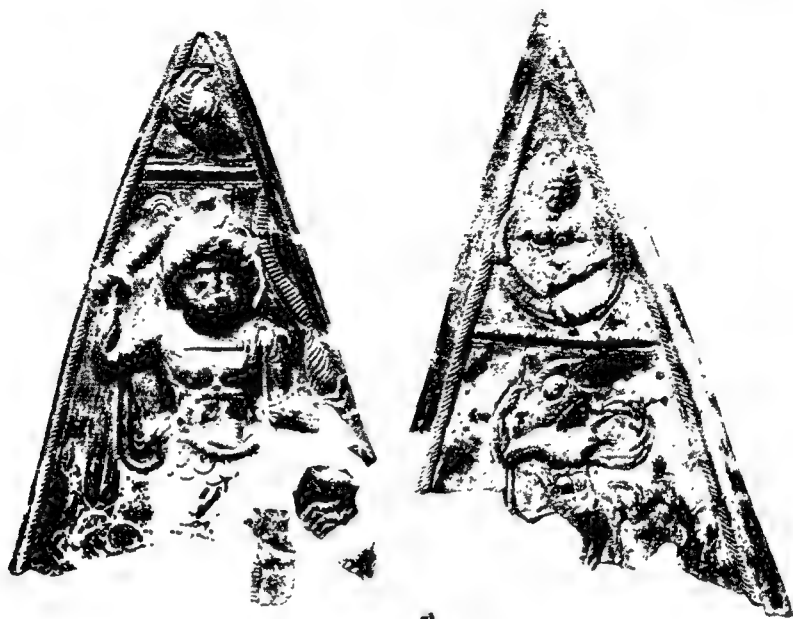


Fig. 490.



Fig. 489.

edges of the front-plate<sup>2</sup>, exhibits a crescent, containing a horned bust of the Moon. Below it stands Mars with helmet, spear, and

<sup>1</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 55 ff. no. 58, *v.* A. von Domaszewski *loc. cit.* p. 60 pl. 4, 2, R. Munsterberg *loc. cit.* p. 231 f. pl. 7 (the best publication).

<sup>2</sup> G. Loe-chke *loc. cit.* p. 69, R. Munsterberg *loc. cit.* p. 229.

shield, and beside him his northern attribute—a goose with out-stretched neck

A fragment of another bronze plate, similar in character to the foregoing, was found in 1895 on the Roman frontier at Aalen in Württemberg (perhaps to be identified with Aquileia in Upper Germania) and is now at Stuttgart<sup>1</sup>. It was originally triangular in shape, gilded, and adorned with analogous designs. In the middle is a tree with leaves and fruit. To the left of it stands *Dolichenus* on his bull; to the right, his consort on her cow. Below him was a helmeted god, probably Mars; below her, Minerva, beside whom appears part of the god flanked by two bulls.

At Heddernheim in Hesse-Nassau two triangular plates of cast bronze were found in 1841 and 1826, respectively, during the excavation of a Roman settlement on the Heidenfeld: they are preserved in the Museum for Nassau Antiquities at Wiesbaden<sup>2</sup>. One of these plates is fortunately complete. Its front (pl. xxxiv) contains four rows of figures. Uppermost is a rayed bust of the Sun. Below that, a Victory with palm-branch and wreath hovers over the head of Iupiter *Dolichenus*. He is represented as a bearded god with a Phrygian cap and a Roman breast-plate. At his side hangs his sword in its scabbard. His right hand brandishes a double-axe; his left grasps a thunderbolt consisting of six spirally-twisted tines, each of which is tipped with an arrow-head. The bull that supports the god has a rosette on its forehead between the eyes<sup>3</sup>. The lowest register is filled with a motley assemblage of

<sup>1</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 58 f. no. 63, F. Haug and G. Sitt *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs* Stuttgart 1900 i. 43 ff. no. 57 fig. 23.

<sup>2</sup> A. von Cohausen *Führer durch das Altertumsmuseum zu Wiesbaden* p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 103 f. no. 145, b. Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* vii. 39 pl. 3, 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f., Müller-Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* ii. I. 54 f. pl. 5, 6. Seidl's illustration being incorrect (Wernicke *loc. cit.* p. 54 n.). I have reproduced the excellent plate given by G. Loecheke in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1901 cvii pl. 8. The bronze triangle is 0.47<sup>m</sup> high and 0.195<sup>m</sup> broad at the base. It was found in the *d.b.m.* of an ancient building along with ashes, charcoal, broken pottery and bricks.

<sup>4</sup> A slate palette from a pre-dynastic grave at *El Gerzeh* shows a cow's head with five-pointed stars on the tips of its horns and ears and a six-pointed star above its forehead between the horns (W. M. Flinders Petrie—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghunch* London 1912 p. 22 pl. 6, 7). On a relief from the neighbourhood of Tyre the bulls of the sun-god and the moon-goddess enclose with their tails a rosette and a disk with curved rays respectively (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 n. 233 fig. 21 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 89 fig. 21, E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 241 n. 7). A copper of Lappa in Crete shows a bull's head facing with a rosette on the forehead (J. N. Svoronos *Numermatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 212 pl. 19, 36 and in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 118). The magnificent silver cow's head found in the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai has its horns made of gold and a large rosette between them plated with gold (Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 820 ff. fig. 398). A 'Minoan' *cratér* from Arpeia in Kypros belonging

eastern and southern deities. In the midst is Isis on a hind (?). She bears a sceptre in one hand, a *sistrum* in the other; and on her head is an Isiac head-dress, composed apparently of a solar disk between two feathers<sup>1</sup>. To right and left of Isis is a couple of half-figures rising from two heaps of stones. They, like Iupiter *Dolichenus*, are armed with breast-plates; but they seem to have helmets, not Phrygian caps, on their heads. Their upraised hands grasp four flowers with a central spike, probably lilies. And on their helmets rest busts of the Moon and the Sun: the former wears a crescent; the latter, a rayed *nimbus*. The upper portion of the plate was originally intended to have been shaped like an arrow-head, as may be seen from the incised lines still traceable on it. The resemblance to a weapon<sup>2</sup> is strengthened by a raised rib, triangular in section, which bisects the back of the plate<sup>3</sup>. With this monument also, as with that from Lussonium, a small statuette of Victory is said to have been recovered<sup>4</sup>. But that such a figure once stood on the apex is again only an improbable conjecture.

The other plate found at Heddernheim is fragmentary. Its front (fig. 491)<sup>5</sup> has preserved the reliefs from the top two registers of a like monument. The upper division contains a bust of Sarapis, the lower, busts of the Sun and the Moon. The Sun has the horns of a bull; the Moon, a rayed *nimbus*: both bear whips. Over their heads are two stars: beneath them is a third, which may have stood in relation to a figure of Iupiter *Dolichenus*, now lost<sup>6</sup>. The back of this plate too is decorated with a raised rib<sup>7</sup>.

Prof. G. Loeschke has put forward the reasonable conjecture that these triangular plates of bronze were intended to represent, by their very shape, the thunderbolt of Iupiter *Dolichenus*<sup>8</sup>. It is

to the Louvre, shows a bull, whose flank is adorned with a large rayed rosette: this, however, may be merely decorative (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xvi. 229 fig. 5, 241, Monn-Jean *L. des-ou des Animaux en Grèce* Paris 1911 p. 23 fig. 12). Bronze coins of Neapolis in Campania have for their reverse type the forepart of a man-headed bull, on the shoulder of which is a star of four or eight rays (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 86 pl. 86, 1, cp. *ib.* p. 72 f. pl. 82, 14, *Bull. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 108 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 39, J. N. Svoronos in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 113 figs. 33-35).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Remach *K. p. Stat.* ii. 341 no. 3, 422 nos. 4, 5, *alt.*

<sup>2</sup> Cp. e.g. the many varieties of Bronze-Age daggers, swords, spear-heads etc. (J. Evans *The Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain and Ireland* London 1881 pp. 222-342, O. Montelius *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* 1 Die Methode, Stockholm 1903, pp. 32-43).

<sup>3</sup> G. Loeschke *op. cit.* 1901 cvii pl. 7, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 103 f. no. 145, c.

<sup>5</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 103 no. 145, a, Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xiii. 244 f. with fig.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 616.

<sup>7</sup> G. Loeschke *loc. cit.* p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 72.







indeed possible that they were sometimes regarded as his weapon: the half-worked barbs of the first Heddernheim plate, the raised rib on the back of it and of its fellow, the spear-like aspect of a third plate from the same locality<sup>1</sup>, all support that view. Nevertheless, since Iupiter *Dolichenus* never brandishes a weapon of this form but always<sup>2</sup> a double-axe and a thunderbolt of normal shape, it is safer to conclude that the bronze triangular plates were originally substitutes for bronze pyramids or stone pyramids



Fig. 491.

sheathed with bronze. And we have already surmised that the pyramid as a ritual object points to the cult of a mountain-deity. The god of thunder and lightning naturally dwells on a mountain-top.

The lily-plants of the Komlod dedication<sup>3</sup> and the lily-flowers

<sup>1</sup> *Introd.* p. 627 f. fig. 493.

<sup>2</sup> Occasionally the god is so far Romanised that he stands, like an ordinary Iupiter, in his temple with a thunderbolt in one hand, a sceptre or lance in the other (*Introd.* p. 627 f.).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 603.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 616.

## 622 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

of the Heddernheim plate<sup>1</sup> raise a further question. What have lilies to do with a god who stands on a bull grasping a double-axe and a thunderbolt? To modern ears this sounds a strange combination of frailty with force. We note, however, that the lilies—‘mountain-ranging lilies<sup>2</sup>,’ as Meleagros termed them—are somehow related to the mountain<sup>3</sup>. On the Komlod dedication they spring from the apex of a plate, which, if we are on the right track, originally symbolised a mountain. On the Heddernheim plate they were held up by deities emergent from heaps of stones. On other plates, to be considered later<sup>4</sup>, the whole pyramid is surrounded and topped by a growth of lilies. We are reminded of the Egyptian vignette in which the divine cow looks out from the mountain-side and thereby causes vegetation to flourish<sup>5</sup>. Now the storm-god on his bull was essentially a fertilising power. It may therefore be supposed that the lilies appear on his mountain as a sign and symbol of fertility<sup>6</sup>.

This belief, probably indigenous in the Mediterranean area, underlay the decorative use of the flower from ‘Minoan’ to mediaeval times<sup>7</sup>. Lilies were wrought by Pheidias on the golden robe of his great chryselephantine Zeus<sup>8</sup>. Another statue of Zeus at Olympia, turned towards the rising sun, held an eagle in one hand, a thunderbolt in the other, and on its head wore a wreath of lilies: it was an offering of the Metapontines and the work of Aristonous, an Aeginetan sculptor<sup>9</sup>. Yet another Zeus at Olympia, made by Askaros the Theban, a pupil of Kanachos(?), and dedicated by the Thessalians, represented the god bearing a thunderbolt in his right hand and ‘crowned as it were with flowers<sup>11</sup>.’ On an Etruscan mirror figuring the birth of Dionysos

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 620.

<sup>2</sup> *Anth. Pat.* 5. 143. 2 (Meleagros) ἡάλλει δ’ οὐρεσίφοιτα κρίνα.

<sup>3</sup> The Muses, mountain-deities (*supra* p. 104 n. 2), ate κρησσοτεφανοί (Auson. *epist.* 12. 14). see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 297 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* p. 627 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 515.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 24 alba lilia nilulque est fecundius una radice quinquagenos saepe emittente bulbos.

<sup>7</sup> Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l’Art* vi. 783 pl. 19, 5, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Mus. Nat. Hist.* 1900–1901 vii. 15 ff. fig. 6, E. Reisinger *Klassische Vasenmalerei zum Vergleich mit der Kunst des Mittelalters* Leipzig and Berlin 1912 p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 200 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Paus. 5. 11. 1 τῷ δὲ ἱρατίῳ γῶδιά τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ κρίνα ἐστὶν ἐμπεποιημένα.

<sup>10</sup> Paus. 5. 22. 5 The manuscripts in general read ἐπικείται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ἀνθὴ τὰ ἡμέρα, which is kept by F. Spno (1903). But cod. Lb. has ἡμέρα. And Palmer’s cf. κρίνα is accepted by Schubart and Walz (1838–1839, 1847), L. Dindorf (1845), J. G. Frazer (1898), and H. Hitzig—H. Blummer (1901).

<sup>11</sup> Paus. 5. 24. 1 εἰς στεφανωμένον δὲ οἷα δὴ ἀνθεσι, κ. τ. λ.

The Duc de Laynes in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836 i. 391 compared the Talleyrand Zeus of

Zeus (*Tinia*) has an eagle-sceptre in his right hand, a winged thunderbolt in his left, and a wreath of lilies on his head<sup>1</sup>. The storm-god as fertilising agent was appropriately decked with the most fertile of flowers.

In Hellenistic times the same conception made its way into mythology both poetic and popular. Nikandros tells how Aphrodite, jealous of the lily's spotless purity, placed in its centre the *phallós* of an ass<sup>2</sup>. And a lily-flower growing in north Africa was known to all and sundry as the 'seed of *Ammon*'<sup>3</sup>.

The lily as a symbol of fertility probably belonged to an earth-goddess before it was associated with a sky-god. On a gold ring found by Messrs Drosinos and Stamatakis in a complex of buildings to the south of the grave-precinct at Mykenai a goddess seated on a pile of stones beneath a tree wears a lily in her hair and her attendant handmaidens are similarly adorned<sup>4</sup>. Coins of Biannos in Crete have as reverse type a lily, as obverse a female head<sup>5</sup>—presumably that of Bianna, who appears to have been an earth-power of some sort. Hera too, who by many enquirers from

the Louvre (*Ch. de l'É.* 1875 xxxii pl. 9), whose diadem is composed of palmettes alternating with half-open lotus-buds. In view of the fact that the lily was the Greek equivalent of the lotus his comparison was just.

<sup>1</sup> Gerhard *Atlas. Sym. d'ant.* 84 ff. pl. 82, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 187 f. Atlas pl. 1, 37. Gerhard *Ch. de l'É.* iii. 85 n. 108) thinks that the wreath consists of pomegranate-flowers; but esp. the lily-wreath and lily-sceptre of Zeus on another Etruscan mirror published by the same scholar a few years later (*ib.* iv. 10 pl. 281).

<sup>2</sup> Nik. *apud* 406 ff. with schol. and Euseb. *ad. ev.* Nik. *geogr. frag.* 2, 28 ff. I. Chs.

<sup>3</sup> C. Leemans *Revue de l'Égypte. Musée Antiquaire Publi. et Eugène-Batare* Leyden 1885 ii. 41 pap. 5 col. 14<sup>1</sup>, 26 γένος Ἀμμωνος, κρυπταμένου. R. Pictschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enz.* i. 1857.

<sup>4</sup> C. Schuchhardt *St. Leemans's Pict. d'ant.* trans. E. Selliers London 1891 p. 276 ff. fig. 281, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. d'É.* vi. 840 ff. fig. 425, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 2, 20, n. 9 f., Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 107 f. fig. 4 (enlarged ?) and in the *Ann. Brit. Mus. Nat. Hist.* 1900—1901 vii. 15.

<sup>5</sup> J. N. Svoronos *Nouve. archéol. de la Crète antique* Macon 1890 i. 43 pl. 3, 15 (flower), Imhoof Blumer and O. Keller *Flores und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen d. Alterthums* Leipzig 1889 p. 63 (lily), Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 459 (rose).

<sup>6</sup> Steph. Byz. *ἱερ.* Βακχος, πόλις Κρήτης. οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Βιέννου τοῦ τῶν Κορήτων ἑνός· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τῶν Ἀρηγενουῆς βίαις, ἣν ἐνταῦθα φασιν ἀπὸ 4 ὕδρων καὶ Ἐφιάλτου τῶν παίδων Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ μέχρι καὶ νῦν τα καλούμενα εκατομόρνια θύεται τῷ Ἀρει. ὁ πολὺς Βακχος, οἱ δὲ τιμὰς ἀποπέμπει τῷ Τριτάτῳ καὶ Βαρρῷ. ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα πόλις ἐν Γαλλίᾳ, αἰχρὸν γὰρ ποτὶ στυγίαν Κρήτην κατασχόντος, εἰς ἐτέριον τόπον ἀφωκίοντο, οὐκ ἔσαι δὲ τινὰς Τάδωντα τῆς Ἰταλίας, οὗτοι πεπολισμένοι, χρῆσται δ' αὐτοῖς δονέντος, οὐκ ἐλθόντες αὐτὸν θύονται, κατὰ κληταί· ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν τῆς Γαλλίας, ἐλθὼν ἔνθα, οὐκ ἔσαι, καὶ τὸν πολὺν οὕτως ὀνομασαι, ἐπειδὴ οὐα τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παρθένων Βακχὰ καλομένην, χορεύουσα, ὅσα τιμὰς χασματος Ἀληφθῆ.

Another Cretan virgin that suddenly vanished was Erimomantis, who escaped the pursuit of Minos by disappearing in a grove at Aigma and was thenceforth worshipped as the goddess Aphana (*Ant. Lib.* 40). The story of Persephone, carried off by Plouton while she watched the Nymphs of meadow and plucked the lilies of Ionia (*Colum. de i. rust.*

## 624 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

Empedokles downwards has been regarded as an earth-goddess<sup>1</sup>, was said to delight in the lily<sup>2</sup>. Her head on silver coins of Elis (c. 421—365 B.C.) wears a *stephane*, which is decorated at first with lilies<sup>3</sup>, later with a variety of floral patterns<sup>4</sup>. A story told of this goddess in the *Geoponika*<sup>5</sup> is here in point. Zeus, desiring to make Herakles, his son by Alkmene, immortal, put the babe to the breast of Hera as she lay asleep. When the babe was sated, the milk of the goddess still flowing caused the Milky Way to cross the sky and, dropping to earth, made the milk-white lily to spring up<sup>6</sup>.

The belief that the lily was somehow connected with Zeus lingered on into post-classical times. Byzantine writers regarded

10. 269 ff.; but see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1182 n. 3 for variants), suggests that both Bianna and Aphaia were borne off to become queen of an underground king.

<sup>1</sup> For a critical review of the evidence see e.g. Farnell *Cult. of Grk. States* i. 181 ff., Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 1125 n. 3, S. Lattem in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 398 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Al. *Paed.* 2. 8. 72. 4 p. 201, 24 Stahlm κρινος δε ηδιστα την Ηραν φασιν.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 64 f. pl. 12, 11, 12, 14, 16, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 135 no. 4, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* p. 137 f. pl. 8. 15, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 133 no. 1090 pl. 7, *O'Hagan Sale Catalogue* 1908 p. 48 no. 459 pl. 8, *Benson Sale Catalogue* 1909 p. 79 no. 569 pl. 18. Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 422 fig. 231, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 52 ff. pl. 3. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* pp. 65 f., 68 ff. pl. 12, 13, 15, pl. 13, 13, pl. 14, 1—3, 13, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* p. 159 pl. 8, 39, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 423.

The coins of Elis mentioned in notes <sup>3</sup> and <sup>4</sup> must be studied in connexion with the simultaneous issues of Argos, on which the head of Hera was probably inspired by the famous master-piece of Polykleitos (see Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 41 ff., 101 ff. Munz Taf. 2, 6 ff. and 14 ff., *id. Gr. Plastik*<sup>4</sup> i. 509 ff., P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* 1879 xix. 238 ff., *id. Types of Gr. Coins* pp. 137 f., 159 pl. 8, 13—15, 39 f., Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* i. 213 ff., 232 ff. coin-pl. A, 17 and 18, A. Lambropoulos in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1895 xix. 224 ff., Sir C. Waldstein in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 vii. 30—44 with figs. 1—3 and pls. 2 f.). In the *Chor. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 409 f. I conjectured that the plant ἀστερίων, which grew on the banks of the river Asterion near the Argive Heraion and was offered to Hera, its leaves being twined into wreaths for her (Paus. 2. 17. 2), was a species of lily. This, however, is very doubtful. A. Frickenhaus in *Τύχη* i. 121—125 argues well in support of the view that the ἀστερίων was like the ἀστεριον of Kratēus, 'eine violette Nelke': he might have strengthened his case yet further, had he noticed that hemibols of Argos struck before 421 B.C. exhibit as their obverse type a star-shaped flower (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 138 pl. 27, 8, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 71 no. 766 pl. 14, iii. 134 no. 1405).

<sup>5</sup> *Geopon.* ii. 19. Cp. pseudo-Dioskor. *catast.* 44. Iyk. *At.* 1327 f. with Tzet. *ad Luc.*, Paus. 9. 25. 2, Diod. 4. 9. See also the painting by Jacopo Robusti il Tintoretto (1518—1594 A.D.) now in the National Gallery (no. 1313; S. Reinach *R. P. Peintures* ii. 730, 2), and that by Peter Paul Rubens designed in 1637 for the Torre de la Parada at Madrid (L. Dillon *Rubens* London 1909 pp. 178, 198 pl. 432) and now in the Prado. On the folk-lore of the Milky Way see further *Album* 1884-85 ii. 151 ff. 'La Voie Lactée.' P. Schollot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 24 f.

<sup>6</sup> The Corinthians called the lily ἀψπορία (Nik. *lingua ap.* Athen. 681 B, cp. Nik. *σπορία*, *mag.* 2. 28 ap. Athen. 683 D); and this flower grew from the head of a statue of Alexander the Great in Kos (Nik. *ap.* Athen. 684 E)—doubtless an allusion to his apotheosis (Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* i. 128 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1123 n. 3, *Chor. Rev.* 1906 xv. 377).

it as the flower of the planet Zeus. For example, Konstantinos Manasses, who in the middle of the twelfth century composed a universal history in 'political' verse, thus describes the creation of the stars:

Then first the sky beheld the mighty stars,  
Fair spheres that vied one with another and decked  
Its surface, as do flowers in the fields<sup>1</sup>.  
Kronos was somewhat dark and leaden of hue:  
Zeus shone like silver<sup>2</sup>: Ares glowed like fire:  
Helios beamed bright as thrice-refined gold:  
The globe of Aphrodite had the glint  
Of tin: like bronze the red-rayed Hermes flared,  
Clear as a crystal was Selene's light.  
Thus many-coloured was the sky's robe seen.  
Kronos was blue as is the hyacinth:  
Zeus like a lily shone: a violet, Ares:  
The golden Helios was a crimson rose<sup>3</sup>:  
The morning star, a white-flowered pimpernel:  
Hermes shot rays, a blossom steeped in red:  
Selene, a narcissus with fair petals.  
Such was the flower-bed that adorned the sky:  
Yea, such a pleasance, diverse, gracious, gleaming,  
Was planted there upon the face of heaven.  
And made a star-set garden of the sky  
With God for gardener, and for plants and herbs  
And flowers pied the flashing of the stars<sup>4</sup>.

Another Byzantine scholar drew up in prose a list of the seven planets, to each of which he assigned its appropriate metal and plant: a later hand added a series of corresponding animals<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I do not remember to have met with this conceit in classical literature. It occurs, of course, in modern poetry, e.g. H. W. Longfellow *Evangeline* l. 3 'Silently one by one, in the infinite meadows of heaven, Blossomed the lovely stars, the forget-me-nots of the angels.'

<sup>2</sup> For Zeus 'Αργύρεος see *supra* p. 25 n. 2

<sup>3</sup> J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series II London 1826 p. 36 pl. 19, 2 figured a terra-cotta disk, which represents the head of Helios emerging from the petals of a rose—a type probably based on coins of Rhodes (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Catia, etc. p. 250 pl. 39, 16 the sun rising out of a rose, *Hunter Cat. Coins* II. 441 no. 38).

<sup>4</sup> Konst. Manass. *comp. chron.* 113—134 Bekker.

<sup>5</sup> Piccolomini in the *Κενοτάμι Πανόχρα* II. 159 published the following among other Planulean excerpts: τῶν ἑπτα πλανήτων τὰ χρώματα τῶν τε μεταλλῶν καὶ τινῶν αἰθρῶν  

	οἶσος	ἀέτος
ἀναλογεῖσι τοῖς χρώμασι· Κρόνος σὺν μολερίδῳ καὶ ἑακινθῳ, Ζεὺς δὲ ἀργυρῷ καὶ κρινῳ,		
Ἀρκος	λευκοί	περιστέρα
Ἄρης σιδήρῳ καὶ ὡ, Ἥλιος χρυσῷ καὶ πορφυρῷ ῥόδῳ, Ἀφροδίτη κασσιτέρῳ καὶ ἀναγαλλίδι,		
ἔρικων	ἡ ἀίετοι	βόνες
Ἐρμῆς χαλκῷ καὶ ἐρυθροδάνῳ, Σελήνῃ δὲ ἰσλῳ καὶ παρκισσῳ. The interlinear glosses are by the hand of a corrector. J. Bernays in the <i>Arch. Zeit.</i> 1875 xxvii. 99 cites Lobbeck <i>Asiographica</i> p. 936 and Brandis in <i>Heim.</i> 1807 II. 260, where passages are collected bearing on the attribution of different metals to different planets. Lists varied. Thus		

## 626 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

Thus the completed list embraces the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms:—

<i>Kronos</i>	Lead ... Hyacinth .....	Ass
<i>Zeus</i>	Silver ... Lily .....	Eagle
<i>Ares</i>	Iron ..... Violet .....	Wolf
<i>Helios</i>	Gold ..... Rose .....	Lion
<i>Aphrodite</i>	Tin ..... Pimpernel ....	Dove
<i>Hermes</i>	Bronze ... Madder, or Anemone ...	Snake
<i>Selene</i>	Crystal ... Narcissus .....	Cow

These Byzantine attributions were not mere fancy-flights of late and irresponsible authors, but a systematised selection from the customs and cults of the Roman Empire. In particular, there is reason to think that silver as well as the lily was associated with Jupiter *Dolichenus*. The bronze statuette of the god at Carnuntum was silvered, the points of its thunderbolt being wound round with silver-foil (*supra* fig. 486). The triangular bronze plates from Komlod were partially gilded and silvered<sup>1</sup>; those from Traizmauer were silvered<sup>2</sup>; that from Aalen was gilded<sup>3</sup>. Five silver plates dedicated to Jupiter *Dolichenus*, and probably all derived from his temple at Heddernheim, have been published by

Cramer *ancient. Paris.* iii. 113, 4 ff. (cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1491 n. 4) τούτων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀστέρων ἐν ἐκαστῷ ἐκείνο καὶ ἔχει. τῷ Κρόνῳ ὁ χαλκός, τῷ Διὶ ὁ χρυσός.

τῷ Ἀρεὶ ὁ σίδηρος, τῷ Ἡλίῳ ὁ ἥλεκτρος, τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ κασσίτερος. τῷ Ἑρμῇ ὁ μολιβδός, τῇ Σελήνῃ ὁ ἀργυρος (cp. Pind. *fr.* 222 Schindler Διὸς παῖς ὁ χρυσός· κ.τ.λ.). ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ οἰωνοί. ἡ κορώνη τῷ Κρόνῳ, ὁ αἶσος τῷ Διὶ ὡς βασιλεῖ, τὸ τῶν ζῶων βασιλικώτερον, ὁ κολυβὶς τῷ Ἀρεὶ διὰ τὸ ταραχώδες, τῷ Ἡλίῳ ἡ γοῖν τῷ Ἀπυλλῶνι ὁ κίρκος, ὃ ἐστὶ γένος ἑρκεων ταχυτάτων, τῷ Ἑρμῇ ὁ κύκνος, ὡς μουσικός, τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἡ περιστέρα, ὡς ποντική. but schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 4 (5). 2 ἐκάστῳ δὲ τῶν ἀστέρων ἕλη τις ἀνάγεται· καὶ Ἡλίῳ μὲν ὁ χρυσός, Σελήνῃ δὲ ὁ ἀργυρος, Ἀρεὶ σίδηρος, Κρόνῳ μολιβδός, Διὶ ἥλεκτρος, Ἑρμῇ κασσίτερος, Ἀφροδίτῃ χαλκός (cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* 1. 43, 5 ff. Diehl with schol. *ad loc.* i. 460. 22 ff. Diehl. *Olympiod.* in Aristot. *metaph.* 3 p. 591) and Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 22 ἡ πρώτη γῶν πνύων μολιβδόν, ἡ δευτέρα κασσίτερον, ἡ τρίτη χαλκόν, ἡ τετάρτη σίδηρον, ἡ πέμπτη κερασσοῦ νομίσματος. ἡ ἕκτη ἀργυρον, χρυσοῦ δ' ἡ ἐξδόμη. τὴν πρώτην τίθενται Κρόνον, τῷ μολιβδῷ τεκμηριοῦμενοι τὴν βραδύτητα τοῦ ἀστέρος· τὴν δευτέραν Ἀφροδίτης, παραβαλλόντες αὐτὴν τὸ φαιδρὸν τε καὶ μαλακὸν τοῦ κασσίτερου· τὴν τρίτην τοῦ Διὸς τὴν χαλκοβάτην καὶ στεργάνην· τὴν τετάρτην Ἑρμῶν, πλῆμονα γὰρ ἔργων ἀπάντων καὶ χρηματιστὴν καὶ πολὺ κρητὸν εἶναι τὴν τε σιδήρον καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν· τὴν πέμπτην Ἀρεὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κράματος ἀνώμαλόν τε καὶ ποικίλην· ἕκτην Σελήνης τὴν ἀργυρᾶν· ἐξδόμην Ἡλίον τὴν χρυσήν, μισοῦμενοι τὰς χροῖας αὐτῶν (cp. Eustath. in *Il.* p. 25, 2 ff. p. 1154, 48 ff.) A. Ludwich as an appendix to his edition (Lipsiae 1877) of Maximus and Ammon prints certain *antologiae* *antologiae*, of which section 6 τί σφραίνει ἐκαστον τῶν ζῴων καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν includes the vegetables, minerals, and animals appropriate to the seven planets. Of Zeus we read: p. 120, 19 f. Διὸς σίτος, κριθή, ὄρεα, ὄλεα καὶ τὰ στέφοντα τῆς οὐράς, p. 121, 8 f. Διὸς κασσίτερος, φήνηλος καὶ πᾶς λίθος λεῖκος, σανδράχη, θεῖον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. p. 122, 1 Zeus ἀνθρώποις καὶ ζῴων καὶ τὰ καθάρᾳ ὄντα.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 616.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 617.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 619.

K. Zangemeister and E. Gerhard. Of these, three are in the Gold Room at the British Museum. One (fig. 492)<sup>1</sup> represents the god as standing in a di-style building, the gable of which contains a wreath. He holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre or lance in his left. On the ground at his feet is an eagle. Beneath the building is the votive inscription<sup>2</sup>; above it, a big lily, each petal of which terminates in a similar but smaller lily, the central one supporting at its apex a floral crescent. All three petals are marked with a medial pattern closely resembling that on certain

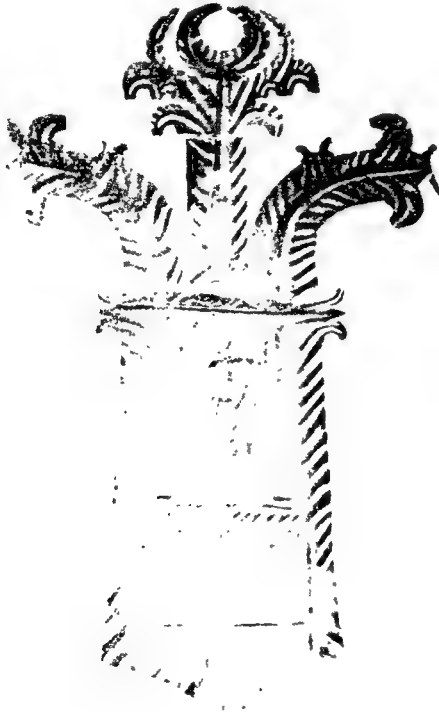


Fig. 492.

plates already described<sup>3</sup>. The same design comes out yet more clearly on the second specimen (fig. 493)<sup>4</sup>, which above and below its inscription<sup>5</sup> has a spear-head enclosed in a frame of lily-work.

<sup>1</sup> K. Zangemeister in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1901 cvii. 61 f. pl. 6, 1.

<sup>2</sup> L. o. m. Dolicheno ubi ferunt nascitur Flavius Iulius et Q. Iulius Postumus ex imperio ipsius pro se et suos.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 620 f.

<sup>4</sup> K. Zangemeister *loc. cit.* 1901 cvii. 63 pl. 6, 2 and 3.

<sup>5</sup> L. o. m. Dolicheno | Domitius Germanus (votum) solvit | Iulius Iulius (inferito).

## 628 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

The third silver plate (fig. 494)<sup>1</sup> shows a distyle temple, in the gable of which are a crescent moon and two stars. The architrave is arched in the centre so as to leave room for the inscription. Below is an altar. To the left of it stands Iupiter *Dolichenus* on his bull with double-axe, thunderbolt, and coat of mail. It is noticeable that the arrow-shaped points of the thunderbolt have



Fig. 493.

raised central ribs. To the right of the altar stands a female(?) figure, probably on an animal now broken away, holding a *patera* in one hand, a sceptre in the other. A Victory, hovering in the air, presents a wreath to Iupiter. The whole design was enclosed in lily-work, which is much crumpled and mutilated. The remaining two silver plates are in the Berlin Museum. One of them so nearly resembles the first of the London plates that a separate description of it is unnecessary<sup>2</sup>. The other<sup>3</sup> represents the god standing in a distyle temple, the capitals and *akrotéria* of which are of the lily-pattern. He holds a six-pronged thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre or lance in his left, and wears a simple cloak hanging from his left shoulder. At his feet is an eagle perched on a globe and supporting a wreath in his beak. The field of the design is embellished with four

medallions depicting Cupid with a round shield and a lance: of these medallions the upper two are connected with the temple.

<sup>1</sup> K. Zangemeister *op. cit.* cvii. 63 pl. 7, 1. Fig. 494 is from a photograph taken for me by Mr W. H. Hayles.

<sup>2</sup> I . O . M . D O L I . . . . . So A. S. Murray. But, on examining the plate with the help of Mr F. H. Marshall, I made out a few more letters, 772. (a) on the left of the break I . O . M . D O L I . . . . . (b) on the right of the break (A?) > (P?).

<sup>3</sup> E. Gerhard 'Jupiter Dolichenus' in the *Jahrb. d. Ver. v. A. A. u. M. f. d. Alterthumskunde in Rh. u. N. d.* 1863 xxxv. 31 ff. pl. 1, 1. A. H. Kan *De Loris Dolicheni cultu* Groningae 1901 p. 105 f. no. 150. K. Zangemeister *loc. cit.* 1901 cvii. 64 pl. 7, 2. It is inscribed, I . O . M . D O L I C H E N O A N T O N I U S P R O C L U S > (centuria) G E R M A N I A (tolum) s o l v i t (Iulens) l (actus) m (erito).

<sup>4</sup> E. Gerhard *loc. cit.* 1863 xxxv. 31 ff. pl. 1, 2. Kan *op. cit.* p. 106 no. 151.



Iupiter *Dolichenus* was in some sense, then, a god of precious metals—a fact which leads us to remark on the frequency of the



Fig. 494.

name Aurelius in his votive inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. Doubtless the imperial Aurelii with their numerous freedmen spread the name far and

<sup>1</sup> Kanich, *op. cit.* p. 17.

## 630 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

wide through Romanised lands. Still, something more than this seems needed to account for the constant association of an Aurelius or an Aurelia with Iupiter *Dolichenus*. Thus H. Dessau prints thirty-two Latin inscriptions bearing on this divinity<sup>1</sup>. They include two emperors (M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Aurelius Commodus)<sup>2</sup> and no less than sixteen other persons of the same gentile name: three out of the sixteen are expressly described as priests of the god<sup>3</sup>, one as the curator of his temple<sup>4</sup>, and three others as holding various offices connected with his cult<sup>5</sup>. It seems probable therefore that the Aurelii, whose name pointed at once to the sun-god<sup>6</sup> and to gold<sup>7</sup>, considered themselves bound by special ties of connexion with Iupiter *Dolichenus*.

Several dedications append to the name of this deity the curious title 'where iron is born'<sup>8</sup>; one inscription speaks of him as himself 'born where iron arises'.<sup>9</sup> These expressions have been usually interpreted of iron-mines in the neighbourhood of Doliche. But A. H. Kan justly objects that there is not a particle of evidence to show that such mines were ever to be found in that locality<sup>10</sup>. His own notion, however, that 'iron' means 'iron-water'

<sup>1</sup> Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4296—4324.

<sup>2</sup> Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4312, 4310.

<sup>3</sup> Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4299, 4305, 4316.

<sup>4</sup> Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4316.

<sup>5</sup> Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4316.

<sup>6</sup> Paul. ex Fest. p. 23, 16 f. Müller, p. 22, 5 ff. Lindsay *Aureliam* familiam ex Sabinis oriundam a Sole dictam putant, quod ei publice a populo Romano datus sit locus, in quo sacra faceret Soli, qui ex hoc *Ausili* dicebantur, ut Valesii. Papinu pro eo, quod est Valerii, Papinii. Quint. *inst. or.* 11. 2. 31 also alludes to the origin of the name *Ausilius*—*Aurelius* is in fact derived from the same root as *aurora* (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 57).

<sup>7</sup> Paul. ex Fest. p. 9, 2 f. Müller, p. 8, 14 Lindsay (*aurum*) alii a Sabinis translatum putant, quod illi *aurum* dicebant. Vaníček and other philologists have referred *aur.* in Ital. *\*ausom* to the root *\*au-*, 'to shine,' seen in *aurora* etc. (Walde *op. cit.* p. 57).

<sup>8</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 423 = *ib.* vi no. 30947 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4302 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 82 no. 92 (from the Carrafa vineyard on the Quirinal at Rome) Iovi optimo maximo | Dolicheno ubi ferum nascitur | C. Sempronius Rectus | (centurio) > (=centurio) frumentarius) d. d.

*Corp. inscr. Lat.* in Suppl. no. 11927 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4301 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 57 no. 60 (Pfund: a bronze tablet found near the camp of the first cohort of the Breuci) I. o. m. | Duliceno ubi ferum (sic) | nascitur T E (according to Mommsen, these are the initials of the dedicator; according to Kan, they may be read as I I (Iussu) I (sculapni)).

See also the inscription cited *supra* p. 627 n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* in no. 1128 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4303 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 26 ff. (found in 1840 A.D. at Apulum in Dacia) nummi et virtutibus Iovis optimi maximi Dolicheni, nato ubi ferum exoritur ... | naturae boni eventus et nummi imp. Caes. T. Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii | Terentius ... |

<sup>10</sup> Kan *op. cit.* p. 26.

and implies chalybeate springs is insufficiently supported by the analogy of the word *Staal* for *Staalwater*<sup>1</sup> and the discovery of an effigy of the god in the baths at Carnuntum<sup>2</sup>. F. Cumont is content to surmise that the phrases in question correspond with some Semitic epithet and imply a Commagenian myth now lost<sup>3</sup>.

But this after all is only to explain *ignotum per ignotius*. A clue to the meaning of the words is, I venture to think, furnished by the fact that the same description is elsewhere given of the Chalybes. Greek lexicographers describe them as 'a Scythian tribe, where iron is born<sup>4</sup>'. These iron-working Chalybes are located by different authorities at various points along the southern shore of the Black Sea<sup>5</sup>. Strabon, who places them near Pharnakia, states that in his time they were called Chaldaioi and that in former days they worked silver as well as iron<sup>6</sup>. Whether he was justified in thus identifying the Chalybes with the Chaldaioi, whom others termed Chaldoi<sup>7</sup>, may well be doubted. But his assertion that they formerly worked silver is of interest, since the Homeric *Catalogue* describes the Halizones (after the Paphlagonians and before the Mysians) as coming—

From far-off Alybe, where silver's born<sup>8</sup>.

Timotheos too at the court of Archelaos sang of 'earth-born silver'. On the whole it seems clear that in Pontos, where, as Strabon says, the great mountain-ranges are 'full of mines'<sup>9</sup>, iron and silver were regarded as the offspring of Mother Earth. This belief, natural enough in itself, had very possibly come down from the days of the Hittites, who worshipped a great mountain-mother. But Iupiter *Dolichenus* was near akin to this same mother. For, if his bull is that of the Hittite father-god<sup>10</sup>, his double-axe is that

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 26 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* pp. 28, 47 no. 38.

<sup>3</sup> F. Cumont in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1902 xxvi. 7 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-En.* v. 1279.

<sup>4</sup> *Et. m.* s. v. 807, 221 Χαλβες ἔθνος εἰσι Σαυθικὸν ἔνθα ὁ σιδήρος τιάζεται. Soud. s. v. Χαλβες· ἔθνος Σαυθίας ἔνθεν ὁ σιδήρος τιάζεται, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 1323 cod. Paris. ἔθνος δὲ οἱ Χαλβες Σαυθικὸν ὅπου ὁ σιδήρος γινέται.

<sup>5</sup> W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-En.* iii. 2099 f.

<sup>6</sup> Strab. 549.

<sup>7</sup> Steph. Byz. s. v. Χαλδαῖα, Eustath. in Dionys. fr. 767. See further Baumstark in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-En.* iii. 2061 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Il.* 2. 856 f. αὐτὰρ Ἀλκίωνα· Ὀδύς καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἥρχον· τηλοτέρ' ἐς Ἀλκίβης, οὐτὲρ ἀργύρεον ἔστι γένεθ' ἄν. On the ancient variants ἐς Ἀλκίπης, ἐς Ἀλκίβης, ἐς Ἀλκίβων, ἐκ Χαλκίβης, ἐκ Χαλκίβων see Strab. 549 f., Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀλκίπη, Ἀλκίβη, Χαλκίβης. Eustath. in *Il.* p. 363, 12 ff., and A. Ludwig *ad loc.*

<sup>9</sup> Timoth. fr. 14 Bergk <sup>1</sup> σὺ δὲ τὸν γηγενέταν ἀργύρεον αἰρεῖς.

<sup>10</sup> Strab. 549.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 604 ff.

## 632 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

of the Hittite son-god<sup>1</sup>. Hence I conclude that the title 'where iron is born' properly belongs to *Dolichenus* as successor of the Hittite son-god. It may even be that this strange appellation points backwards to a time when the god was identified with his own double-axe<sup>2</sup> and the making of the latter implied the birth of the former: he was 'born where iron arises'.

In any case the same geographical clue will enable us to trace the connexion of Jupiter *Dolichenus* with the precious metals. The Chalybes, according to Strabon, were originally workers in silver<sup>3</sup>. They also collected gold in a small island lying off their coast<sup>4</sup>. The *Dolichenus*-plates were of silver gilt.

Finally, to return to our point of departure, we have seen that Jupiter *Dolichenus*, like the Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* with whom he is

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 599 f., 604 f.

<sup>2</sup> For 'Minoan' parallels see *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) 1.

<sup>3</sup> Terrestrial iron perhaps stood in some relation to celestial iron. H. R. Hall *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* London 1901 p. 200 n. 1, à propos of the Sumerian name for iron, which was expressed ideographically by means of the signs *An-Bar*, observes: 'The Sumerians may have first used meteoric iron at a very early period, like the Egyptians, since *AN.BAR* means practically the same thing as the Egyptian *Ba-n-pet*, "Heavenly Metal."' My friend the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns, however, kindly informs me that the meaning of *An-Bar*, which is taken to denote 'Divine Weight,' cannot be considered certain. And L. de Launay in Daremberg—Sagho *Dut. Ant.* ii. 1076 gives good reasons for doubting the supposed use of meteoric iron. It is ignored by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *The Arts & Crafts of Ancient Egypt* Edinburgh & London 1909 p. 104 ff. and J. H. Breasted *A History of Egypt* New York 1911 p. 136 when mentioning the rare examples of iron in early Egypt and the possible sources of supply.

On the other hand, the Egyptians believed that the tops of some mountains touched the floor of heaven, which was formed by a vast rectangular plate of iron (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 167, 491, ii. 241). It is interesting to observe that the *Iliad* always speaks of the sky as made of bronze, whereas the *Odyssey* usually describes it as made of iron: cp. *Il.* 17. 425 χαλκίον οὐρανόν (so *Pind. Pyth.* 10. 27, *Vim.* 6. 3 f.), *Pind. Isthm.* 7 (6). 44 χαλλόπεδον ἥενον ἔδραν, *Il.* 1. 426 Διὸς ποτὶ χαλκοζατὲς ὄω (*Il.* 21. 438, 505; *Il.* 14. 173, *Od.* 8. 321), *Il.* 5. 504 οὐρανὸν ἐς πολίχαλλον, *Eur. Ion* 1 Ἄγλας ὁ χαλκίοισι νότοις οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ.; but *Od.* 15. 329 and 17. 565 σιδήρεον οὐρανὸν with Eustath. in *Il.* p. 576, 33 ff., in *Od.* p. 1783, 18 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 631.

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 26. The Chalybes seem to be connected with gold as well as with iron by the story of the metal-eating mice. Aristotle stated that in the island of Gyarus mice ate iron ore; Amyntas, that at Teredon in Babylonia they had the same peculiarity (*Aul. de nat. an.* 5. 14). Theophrastus 'goes one better': in Gyarus, he says, mice drove out the inhabitants and were then reduced to eating iron; they do the same by nature in the iron-workings of the Chalybes; and in gold mines they are so fond of making away with the precious metal that they are regularly ripped up to recover it (Theophr. *ap. Plin. nat. hist.* 8. 222, cp. 104, and *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 528a 33 ff. Bekker). See further Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 25 f., *Antiq. hist. mir.* 18 and *ap. Steph. Byz.* s.v. Γύαρως, Herond. 3. 75 f., Sen. *apo. ol.* 7. 1. Since there is no iron ore in Gyarus (Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1954), it is possible that we should assume another island of the same name off the coast of the Chalybes.

sometimes coupled<sup>1</sup> or identified<sup>2</sup>, was essentially a thunder-god with solar powers—the Preserver of the Whole Sky,...a Provider Invincible<sup>3</sup>. The bull, therefore, on which he stands is comparable with the bulls of other Anatolian deities already considered and marks him as a god of fertilising sunshine and storm.

## xxi. The Significance of the Bull in the cults of Zeus.

### (a) The Bull as a Fertilising Power.

Those who have had the patience to accompany me through the last twenty sections of our subject will be glad to rest awhile

And let the accumulated gain  
Assort itself upon the brain.

We have gone the round of the Levant together, visiting successively Egypt, Crete, Syria, and Asia Minor. Everywhere we have found traces of the same religious history—a local worship of the bull, which drew its sanctity from immemorial usage and was associated in a variety of ways first with the principal god of the district and then with the Greek Zeus or the Roman Jupiter. In Egypt, for example, the bull Apis came to be viewed as the *avatar* of Osiris<sup>4</sup> or the ‘second life of Ptah’,<sup>5</sup> but under the name *Épaphos* was affiliated to Zeus<sup>6</sup>. In Crete the bull was identified with the sun-god<sup>7</sup> and worshipped with mimetic rites<sup>8</sup>; but the sun-god was later ousted by<sup>9</sup>, or fused with<sup>10</sup>, the Hellenic Zeus. In Assyria

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3908=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4296=Kan *op. cit.* p. 46 no. 33 (Harbach) I. o. m. D. , et I. o. m. Heliopolitano), cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11131=Kan *op. cit.* p. 50 f. no. 42 (Camuntum) I. o. m. —Dol. et religioni?) pro s[il]l[icet] Augu[stus], where Kubitschek (j. that *re* was a stone-cutter’s error for *Heliopolitani*)—a cult-title known to occur at Camuntum (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. nos. 11137, 11138, 11139).

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3402=ib. iii Suppl. no. 13366=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4297=Kan *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 31 (Aquincum) I. o. m. Dulceno, Heliopolitano). An altar from Carvoran (*supra* p. 552 n. 3), used as a trough in a stable at Thirlwall, perhaps commemorates the same identified cult (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 753=Kan *op. cit.* p. 92 f. no. 119 I. o. m. D[olichen]o), Heliopolitano? cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 7521).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 608 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 435.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 435 n. 6. A bronze statuette of Apis from a Greek site in the Delta is inscribed in letters of the fifth century B.C. ΤΟΙΓΑΝΕΠΙΜΑΝΕΣΤΑΣΕΣΟΥΛΗΣ τῷ *Havari* (?) καὶ ἀνέστανε Σωκράτης. Mr H. B. Walters suggests that the deity may be *Ba-ne-fetah* (*Bull. Mus. Cairen.* p. 376 no. 3208).

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 438 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 467 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 490 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 522 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Talos*, ‘the Sun’ (*supra* p. 468 n. 7), becomes Zeus *Talaus*’s or *Tallaios* (*infra* ch. i § 6 (h) v).

## 634 The Significance of the Bull

the bull was attached to the storm-god Adad or Ramman<sup>1</sup>: but it was as Zeus *Ádados* or Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* that he reached his apogee<sup>2</sup>. At Boghaz-Keui<sup>3</sup> and Malatía<sup>4</sup> the bull appears as a supporter of the Hittite father-god; but this deity, still mounted on a bull, made his triumphal progress through Europe under the title of Iupiter *Dolichenus*<sup>5</sup>. Thus from start to finish, through two or more millenniums and across three continents, the bull retained its hold upon popular reverence.

What gave the creature this claim to universal respect? What is his significance in ancient religion? Prof. Gilbert Murray in a recent lecture has told us<sup>6</sup>: 'we modern town-dwellers,' he says, 'have almost forgotten what a real bull is like. For so many centuries we have tamed him and penned him in, and utterly deposed him from his place as lord of the forest. The bull was the chief of magic or sacred animals in Greece, chief because of his enormous strength, his rage, in fine his *mana*, as anthropologists call it.' Perhaps we may venture to narrow down this answer without loss of probability. Beyond other beasts the bull was charged with *Zeugungskraft*, gendering power and fertilising force<sup>7</sup>. That, I take it, is the ultimate reason of his prestige among the cattle-breeding peoples of the Mediterranean area.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 576 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 549 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 604 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* p. 640 fig. 500.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 604 ff.

<sup>6</sup> G. Murray *Four Stages of Greek Religion* New York 1912 p. 33. Cp. Harrison *Themis* p. 156 f. and p. 548 Index s.v. 'Bull.' Prof. Murray's statement strikes me as more just and true to nature than, say, the eloquent sermon preached by Dion Chrysostom (*or.* 2 p. 69 ff. Reiske) on the Homeric text *Il.* 2. 480—483.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Aristot. *hist. an.* 5. 2. 540a 6 f. (bulls), 6. 21. 575a 13 ff. (bulls), 6. 18. 572a 8 ff. and 31 ff. (cows). Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 27 (cows). Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 46 (bulls). Very significant is the use of ταῖρος = τὸ αἰδοῖον τοῦ ἀνδρός (Sound, s.v. ταῖρος, schol. Anstoph. *Iys.* 217) or τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον (Phot. *lex. s.v.* σάραβρον, ταῖρον, Sound, s.v. σάραβρον, Hesych. s.v. ταῖρος) or ἵππος etc. (Poll. 2. 173. Galen. *introduction seu medicus* 10 (xiv. 706 Kuhn). Lustath. in *H.* pp. 259, 3 f., 527, 43 ff., 906, 60. *id.* in *Od.* p. 1871, 43 f., *et. mai.* p. 747, 40 ff.) or παιδεραστής (Hesych. s.v. ταῖρος), and the word ἀραιώρωτος (Ansch. *Ig.* 244. Anstoph. *Iys.* 217 f., *alibi*), if not also Νάστραγος (on which, however, see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 580, Bousquet *Dict. étym. d. la Langue Gr.* p. 581 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 326 s.v. 'fascivus').

Amulets combine the bull's head with the *phallós* in several ways (O. Jahn in the *Ber. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 p. 58 n. 116 pl. 5. 4 and 5. E. Labatut in Darenberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 257 figs. 308, 309. I. Schefelowitz in the *Archaeol. Rev.* 1912 xi. 469 n. 3).

W. Schmitz *Das Stiersymbol des Dionysos* Köln 1892 p. 1 f.: 'Der Stier scheint bei den Griechen ursprünglich das Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit gewesen zu sein. Die Fruchtbarkeit in der Natur wird nun aber nach griechischer Anschauung hervorgebracht entweder durch den Erdboden, oder durch die Feuchtigkeit des Wassers, oder durch die hauptsächlich von der Sonne ausgehende Wärme. Wenn also die Griechen in ihrer Mythologie und Kunst einzelnen Gottheiten das Symbol des Stieres beilegen, so bedeutet dieses Bild bald die Fruchtbarkeit des Erdbodens, bald die des gedienspendenden

The bull as an embodiment of procreative power was naturally brought into connexion with the great fertilising agencies of sunshine and storm<sup>1</sup>. In Egypt it is of course the solar aspect of the beast that is emphasised: Mnevis<sup>2</sup> and Apis<sup>3</sup> and Bouchis<sup>4</sup> all have a disk between their horns. In Crete too the solar character of the bull was well-marked and of early date—witness Talos otherwise called *Tairos*, Helios transformed into the 'Adiounian bull', the Minotaur in his Labyrinth at Knossos<sup>5</sup>, the cattle of the Sun at Gortyna<sup>6</sup>. Yet the 'Minoan' combination of bovine horns with the double-axe<sup>7</sup> shows that the bull had been related to the storm-god also. Among the Hittites the god that bears the lightning stands either upon<sup>8</sup> or beside<sup>9</sup> the bull. Nevertheless this deity was likewise regarded as a sun-god; for c. 1271 B.C. Hattusil ii, king of the Hatti, made a treaty with Osymandyas, i.e. User-Maât-Râ (Rameses ii)<sup>10</sup>, in which the Hittite deities were enumerated with 'the Sun-god, Lord of Heaven' at their head<sup>11</sup>. In Babylonia and Assyria the bull is *in primis* an attribute of the storm-god En-lil<sup>12</sup> or Ramman or Adad<sup>13</sup>, though the names Heliopolis, Zeus *Heliopolites*, Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* imply that in the Graeco-Roman age Adad at least was equated with Helios<sup>14</sup>.

### (3) The Influence of Apis.

Given this essential similarity of cult to cult, it was only to be expected that religious influences, affecting both thought and expression, would radiate far and wide from the chief centres of civilisation. We shall glance at three such cases of diffusion through contiguous areas.

Wassers, bald das Feuer, das Licht und die Wärme, ohne die in der ganzen Natur kein Leben sein kann.' (p. Pieltet—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 713 ff.)

<sup>1</sup> So with the ram (*supra* p. 429 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 431 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 432–436.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 436 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 468, *infra* ch. i § 6 (b) 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 468 n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* pp. 472 ff., 490 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* pp. 410, 471, 546.

<sup>9</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) 1 (5).

<sup>10</sup> *Infra* p. 640 fig. 500.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 605 fig. 476.

<sup>12</sup> W. Max Müller 'Der Bundesvertrag Ramses' II. und des Chetiterkings' in the *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1902 vii. 5, 17 ff., 38 ff., G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 401 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 v. 48 ff., J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 347 ff., etc. p. 322, J. H. Breasted *A History of Egypt*<sup>2</sup> New York 1911 p. 437 ff., H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 363 ff., cp. p. 333.

<sup>13</sup> Then follow 'the Sun-god of the city Amna; the Thunder-god, Lord of Heaven; the Thunder-god of the Hatti; the Thunder-god of the city Amna'; etc.—these thunder-gods being presumably Sandas and various localised forms of him.

<sup>14</sup> *Supra* p. 579 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Supra* p. 576 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Supra* i p. 550 ff.

## 636 The Significance of the Bull

The Apis-worship of the Egyptians impressed the early Greeks<sup>1</sup>. Probably it impressed other nations also who came much into contact with Egypt—for instance, the Hittites. At Eyuk, some twenty miles north of Boghaz-Keui, the gateway of a Hittite



Fig. 495.

palace built *c.* 1360 B.C. was flanked by an outer and an inner pair of bull-sphinxes, which may fairly be regarded as a blend of the Assyrian bull with the Egyptian sphinx<sup>2</sup>. The frontage-walls exhibit two series of reliefs. On the left is shown the cult of a sacred bull; on the right, that of an enthroned goddess. The corner-stones on either side are occupied by the bull and the goddess respectively. It is therefore clear that the bull (fig. 495)<sup>3</sup> here stands for the Hittite father-god, who elsewhere appears with this animal beneath<sup>4</sup> or beside<sup>5</sup> him. But it is also clear that Egyptian influence has again been at work. For, Apis-like<sup>6</sup>, this bull has a variety of body-marks, a crooked stick—probably meant for a kingly sceptre<sup>7</sup>—and

two disks on his side, the remains of a trilobed or trifoliate design on his haunch<sup>8</sup>. In Roman times Apis travelled yet further afield.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 437 ff.

<sup>2</sup> G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 359 f., ii pl. 54 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 656 ff. figs. 323-327, G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 647 ff. figs., J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 242 ff., 397 (bibliography), with plan on p. 247 and pl. 72, H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 329 n. 5 pl. 22, 1 (who notes that the Hittite sculptor has given his sphinxes Hathor-heads such as sphinxes in Egypt never have).

<sup>3</sup> G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *op. cit.* i. 360 pl. 56, 3, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* iv. 668 f. fig. 329, J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 255 ff., *id.* *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 p. 9 ff. fig. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* p. 640 fig. 500.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 605 fig. 476.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* pp. 432 f., 468, 540 n. 2

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 87.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. two blocks from the right-hand series of reliefs: (1) a bull about to toss, with a trace of the curved stick on his shoulder and one disk on his side (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *op. cit.* i. 361 pl. 57, 3, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* iv. 678 f. fig. 639, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 263); (2) a lion holding down a ram, the ram showing the same curved stick and disk on his side and the same trifoliate design on his haunch (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *op. cit.* i. 361 pl. 57, 1 f., Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* iv. 680 f. figs. 340 f., J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 263 f.).



His effigy is found *e.g.* on coins of Amastris<sup>1</sup> and Germanikopolis<sup>2</sup> in Paphlagonia, of Nikaia<sup>3</sup> and Nikomedeia<sup>4</sup> in Bithynia, of Hadrianothera<sup>5</sup> in Mysia, of Mytilene<sup>6</sup> in Lesbos, and was adopted by Julian the Apostate as the very sign and symbol of paganism (fig. 496)<sup>7</sup>. The far-reaching influence of the Egyptian bull seems even to have touched the remotest confines of the ancient world. Certain square silver pieces struck by Apollodotos I show Nandi, Çiva's bull, with a simplified form of the *Nandi-pada* or 'footprint of Nandi' on his hump (fig. 497)<sup>8</sup>. Copper coins of Spain often denote the



Fig. 496.



Fig. 497.



Fig. 498.

sanctity of a bull by placing between his horns a triangular erection like a pediment, sometimes with a pellet or disk in it (fig. 498)<sup>9</sup>. Such devices may or may not imply assimilation to

<sup>1</sup> Waddington—Babelon—Renach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 139 pl. 18, 27 (?), i. 150 pl. 20, 35, i. 152 pl. 20, 40, i. 154 pl. 21, 11, 13 (ATTIC), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 85 pl. 20, 1 (?), p. 87 pl. 20, 9 (?), *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 506 (ATTIC).

<sup>2</sup> Waddington—Babelon—Renach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 164 pl. 22, 16 (?), i. 165 pl. 22, 27 (?), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 92 pl. 21, 6 (?), *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 506.

<sup>3</sup> Waddington—Babelon—Renach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 413 pl. 69, 18 (crescent over head), 19, i. 423 pl. 71, 24, i. 442 pl. 76, 6 (?), i. 458 pl. 79, 17 (disk between horns), *Hunter Cat. Coins n.* 249 pl. 46, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Waddington—Babelon—Renach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 522 pl. 90, 5 f. (?), i. 547 pl. 94, 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 180 (?).

<sup>5</sup> Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 930, iv. 27 (crescent moon on side), *Suppl.* i. 894 (moon on side), *Suppl.* ii. 1326 (moon on side).

<sup>6</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinm. Münz. n.* 511 f. no. 1 pl. 20, 8 (crescent moon on side), *Id. ib.* p. 512 n. 4 cp. *Rev. Belg. de Num.* 1863 pl. 3, 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 206 no. 199.

<sup>7</sup> Rasche *op. cit.* i. 930 (two stars over horns and neck), iv. 75, 605.

<sup>8</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coin Greek and Scythic Kings* p. 34 nos. 10 f. I figure a specimen in my collection. My friend Prof. F. J. Rapson kindly refers me to his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc. London 1908 p. cxxx for an account of the *Nandi-pada*. He adds (Feb. 11, 1913): 'My impression is that the sign is fairly early in India. I think the great time for foreign influence of the kind suggested was the first century A.D. Sarapis, for instance, occurs on coins then. But there can be no doubt that the Persian Empire was a means of communication between Europe and Egypt on the one hand and India on the other.'

<sup>9</sup> A. Heiss *Descriptien generale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, Paris 1870 p. 169.

the type of Apis. More certainly affected by it is a bronze bull of the Hallstatt period from the famous Býčískála Cave in Moravia (fig. 499 *a, b*)<sup>1</sup>. This remarkable little image was discovered in 1869 at the entry of the cave by a couple of students—Dr Felkel and his cousin—then on a holiday ramble. It lay in a terra-cotta bowl surrounded by millet, which had apparently been baked along with it; and it was attached to a plate of white metal, subsequently lost. It is a statuette of cast bronze about 100 millimeters in height. The eye-holes show traces of having been filled with an iridescent glass-paste. The three lines round the muzzle represent

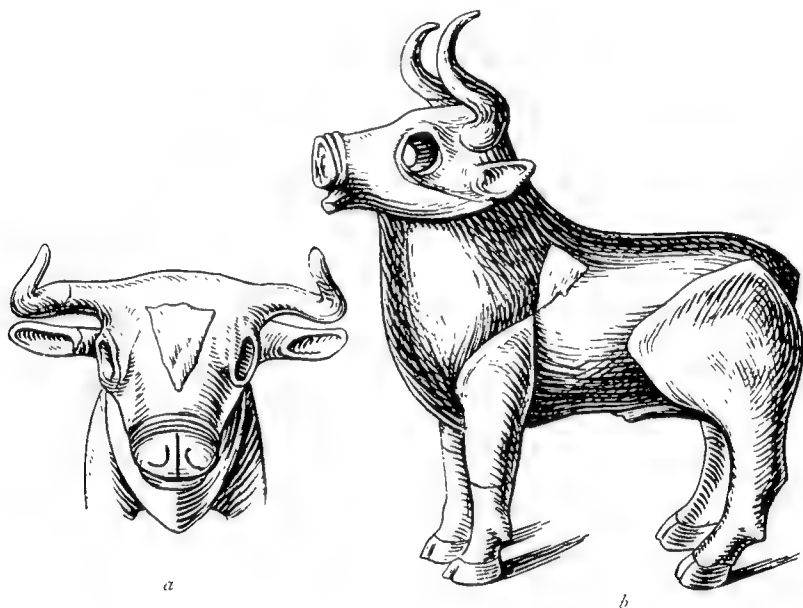


Fig. 499.

a bridle, as in the case of Egyptian bulls. Small triangular plates of iron<sup>2</sup> are inlaid on its forehead and shoulders, and a narrow

pl. 17, 6, 8 Casantum, p. 175 pl. 18, 1 Gracum, p. 201 ff. pl. 24, 19, 21, pl. 25, 37, 39, 40, pl. 26, 43 (=my fig. 498) Caesar Augusta, p. 341 pl. 50, 3 Bulo.

<sup>1</sup> H. Wankel *Der Bronze-Stier aus der Býčískála-Höhle* Wien 1877 pp. 1–32 with col. Frontisp. (= *id.* in the *Mittheilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft in Wien* 1877 p. 125 ff.), Remach *R. A. Stat.* n. 732, 5, Forrer *Katalog*, pp. 33, 130.

<sup>2</sup> So Wankel *op. cit.* p. 5 'die künstlich und mühevoll eingesetzten Eisenplättchen'; Forrer *op. cit.* p. 33 says 'mit eingelegetem kupfernem Dreieck auf der Stirn, die schon von Woldrich mit Apis in Zusammenhang gebracht worden ist,' *ib.* p. 130, 'welche auf der Stirne mit rotem Kupfer ausgelegt war und darauf an den roten Stirnleck des Apistieres einsetzt.'

Remach *Bronze, II, iii*, p. 278 n. 4 scouts the idea that the non triangular plates are due to any imitation of Apis. He cites a bronze cow found at Hallstatt, which served as the handle of a bowl: its eyes are iron nails, and its forehead is inlaid with a

strip along its backbone from head to tail, while there are signs of another triangular patch having concealed the casting-hole on its belly. We cannot of course suppose any direct contact between Moravia in the early iron age and Egypt. But it is possible that Egyptian *objets d'art* might find their way northwards from tribe to tribe and be copied by barbaric craftsmen. If so, we may have here the Egyptising form of a local bull-god comparable with the bronze bull by which the Cimbri swore<sup>1</sup> or the three-horned bulls of bronze and stone found mostly in eastern Gaul<sup>2</sup>.

### (γ) Spread of the Hittite Bull-cult.

A second case of diffusion is furnished by the Hittite bull-cult. The marked bull of Eyük (fig. 495) was the animal form of the lightning-god and sun-god, who in one or more of the Hittite states was named *Tišup*, *Tišub*, or *Tēšub*<sup>3</sup>. It has been plausibly suggested by A. Fick<sup>4</sup> that we should recognise the same name in *Sīsiphos* or *Sēsyphos*<sup>5</sup>, the faded sun-god of Corinth<sup>6</sup>. If so, it will hardly be accidental that Sisyphos is by tradition the owner of marked oxen. Autolykos stole his cattle and tried to conceal the theft; but Sisyphos recognised them by means of the monograms or marks upon their hoofs<sup>7</sup> and became by Antikleia, daughter of

triangular plate of bone (E. von Sacken *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt* Wien 1868 p. 155 pl. 23, 6 and 6<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Plout. γ. *Mar.* 23 ὁμόσαντες τὸν χαλκοῦν ταῦρον, ὃν ὑπερον ἄλυντα μετὰ τὴν μάχην εἰς τὴν Κάτλον φασὶν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἀροθίνων τῆς νίκης κομισθῆναι.

<sup>2</sup> Remach *Bronzes Figurées* p. 278 n. 1 draws up a list of twenty-four examples. See further Remach *op. cit.* p. 275 ff. nos. 285, 288, 292, 293, 294, *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 66, 243 ff., and on the Celtic cult of bulls in general G. Dottin *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'Antiquité Celtique* Paris 1906 pp. 93, 235 ff., 240, 248 f., 274, H. d'Arbois de Jubainville *Les Druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux* Paris 1906 pp. 153 ff., 164 ff., 188 ff., the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 pp. 38, 137 ff., 189, 208 f., 243 f., *supra* p. 481 n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 f., J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 291 pl. 77, *cf. supra* p. 605 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> A. Fick *Hattush und Danubius in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 43 f.

<sup>5</sup> The form is preserved in Hesych. σέσφυος· πανούργος. The common view that Σίσυφος, σέσφυος arose from a reduplication of σοφός (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 970) is untenable.

<sup>6</sup> That Sisyphos pushing his stone up the hill is a genuine solar myth was already seen by V. Henry in the *Riv. Et. Gr.* 1892 v. 289 ff. Other views in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 967 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Hyg. fab.* 201 in pecorum ungulis notam imposuit, schol. Soph. *At.* 190 = Soud. s.v. Σίσυφος ὅστις ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄνυχας καὶ τὰς ὀπλὰς τῶν ζώων αὐτοῦ μονογραμματα ἐγράψεν ὀνόματα ἐπεγνώ γὰρ αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν μονογραμμάτων, Tzetz. in Iyk. II. 344 = Endok. *trioz.* 863 Σίσυφος δὲ μονογραμμῶν τετυπωται τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄνομα ἐγκαταστήσας ταῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ Tzetz. ed. Scheer) ζώων ὀπλαῖς καὶ χηλαῖς ἐπεγίνωσκεν, Polyam. b. 52 Σίσυφος, Αὐτολεγον

Autolykos, the father of Odysseus. Odysseus too, or rather his companions, stole the cattle of the sun-god<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, the lifting of them is a commonplace in Greek mythology<sup>2</sup>. For instance, Alkyoneus driving off the oxen of Helios from the Akrokorinthos<sup>3</sup> appears to be a doublet of Autolykos driving off the oxen of Sisypheos from the same mountain-fastness. But whether *Tesub*



Fig. 500.

is to be identified with *Sisypheos* or not, it is certain that he was a sky-god who had the bull as his sacred beast (fig. 500)<sup>4</sup>. A small

τας βόας αὐτοῦ κλέπτοντος πολλὰκις, ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν βοῶν ἐνέτηξεν μόλιζον, ὃ χαρακτήρα ἐνέηρμοσε γράμματα ἐκτιπόμενα 'Αὐτόλικος ἔκλεψεν.' ὁ μὲν δὴ Αὐτόλικος νύκτωρ ἀπήλασε τὰς βόας, ὁ δὲ Σίσυφος μετ' ἡμέραν τοῖς γέλοισι γεωργοῖς εἰδείξε τὰ ἔχνη τῶν βοῶν κατηγοροῦντα τὴν Αὐτολύκων κλοπὴν.

A relief-vase by the potter Dionysios, found at Anthedon and now at Berlin, illustrates this tale (C. Robert in the *Winkelmanns-fest-Programm*, Berlin 1, 90 ff. with figs.). Cp. also a red-figured Attic *amphora* from Ruvo now at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamm.*, München p. 254 ff. no. 805, T. Panofka in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xv. 162 ff. pl. 6, Remach *Rep. Vases* 1, 277, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 137, 264), which according to the most probable interpretation (L. D. Barnett in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 640 ff.) represents the subsequent marriage of Antikleia with Laertes.

<sup>1</sup> O. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 83 f.

<sup>2</sup> See W. H. Roscher *Hermes* di Windgott Leipzig 1878 p. 42 n. 164 and especially Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1914 Index s. v. 'Rinderraub.'

<sup>3</sup> K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1581, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 134. The original version of the myth was reconstructed by C. Robert in *Hermes* 1884 xix. 473 ff. from schol. Pind. *Nim.* 4, 43, schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6 (5), 47, Apollod. 1. 6. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Relief on building-stone at Malatya, near the confluence of the Taurus Su with the Tigris (J. Garstang in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1908 i. 3 f. pl. 4 f., *id.* *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 138 f., 399 pl. 44, *id.* *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 p. 5 f. fig. 1, with the original aspect of the bull's horns and the libation-vase restored by means of dotted lines, D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1909 ii. 180 f. pl. 41, 42. Prof. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* p. 138 writes: 'a deity, wearing a conical head-dress decorated with rings, stands upon the back of a horned bull. His left leg is forward, and on his feet are tip-tiled shoes. In his right hand, which is drawn

bronze bull, acquired by Monsieur Sorlin-Dorigny somewhere in the interior of Asia Minor and by him presented to the Louvre, is regarded by Monsieur Perrot as of Hittite manufacture<sup>1</sup>. It has markings on its haunch which recall those of Tešub's bull at Eyuk. Probably we should be right in assuming at various Hittite centres the cult of a life-sized bronze bull, of which copies on a smaller scale were multiplied. This assumption would at least square with some further facts. W. Leonhard<sup>2</sup> compares with the Louvre statuette a small bronze bull of crude style seen by Prof. Cumont near Neokaisareia (*Niksar*) in Pontos. The find-spot was one of considerable interest<sup>3</sup>:

'You reach a mountain-top, which commands a view southwards over a vast stretch of country - *Niksar* itself, the Lykos-valley fading away into the distant haze, the wooded ranges of Luthros and Ophlimos forming the boundary of Phanaroia, and beyond with its white peaks the high mountain-chain of Asia Minor. Pines are growing on this height that no man would venture to cut, and all around are to be seen traces of a circular precinct-wall. This summit, like many others, is under the protection of Elias, and every year on the twentieth of June, the day consecrated to this prophet by the orthodox church, the villagers celebrate a 'liturgy' here. They slaughter sheep and poultry, roast them, and then fall to eating, drinking, and dancing merrily. The nature of the spot and the details of the feast are so similar to those that we have already noted near *Ehimi* at the sanctuary of Zeus *Stratios* and elsewhere too<sup>4</sup> that we can safely infer the existence of a pagan cult on this mountain-top. The 'liturgy' of Elias has taken the place of a festival held at the summer solstice. More than that, we were assured that ancient idols are unearthed on the mountain, and by way of proof we were shown a small bronze bull of very rude make and a bull's head that we were able to acquire<sup>5</sup>.... The neck is a hollow socket, and two holes pierced in the metal show that this head must have been fixed on a wooden stem. The eye-holes are empty and were doubtless inlaid with enamel. The tongue, which hung out of the half-opened mouth, is now broken. A ring under the jaw probably served for the attachment of a

halk, there is a triangular bow, and in his outstretched left hand he seems to hold up a forked emblem, like the lightning trident, and to grasp at the same time a cord which is attached to the nose of the bull. His dress is a short bordered tunic. Facing him is a long-robed personage, in whom we recognise the king-priest, distinguished by his close-fitting cap and the characteristic large curl of hair behind the neck. In his left hand he holds a reversed lituus: his right is partly extended and seems to be pouring out some fluid which falls in a wavy stream. He is followed by a small person who leads up a goat clearly intended for an offering. Some hieroglyphs complete the picture.'

<sup>1</sup> Perrot—Chapiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 763 fig. 369: 'Ce taureau peut avoir été une idole, celle même que nous voyons dressée sur l'autel dans un des bas-reliefs d'Euyuk' [*supra* p. 636 fig. 495].

<sup>2</sup> W. Leonhard *Hittiter und Armenier* Leipzig-Berlin 1911 p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> F. Cumont—E. Cumont *Leys. d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* ii) Bruxelles 1906 p. 270 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 129 ff., 172 ff., 233.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 271 fig. The original, 0.06 m in length, is now in the *Musée du Cinquantenaire* (inventory no. A. 963).

small bell. When we remember that the bull was the sacred animal of the god Men, who is often represented with his foot set on a mere bull's head and a pine-cone in his hand<sup>1</sup>, we may conclude with some assurance that this great Anatolian deity was once worshipped on the height where these bronzes were found. Further, it is à propos of Kabeira that Strabon<sup>2</sup> mentions the small town of Ameria, where there was the temple of Men *Pharmakou*, lord of an extensive domain and a numerous retinue of *hieródouloi*. He adds that the kings of Pontos had so profound a veneration for this god that they used to swear by the king's Tyche and by Men *Pharmakou* :

Prof. Cumont's conclusion that the bulls found on this Pontic mountain imply a cult of Men is not necessarily inconsistent with the view that the Hittite bull-god was there first. Men in turn was at Maionia (*Menneh*) in Lydia brought into connexion with Zeus<sup>3</sup>, the two deities being sometimes at least paired off as moon-god with sun-god (*supra* p. 193 fig. 142). Elsewhere Zeus appears to have inherited the bronze bulls of the Hittite god with no intermediary. Prof. Fick in his study of pre-Greek place-names

<sup>1</sup> P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Com. Hell.* 1896 xv. 102 f. fig. 7, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 2759 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1533 n. 1. Men appears standing with a bull beside him on a coin of Sagalassos in Pisidia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. 242 no. 12 Hadrian, W. H. Roscher in the *Ber. Jahrb. Griech. u. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1891 p. 143 pl. 1<sup>a</sup>, 16 Hadrian), with a bull's head beside him over which he pours a libation on coins of Nysa in Lydia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 181 no. 58 Gordianus Pius, p. 184 no. 67 Valerian, W. H. Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 143 pl. 1<sup>a</sup>, 14 Gordianus Pius), and drawn in a car by two bulls on coins of Temenothyria in Phrygia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 412 pl. 48, 1 Commodus, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 202 f. no. 640 Commodus, Head *Hist. num.* p. 687, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 2718 f. fig. 7 Commodus). He treads upon a prostrate bull in a relief from Maionia (*infra* n. 4) and in another of unknown provenance at the Mount Ephraim Hotel, Tunbridge Wells (Sir Cecil Smith in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 1884 xl. 114 f. with pl., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 2714 fig. 6a). But his usual attitude is that of setting one foot on a simple bull's head (see e.g. W. H. Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 142 ff. pl. 1<sup>a</sup>, 12, 13, 15, pl. 1<sup>b</sup>, 3 (2)). cp. *Saba* 105 with one foot on the ram's head (*supra* p. 391 f. pl. xxxv, p. 426).



Fig. 501.

Septimius Severus, from my collection (fig. 501, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. pp. cxv f., 179 f. pl. 31, 6).

<sup>2</sup> Strab. 557.

<sup>3</sup> On this title see F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figures relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 233 n. 1, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 2690, 2752, O. Hofer *ib. m.* 2285, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1534 n. 2 *mid*.

<sup>4</sup> Lebas -Remach *Épigraph. Arch.* p. 118 pl. 136, 2, W. H. Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 125 pl. 2, 1, *infra* ch. 1 § 7 (a). Beneath the relief is the inscription: ἱερὰ συμβώσις καὶ πρωτέρα κατ' ἐπιταγήν τοῦ Κορίου τράνονος Διὸς Μασφαστηνοῦ καὶ Μηρὶ Τιάνοιο εὐχρη- λ.τ.λ. (*Corp. Inscr. Gr.* n. no. 3438, Lebas -Waddington *Asie Mineure*, etc. no. 667).

<sup>5</sup> A. Fick *Die griechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 48.

argues that Mount *Atábyron* or *Atábyris* in Rhodes and Mount *Tábbôr* in Galilee, which Iosephos calls *Itabýrion*<sup>1</sup> and Polybios *Atabýrion*<sup>2</sup>, bore the same Hittite name<sup>3</sup>. We are therefore free to surmise that the bronze cattle on Mount Atabyron, which bellowed ominously when any evil was about to befall Rhodes<sup>4</sup>, the Sun-god's island, were of Hittite origin<sup>5</sup>. The small bronze bulls found now-a-days on the mountain (fig. 502)<sup>6</sup> are of later

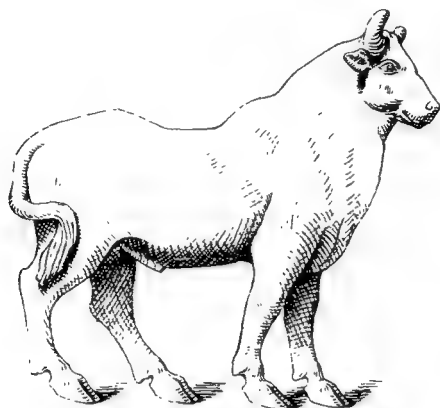


Fig. 502.

style and must be regarded as votive offerings to the Hellenic Zeus *Atabýrios*<sup>7</sup>. The cult of this deity spread from Rhodes to the Rhodian colony Agrigentum; and we may reasonably conjecture that the notorious bull of bronze made by Perillos for Phalaris the Agrigentine tyrant<sup>8</sup> was a late but lineal descendant

<sup>1</sup> Ioseph. *ant. Jud.* 5. 1. 22. 5. 5. 3. 8. 2. 3. 13. 15. 4. *de bell. Jud.* 1. 8. 7. 2. 20. 6. 4. 1. 8. 7. *I. I.* 109 f. 37. So also in the LXX. version of Hos. 5. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. 5. 70. 6. Cp Hesych. *Ἰταβύριον*: ὄρος, ἔχον πηγήν μίαν ὅθεν τὰ θηρία πίνει. ἔστι δὲ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ with Hesych. *Ἀταβύριον*: ἐνθα [ὄρος] θηρία συναγορεύται. See further I. Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* II. 1888.

<sup>3</sup> G. Beloch in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1894 xlix. 130 had taken *Ἀταβύριον* to be a Canaan name derived from *τάβια*, 'rock' (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τάβια*).

<sup>4</sup> Append. B Rhodes

<sup>5</sup> Yet the myth of Kallios, Althamenes, and Apemosyne, in which ox-hides and ox-herds play their part (Append. B Rhodes), points rather to a connexion with Crete. The story of Apemosyne slipping on the freshly-flayed hides strewn by Hermes in the road reads like a piece of aetiology. Sir Arthur Evans *Scripta Minora* Oxford 1909 I. 281 guesses that the ox-hide symbols on the disk found at Phaistos 'have an ideographic meaning and represent the skins of sacrificed beesves'; he argues (*ib.* p. 285 ff.) that the disk came from the south-west coastlands of Asia Minor—'This would not exclude an insular area, such as the once Canaan Rhodes, in close mainland contact.'

<sup>6</sup> C. Tou *Rhodes in Ancient Times*, Cambridge 1885 p. 76 pl. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Append. B Rhodes

<sup>8</sup> Append. B Sicily.

of the Hittite breed. Finally, H. Prinz holds that the myth of Zeus and Europe is to be explained from Hittite sources<sup>1</sup>. The Hittite goddess Chipa standing on the bull held by Tešub, while she supports in either hand a flowery kirtle (fig. 503)<sup>2</sup>, certainly



Fig. 503.

suggests that the art-type of Europe on the bull owed something to Hittite influence. And Chipa beneath her winged arch (fig. 504)<sup>3</sup> may be compared with *Hellotis* in her big wreath<sup>4</sup>.



Fig. 504.

#### (δ) The Cretan Zeus and Zagreus.

Our third example of a transmitted religious *motif* is at once more certain and more interesting. The art of Mesopotamia carried westward by the Phoenicians has left its impress upon

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 526 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giesseu 1912 p. 103 pl. 51, no. 186.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 26 fig. 33 and in M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 103 pl. 51, no. 187.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 525.





*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.  
Fruit section

FIG. 1. — *Phaseolus vulgaris* L. Fruit section. (See text for description of figure.)



early cult-objects in Crete<sup>1</sup>. Conspicuous among these is a bronze shield of the ninth<sup>2</sup>, or possibly of the eighth<sup>3</sup>, century B.C. found in the Idaean Cave (pl. xxxv)<sup>4</sup>. Round its rim are lotos-buds and a debased 'tree-of-life.' In the centre stands an athletic god who, like Rammân<sup>5</sup>, rests one foot upon a bull and, like Gilgameš<sup>6</sup>, lifts a lion high above his head. To either side is a winged attendant. All this is frankly Assyrian; and the youthful god with his curled hair and false beard might well be mistaken for Gilgameš portrayed as triumphing over the divine bull Alû<sup>7</sup> and the lion<sup>8</sup>. But the fact that his attendants are each beating a pair of drums undeceives us. This is none other than the youthful Zeus of Mount Ide flanked by the Kouretes. And we observe two things: first, that we have here the earliest certain representation of Zeus; and second, that despite his Kouretes he is conceived not as an infant but as a young man in the prime of life, the 'greatest Lad of Kronos' line<sup>9</sup>.

Now the Cretans, as Dr Rendel Harris discovered<sup>10</sup>, held that Zeus was a prince ripped up by a wild boar and buried in their midst. The manner of his death gives us good reason to suspect that he was related to the great mother-goddess of Crete as was Adonis to Aphrodite or Tammuz to Ištar. The manner of his burial confirms our suspicion; for his tomb on Mount Juktas was in the *témenos* of a primitive sanctuary<sup>11</sup>, apparently a sanctuary of the mountain-mother<sup>12</sup>, where in 'Middle Minoan' times votive

<sup>1</sup> F. Poulsen *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 77 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1888 iv. 434 ff. ('the period between 850 and 725 B.C.'), cp. R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Egée* Paris 1910 p. 196 ('ne remonte pas au-delà du neuvième siècle avant notre ère').

<sup>3</sup> F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 80. cp. Pernot *Chapier Hist. de l'Art* vii. 131 ('que l'on attribue à la fin du viii<sup>e</sup> ou au commencement du viii<sup>e</sup> siècle').

<sup>4</sup> F. Halbherr—P. Orsi *Antichità dell'Atro di Zeus Ideo in Creta* (= *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* iii) pl. 1, A. L. Frothingham *loc. cit.* p. 437 ff. pl. 16, *Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 576.

<sup>6</sup> A. L. Frothingham *loc. cit.* p. 438 fig. 13, *Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 4 n. 11 fig. 3.

<sup>7</sup> M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 483 ff., W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bildesmappe zur Religion Babylonians und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 96 pl. 45, nos. 146—150, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 791 f.

<sup>8</sup> M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 488, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 786, 793, 822.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 15 n. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 157 n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 161 f.

<sup>12</sup> Sir Arthur Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 279 f.: 'Some of the most characteristic religious scenes on Minoan signets are most intelligible in the light supplied by cults that survived to historic times in the lands East of the Aegean. Throughout these regions we are confronted by a perpetually recurrent figure of a Goddess and her

## 646 The Significance of the Bull

limbs were dedicated for health restored<sup>1</sup>. If this was the character of the Cretan Zeus, it becomes highly probable that his death and resurrection were annually celebrated as a magical means of reviving the life of all that lives<sup>2</sup>. Of such rites sundry traces are extant in Greek literature. We must consider their bearing on the monument before us.

Porphyrios in his *Life of Pythagoras* says of the philosopher that,

'when he landed in Crete, he betook himself to the mystics of Morges, one of the Idaean Daktyloi, by whom he was purified with the thunder-stone, at daybreak lying prone beside the sea and at night beside a river, his head wrapped in the fleece of a black ram. Moreover he went down into the Idaean Cave, as it is called, wearing black wool, passed thrice nine days there in accordance with custom, offered a funeral sacrifice to Zeus, beheld the throne that is strown for him every year, and engraved on the tomb an epigram entitled "Pythagoras to Zeus," which begins—

"Here lieth dead Zan, whom men name as Zeus;"

The essential points are that Pythagoras sacrificed as to a dead Zeus, and saw the throne that was annually spread for him. For whom? Presumably for the dead Zeus come to life again. It will be remembered that various coins of Asia Minor showed the

youthful satellite—son or paramour, martial or effeminate by turns, but always mortal, and mourned in various forms. Attis, Adonis or Thammuz, we may add the Ithian Anchises..., all had tombs within her temple walls. Not least, the Cretan Zeus himself knew death, and the fabled site of his monument on Mount Juktas proves to coincide with a votive shrine over which the Goddess rather than the God originally presided. So too, on the Minoan and Mycenaeon signets we see the warrior youth before the seated Goddess, and in one case actually seem to have a glimpse of the "tomb" within its temenos. Beside it is hung up the little body-shield, a mourning votary is bowed towards it, the sacred tree and pillar shrine of the Goddess are hard by [*id. ib.* 1901 xvi. 177 fig. 53]. In another parallel scene the female mourner lies prone above the shield itself, the divine connexion of which is shown by the sacred emblems seen above, which combine the double axe and life symbol [*id. ib.* 1901 xvi. 176 fig. 52].

<sup>1</sup> G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 260: 'Auf dem Gipfel des Juktas, südlich von Knossos, wo man später das Grab des Zeus zeigte, hat Evans Reste eines mittelminoischen Heiligtums aufgedeckt, darunter auch ein paar geweihte menschliche Gliedmassen aus Ton, wie die aus dem Heiligtum einer Heilgöttin im Petsöfi im Osten der Insel (Brit. School Annual ix Taf. 12). Man darf daraus schliessen, dass der Himmelsgott im minoischen Kreta zugleich Heilgott, also der Ahnheit des Zeus Hypsistos und des Asklepios war.'

<sup>2</sup> See in *revue Etudes grecques* 1905, p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> Porph. τ. *Pyth.* 17 Κρήτης ὃ ἐπὶ τὰς τοῖς Μόργων μύσταις προσήει. ενός τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐκαθήμεν τῇ κεραυνίᾳ λίθῳ, ἐωθινὸν μὲν παρὰ θαλάττῃ προηρῆς ἐκταθῆς, νεκτὸρ δὲ παρὰ ποταμῷ, ἀννιστοὶ μέλανος πολλοῖς στυφωμένους. εἰς δὲ τοῖς Ἰδαίων καλωμένον ἀντρον καταβῆς, ἐρία ἔχων μέλανα τὰς νενομισμένας τριπτάς ἐνεία ημερας ἐκεῖ διέτριψε καὶ καθήγισε τῷ Διὶ, τὸν τε σπαρνύμενον ὡτ' ἀπ' ἐτος θρόνον ἐθεότατο, ἐπιγράμματ' ἐν χάραξεν ἐπὶ τῷ τόφῳ, ἐπιγράμματα ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΤΩΙ ΔΙΙ, ὅτι ἡ ἀρχή.—ὡδὲ θανὼν κείται Ζᾶν, ὅν Δία κεκλήσκουσιν.

infant Zeus or Dionysos seated on a throne with Kouretes grouped about him<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, we have learnt from Orphic sources<sup>2</sup> that the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus mounted the throne of Zeus<sup>3</sup> and sat there grasping the thunderbolt, that in his efforts to escape the attacking Titans he ran through a whole series of changes, and that finally he was cut to pieces in the form of a bull. We concluded in fact that Dionysos or Zagreus was in some sense Zeus reborn<sup>4</sup>. That is why the earliest mention of Zagreus (s. vi B.C.) links his name with a phrase specially appropriate to Zeus<sup>5</sup>, and Nonnos (s. v A.D.) speaks of him explicitly as 'a second Zeus'. The series of changes that he runs through perhaps reflects the rapidity of his growth. Kallimachos lays stress on the phenomenal adolescence of the infant Zeus<sup>7</sup>. And Aratos states that his nurses—

hid the babe  
On fragrant Dikton, near the Idaean Mount,  
Within a cave, and reared him for a year<sup>8</sup>.

A god who has to grow to maturity in a single year must be quick about it. Of his death in the form of a bull we shall have more to say.

But if the Cretan Zeus came to life again as Zagreus, that

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 122 f. figs. 125--128.

<sup>2</sup> Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 522 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hence Orig. c. *Cels.* 3. 23 ἄρα δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ταῦτα (the resurrection of Christ) σεμνότερα φανείται Διονύσου ἐπὶ Τитανῶν ἀπατωμένον καὶ ἐκπίπτοντος ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς θρόνου καὶ σπαρασσομένου ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν συντιθεμένου καὶ οἰοει ἀναβιώσκοντος καὶ ἀναβαίνοντος εἰς οὐρανόν: Prokl. in Plat. *Crit.* p. 55. 5 ff. Pasquali καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος ~ ὁ > τελευταῖος θεῶν βασιλεὺς παρὰ τοῦ Διός· ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ ἰδρύει τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ θρόνῳ καὶ ἐγχειρίζει τὸ σλῆπτρον καὶ βασιλεία ποιεῖ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων ἀπάντων θεῶν· "κλύτε, θεοί· τόνδ' ἔμμεν ἐγὼ βασιλῆα τίθηναι" [Orph. *hys.* 190 Abel] λέγει πρὸς τοὺς νέους θεοὺς ὁ Ζεὺς. *id. in Plat. Tim.* iii. 310, 32 ff. Diehl ὁ γὰρ Ζεὺς βασιλεία τίθῃσιν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θεῶν καὶ πρωτίστας αὐτῷ νεμει τιμῆς. "καίπερ ἔόντι νέῳ καὶ νηπίῳ εἰλαπιναστῇ" [Orph. *hys.* 191 Abel], *cp. id. in Plat. *Tim.* p. 91* Οὐσιν καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παῖδας καὶ νέους ἡ θεολογία καλεῖ· "καίπερ ὤντε νέῳ." φησιν Ὀρφύς (which Lobeck *op. cit.* i. 523 justly regards as a misreading of the previous fragment), *id. in Plat. *Alcib.* p. 83* Ὀρφείας ἐρρίσθησι τῷ βασιλεὶ Διονύσῳ τὴν κορυδα τὴν Ἀπολλωνιακὴν ἀποτρεποῦσαν αὐτὸν τῆς εἰς τὸ Τιτανικὸν πλῆθος προοδοῦ καὶ τῆς εξαναστάσεως τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 398 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Al'maiensis frag.* 3 Kinkel *op. cit. Gud.* p. 227. 37 ff. and Cramer *ant. d. Olen.* ii. 443. 8 ff. ποτνια Γῆ Ζαγρεῖν τ' θεῶν πανπέρτερε πάντων. On the *Al'maiensis* see W. Christ *Ursprung der griech. u. lat. Literatur* München 1908 i. 124 ('nicht vor dem Schluss des 7. Jahrhunderts'), *supra* p. 405.

<sup>6</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 298 καὶ περὶ δεύτερος ἄλλος ἐτι βρεφὸς ἰετός Ζεὺς. *Supra* p. 398 f.

<sup>7</sup> Kallim. *h.* *Zeus* 55 ff. καλὰ μιν ἤερεν, καλὰ δ' ἐτραφες, οὐρανὸν Ζεὺς ὥς δ' ἀνήθησας, ταχύνει δὲ τοὶ ἡλιονιοῖσι· ἀλλ' ἐτι παῖδὸς ἔων ἐφρασαν πάντα τέλεια.

<sup>8</sup> Arat. *Phaen.* 32 ff. οὐ μιν τότε κοιμῶντα Δίκτω ἐν εὐώδει, ἥρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίου (τ. *l. in Abel. *Idaίος**), ἀντρω ἐγκατεθέντο καὶ ἔτρεφον εἰς ἑνιαίον, Δικταῖοι Κοῖρητες οὐτε Κρητὸν ἐφύεοντο.

## 648 The Significance of the Bull

looks as though the Anatolian cult of mother and son had developed along Orphic lines. Was this actually the case? Have we a right to use the term Zagreus of Zeus *redivivus* in Crete? And, if so, what exactly do we mean by it?

In the fifth century B.C., and perhaps much earlier, Zagreus with his thunders played an essential part in the rites of Zeus *Idaios*. So much at least we learn from an all-important fragment of Euripides' *Cretans*<sup>1</sup>. The Chorus of 'prophets' address Minos as follows:

King of Crete with its towns five-score,  
Whom Phoinix' seed Europe bore  
To Zeus omnipotent evermore.  
Lo, I am here in thy behoof  
Quitting the holy fanes, whose roof  
Of cypress-wood is weather-proof  
Thanks to the home-grown timber hacked  
By Chalyb axe and then compact  
With bull-bound glue in its joints exact  
Pure is my life and of spotless fame  
Since that moment when I became  
A mystic in Zeus of Ide's name.-  
Darkling Zagreus' thunders made,  
The raw-fed feasters' feast essayed,  
And the mountain-mother's torches swayed.  
Thus amid the Curetic band,  
Hallowed alike in heart and hand,  
A very Bacchos at length I stand.  
White is the raiment that now I wear,  
In birth and burial have no share,  
Nor eat of food, if the life be there.

The mystics of Zeus *Idaios* here tell us how their temple was made, and how they themselves were initiated into the rites of their god. The temple was roofed with beams of cypress, a tree

<sup>1</sup> Porph. *de abst.* 4. 19 μικροῦ καὶ παρῆλθε καὶ τοὺς Εὐρεπίδην παραθέσθαι, ὃς τοῖς ἐν Κρήτῃ τοῦ Διὸς προφήτας ἀπέχεσθαι φησὶ διὰ τούτων λέγουσι δ' οἱ κατὰ τὸν χορὸν πρὸς τὸν Μῖνον [Eur. *Cretans* fr. 472 Nauck<sup>2</sup>] Φοινικογενεῖς [παῖ τῆς Τερμίδος σιν. Bothe] τέλνον Εὐρώπας καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζηνός, ἀνάσσων Κρητῆς ἐλατοῦ ποταμῶν ἤκω ἱερῶν ναοῖς προλιπών, | οὓς αὐτῆς γενεῆς τιθεῖσα δοκὸς στεγανὸς παρέχει Χαλκῶ πελέκει καὶ ταιροδέτῳ κόλλῃ κραθεῖν | ἀτρεκέϊς ἀρροῖς ἀνπαρίσσον. ἀγνὸν δὲ βίον τεινῶν ἐξ οὗ Διὸς Ἰδαίου μυστικῆς γενόμεν, | καὶ νεκροπολοῦν Ζαγρεύος βροντὰς τὰς τ' ὠμοφάγοις δαΐτας τέλσας μητρὶ τ' ὀρέω δῶδας ἀνασχῶν καὶ Κοιρῶν, Βάκχος ἐλλήθην ὁσιωθεῖς. πάλιν καὶ ὁ ἔχων εἶματα φερίῳ | γένεσιν τε βροτῶν καὶ νεκροθλήκῃ | οὐ χρεωπτομενός τῆν τ' ἐμψύχων | βρώσων ἐδεστῶν πεφύλασμαι. I follow the text as given by Nauck, except that in line 1 I print Εὐρώπας (so most MSS., Εὐρώπης Nauck with cod. Mon. 461), in line 2 Ζηνός (Zanós codd., Ζηνός Nauck after Bentley), and in line 12 τὰς τ' (so codd., τοῖς Nauck after Bergk) and δαΐτας (so Hesych., δαΐτας, δαΐτας Nauck with codd., cf. Hesych. δαΐτας).

sacred to Rhea<sup>1</sup> rather than to Zeus<sup>2</sup>. The requisite timber was grown on the spot. Probably it formed part of a grove belonging to the goddess<sup>3</sup> and was felled with the double-axe, to which even in the iron age a certain sanctity still attached. The planks so hewn were fitted together with no iron nails or clamps (that would have been an impious innovation)<sup>4</sup>, but with glue made of bull's hide<sup>5</sup> (for the bull was an animal form of the deity himself<sup>6</sup>). The initiates evidently sought to become one with the re-born god, the youthful partner of their goddess. Beginning as Kouretes, they ended as Bacchoi. Three rites are touched upon<sup>7</sup>, the making

<sup>1</sup> See F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 p. 216 and *Presbth.*, Boettcher *Bauwesen* pp. 486—494, Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 456 pls. 153, 154, and Index s.v. 'Cypress,' and F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1915—1938.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 558 n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> At Knossos were shown the foundations of Rhea's house and a cypress-grove of ancient sanctity (Diod. 5. 66 *μεθ' ὧν οἱ Κρήτες γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Κουρήτων ἡλικίαν τοῖς λαλομένοις Τιτάρας. τοῖς τοῖς δὲ τῆς Κνωσίας χώρας ἔχειν τὴν οἰκισιν, ὅπου περ ἔτι καὶ νῦν δείκνται θεμελίαι ῥέας οἰκόμεθα καὶ κυπαρίττων ἄλσος ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ἀνεμεινόν*).

At Otygia near Ephesus was a grove mainly composed of cypress-trees: here Leto had brought forth her twins, while the Kouretes, standing close by on Mt Solmissos, had scared away Hera with the clash of their weapons (Strab. 639 f.).

On a lenticular gem of rock crystal actually found in the Idaean Cave 'a female votary is seen blowing a conch-shell or triton before an altar of the usual Mycenaean shape. Above the altar is seen a group of three trees apparently cypresses, and immediately in front of them the "horns of consecration." To the right of the altar is a rayed symbol, to the left is apparently another altar base, with a conical excrescence, and behind the votary another tree' (Sir Arthur Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xvi. 141 f. fig. 25).

<sup>4</sup> The best collection of relevant facts is in Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>1</sup>: Taboo pp. 225—236 ('Iron tabooed'), especially *ib.* p. 230 ('Iron not used in building sacred edifices'). Dr Frazer cites *metr. alt. Plin. nat. hist.* 36. 100 *Cyzici et baleuterium vocant aedificium amplum, sine ferreo clavo ita disposita contiguatione, ut eximantur trabes sine fulturis ac reponantur*.

<sup>5</sup> Miss Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Relig.* p. 481 writes: 'The shrine of Idaean Zeus was cemented with bulls' blood. Possibly this may mean that at its foundation a sacred bull was slain and his blood mixed with the mortar; anyhow it indicates connection with bull-worship.' The suggestion of bulls' blood is over-fanciful. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1876 f. translated *ταυροποιετος* correctly enough by 'Glutine taurino compacta': for *ταυροποιετος*, as my colleague Mr D. S. Robertson points out to me, was simply glue, best made from the hides (Dioscor. 3. 91 (101) p. 441 Sprengel, cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 3. 11. 517 b 28 ff., *alt.*) or from the ears and genitals of bulls (*Plin. nat. hist.* 28. 235 f.). Nevertheless such a substance may well have had a religious value in a shrine where the bull was of primary importance.

<sup>6</sup> *Intro* p. 650 and ch. 1 § 6 (p) xxi (G. 5).

<sup>7</sup> Miss Harrison has discussed the Zagreus-rites with much insight and with a most helpful accumulation of anthropological parallels in her *Proleg. Gr. Relig.* p. 478 ff., *Thémis* pp. 14 ff., 51 ff., 56 ff., 156 f., cp. Mr F. M. Cornford in *Themis* p. 247 f. and Prof. G. Murray *ib.* p. 345. These scholars have not, however, seen or at least expressed what I believe to have been an essential element, perhaps originally the

of thunder, the banquet of raw flesh, and the roaming with torches over the mountain-side. It seems probable that the purpose of all these ritual actions was to identify the worshippers as far as possible with Zagreus, and so to bring them into the most intimate relation to the goddess. If Zagreus sat on the throne of Zeus grasping the thunderbolt, the mystics could at least produce mock thunder<sup>1</sup> by beating drums made from the hide of the sacred bull<sup>2</sup>: on the shield from the Idaean Cave we see them doing it. If he was slain in the form of a bull, they could devour a bull's flesh raw and thereby assimilate the very life-blood of the god. If he consorted by night with his mother, the mountain-goddess, they too full-charged with his sanctity might go in quest of her their mother<sup>3</sup> and fructify her by their torches<sup>4</sup>. Thenceforward as

essential element, of the performance, viz. that the initiate by identifying himself with the god re-born became the male consort of the goddess. The great mother-goddess, let us say, was responsible for the fertility of all living things. To keep up her powers, she must needs be impregnated by an unending succession of youthful lovers. Hence the young men of the community, in whom Miss Harrison has rightly recognised the true Kouretes (*supra* p. 23 n. 6), on entering upon manhood pose as the divine consorts of the mother-goddess. The mystics of Zeus *Idaios* in Crete thus fall into line with the mystics of Zeus *Sabazios* in Phrygia (*supra* p. 395 f.). And this may be ultimately the meaning of the phrase *θαλάσσεια Κοιμήτων* used by Euripides (*infra* n. 2), of the formula *ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν* in the mysteries of Deo (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 15. 3 p. 13. 13 Stahlin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 18 cited *supra* p. 392 n. 5, cp. schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 c) and of the verse *Δεσποίνης δὲ ὑπὸ κύλινρον ἔδυν χροίας βασιλέας* on an Orphic gold tablet found near Naples (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641 l. 7, G. Murray in Miss Harrison's *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 667 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 820 n. 5, cp. *ib.* p. 819 n. 4, conjectured that the Kouretes clashing their weapons were the mythical counterpart of earthly priests imitating a storm by way of rain-magic. Miss Harrison *Thomis* p. 61 f. thinks that the mimic thunder was produced by means of a *βούκος* or 'bull-roarer,' which we know to have been among the toys of Zagreus (Orph. *frags.* 196 Abel = Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 17. 2 p. 14, 12 Stahlin with schol. *ad loc.* p. 302, 28 ff. Stahlin, *Amob. adv. nat.* 5. 19). But the 'bull-roarer' is to my ear—and I have heard Mr Cornford swing it in the darkness with great effect—suggestive of a rising storm-wind rather than of rumbling thunder; cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>1</sup>: The Magic Art n. 324 'In some islands of Torres Straits the wizard made wind by whirling a bull-roarer.' A passage quoted by Miss Harrison herself from Aisch. *Eidoni frags.* 57, 8 ff. Nauck<sup>2</sup> (rites of Κοῦς or Κοῦτυο) *ταῖς ῥόθωσ' ἡτοι δ' ὑπομκύνται* 'ποθον ἐξ ἀφρονὸς φοβροῖ μῦροι, τυπῶνον δ' εἰκων ὡσθ' ἰποζαλον' ἰφροντῆς φέμεται *δαρυταρξῆς* strongly supports the view advanced in the text—that the sound of thunder was made by beating drums of bull's hide.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the preceding note and Eur. *Bacch.* 120 ff. ὦ θαλασσεῖα Κοιμητῶν χαῖροι τε Κρήτας | Διογενέτορες ἑναυλοῖ, ἔνθα τρικόντες ἀντροῖς μυσώτορον κεκλωμα' ἰπδοῖ μοι Κορη γαντες ἦρον' + κ.τ.λ., Eustath. on *Il.* p. 771, 54 ff., Hesych. and Zonar. *lev.* 127, *μυσάτορος*.

<sup>3</sup> On the Kouretes as sons of Rhe see O. Hirsch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 1597 f., where variants are cited.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>1</sup> n. 240 n. 313 f., *Golden Bough*. Spirits of Corn and Wild 1. 57 n. 2, shows that torches were carried about the fields with the intention of fertilising them, and *Golden Bough*<sup>1</sup>: The Magic Art n. 195 ff., 230 ff. collects examples of the



veritable embodiments of the god they must lead a life of ceremonial purity, being so far as men might be husbands of the goddess.

It remains to ask, Whence came the name *Zagríus*? and What was its significance? The word appears to be an ethnic properly denoting the god (Gilgames?) of Mount *Zágros* or *Zágron*, the great mountain-range that parts Assyria from Media<sup>1</sup>. This name, we may suppose, travelled from Mesopotamia *viâ* Phoinike to Crete at about the same time and along much the same route as the Assyrian influences manifest in our shield. From Crete it would readily pass to Argos<sup>2</sup>, and so northwards to the rest of Greece. On reaching Greek soil it was naturally misinterpreted as the 'Mighty Hunter', a title applicable enough to a prince ripped up by a wild boar<sup>3</sup>. The Cretan god, in fact, so closely resembled his oriental counterpart that he borrowed both his name and his art-type. On the Idaean shield we see Zeus *redixivus*, already perhaps known as Zagreus, in the guise of Gilgamesh, the Biblical Nimrod, 'a mighty hunter before the LORD'.

#### (e) The Cretan Zeus and Human Omophagy.

Dr Frazer after examining the traces of Adonis-worship in Syria, Kypros, etc. reaches the conclusion<sup>6</sup>

'that among Semitic peoples in early times, Adonis, the divine lord of the city, was often personated by priestly kings or other members of the royal family, and that these his human representatives were of old put to death, whether periodically or occasionally, in their divine character....As time went on, the cruel custom was apparently mitigated in various ways, for example, by substituting an effigy or an animal for the man, or by allowing the destined victim to escape with a merely make-believe sacrifice.'

belief in impregnation by means of fire. The use of torches in bridal processions may have been magical as well as utilitarian.

<sup>1</sup> This rather obvious derivation was first, I think, noted by Miss G. Davis in *The Cretan Association of Deities: Proceedings for 1911-1912* p. 23 f. ('Is it too much to see in Zagreus a cult-name of Dionysos or Soma as "the God of Zagros"?').

<sup>2</sup> At Argos there was a temple of Dionysos Κρησιος, containing a κεραμεα σποδός of Ariadne (Paus. 2. 23. 7 f.); and it was to the cycle of Argive myth that the *Almaionis* belonged.

<sup>3</sup> *Et. mss.* p. 406. 46 ff Ζαγρίους παρὶ τὸ ζᾶ, αὐτὸ ἢ ὁ πᾶν ἀγρῶν, *cf. Gail.* p. 227, 37 and *Gaillet anecd. Ox. n. n.* 443. 8 Ζαγρίους ὁ μεγάλως ἀγρῶν.

<sup>4</sup> *Larnell Cults of Gr. Gods* v. 129 n. <sup>b</sup> says: 'The explanation of the word as "the mighty hunter" - which Lempides may have had in mind in his phrase in the *Bat. Bat.* (1192), ὁ γὰρ ἀνὰ ἀγρῶν - is not plausible on religious grounds. But Dr Larnell has apparently not noticed Dr Rendel Harris' discovery of an Adonis-like Zeus in Crete.

<sup>5</sup> *Gen.* 10. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Frazer Golden Bough* 'Adonis Attis Osiris' p. 182.

## 652 The Significance of the Bull

Was there anything analogous to this in the cult of the Cretan Zeus? If I have not misconstrued the evidence, both the human victim and his animal substitute can be detected even in our fragmentary records.

Zeus the princely hunter was slain by a wild boar. The myth was probably localised at Lyttos near Mount Dikte. For not only had Dikte, an older cult-centre than Ide<sup>1</sup>, the statue of a beardless Zeus<sup>2</sup>, but silver coins of Lyttos from c. 450 B.C. onwards have on their obverse side an eagle flying, or more rarely standing, on their reverse the head and sometimes the forefoot of a wild boar (fig. 505)<sup>3</sup>.

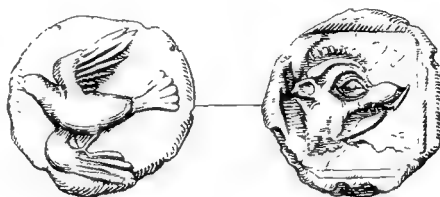


Fig. 505.

The former type obviously alludes to Zeus, the latter to his enemy, the terror and pride of the district. Now Antikleides, a historian of the third century B.C.<sup>4</sup>, stated that the Lyttians sacrificed men to Zeus<sup>5</sup>. The statement was made in his *Nostoi* and, I should conjecture, had reference to the return of Idomeneus king of Lyttos<sup>6</sup> from the Trojan War. In that war he had played the hero's part, 'equal to a boar in bravery'<sup>7</sup>; and the *Odyssey* brought him home in safety to Crete<sup>8</sup>. But Servius knew of an ugly incident

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 150 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Et. mag.* p. 276, 12 ff. Δίκη. ἐνταῦθα δὲ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἀγέγειον ἴστατο (I owe this reference to the friendly vigilance of Miss Harrison), Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Δίκη ἐνθεν (εν) καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἴστατο ἀγέγειον.

<sup>3</sup> J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mavon 1890 i. 230 ff. pl. 21, 1—31, pl. 22, 1 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 55 ff. pl. 13, 12—15, pl. 14, 1—3, 5, esp. 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 190 f. pl. 42, 10 f., *Head Hist. num.* i. p. 471. I figure an unpublished variety in my collection (fig. 505): the legend is ΝΟΣΤ[ΙΝΑ]

<sup>4</sup> E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enz.* i. 2425 f.

<sup>5</sup> Clem. Al. *prot.* 3. 42, 5 p. 32, 3 ff. Stahlin = Euseb. *praep.* 17. 4. 16, 12 Λυκτίους γάρ—Κρητῶν δὲ ἔθνος εἰσὶν οὔτοι—Ἀντικλείδης ἐν Νόστοι ἀποφαίνεται ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Δί.

<sup>6</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 3. 401 Ixthus Idomeneus. Diod. 5. 79 makes him a Cnossian (μηδὲν n. 8).

<sup>7</sup> *Il.* 4. 253 Ἰδομένεως σὶ εἰκέλος ἀλκήν.

<sup>8</sup> *Od.* 3. 191 f. Cp. Diod. 5. 79 (Idomeneus and Menones) διασωθέντας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τελευτῆσαι καὶ ταφῆς ἐπιφανοῖς ἀξιοθῆναι καὶ τιμῶν ἀθανάτων. καὶ τὸν ταφὸν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Κνωσῷ δεικνύνουσιν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα τοιάνδε, —Κνωσίων Ἰδομενῆος ὄρα ταφόν. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι | πλησίον ἱδρῆναι Μηριωνῆς ὁ Μόλου. τοῖσι μὲν οὖν ὡς ἡρώας ἐπιφανεῖς τιμῶσιν οἱ Κρήτες διαφερόντως. θύοντες καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνους ἐπιλαλοῦμενοι βροτοῖς.

connected with his home-coming. Idomeneus, caught in a storm, had vowed that he would offer to the gods whatever met him first on his return. The first to meet him was his own son, whom according to some he sacrificed as a victim to Zeus, according to others he threatened to sacrifice. On account of this cruelty, or because a pestilence broke out, he was driven from his kingdom by the citizens<sup>1</sup>. This tale was very possibly derived from Antikleides' *Nostoi*. In any case it chimes with the statement already quoted from that work, *viz.* that at Lyttos men were sacrificed to Zeus. A further allusion to the same grim custom may lie behind some guarded words of Agathokles, a fifth-century historian<sup>2</sup>, whom Athenaios cites to the following effect<sup>3</sup>:

\*Concerning the sanctity of swine among the Cretans Agathokles the Babylonian in his first book *On Kyzikos* remarks—"It is fabled that the birth of Zeus happened in Crete on Mount Dikte, where also a sacrifice that must not be mentioned takes place. The story goes that a sow suckled Zeus and, grunting as it trotted round the babe, made his whimpers inaudible to those who passed by. Hence all regard this animal as very holy, and ' says he ' would not eat of its flesh. The Pransians actually make offerings to a pig, and this is their regular sacrifice before marriage." Neanthes of Kyzikos in his second book *On Ritual* gives much the same account."

\* Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 121 Idomeneus [de semine Deucalionis natus.] Cretensium rex, cum post eversam Troiam reverteretur, in tempestate devovit dñs sacrificium se de re, quae ei primum occurrisset. contigit, ut filius eius primus occurreret: quem cum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset: ut alii [vero], immolare voluisset: [et post orta esset pestilentia,] a civibus pulsus [est] regno, etc., *id. in Verg. Aen.* 11. 264 Idomeneus rex Cretensium fuit: qui cum tempestate laboraret, vovit, se sacrificaturum [Neptuno] de re quae ei primum occurrisset (si reversus fuisset; sed) cum casu ei primum filius occurrisset, quem (mox Iovi) cum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset: ut alii, immolare voluisset, ob crudelitatem regno a civibus expulsus est, Myth. Vat. 2. 210 Idomeneus, Cretensium rex, quum post eversam Troiam reverteretur, devovit propter sedandam tempestatem, sacrificium se dare de hac re, quae ei reverso primum occurreret. contigit igitur, ut filius ei occurreret, quem quum immolasset vel, ut alii dicunt, immolare vellet, a civibus pulsus regno, etc., cp. Myth. Vat. 1. 195 Idomeneus, rex Cretensium, quum post eversam Troiam reverteretur, in tempestate devovit, se sacrificaturum de re, quae ei primum occurrisset. contigit igitur, ut prima filii ei occurreret. quam quum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset: ut alii, immolare voluisset: a civibus pulsus regno, etc. The last of the writers here cited was obviously thinking of Jephthah's vow (Judges 11. 30 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> E. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* 1. 758 f. (\*Aus diesem Grunde ist er ins 5. spatestens in den Anfang des 4. Jhdts. zu setzen\*).

<sup>3</sup> Athen. 375 f 1—376 Α περι δὲ τῶν, ὅτι ἱερὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ζῶον παρὰ Κρήσιν, Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Βαθλωνίος ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Κιζίκου [Agathokles *frags.* 2 (*frags. hist. Gr.* iv. 289 Muller)] φησιν οὕτως: "αἰθενοῖσιν ἐν Κρήτῃ γενέσθαι τὴν Διὸς τέκνωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Δικτῆς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἀποροφῆτος γίνεται θυσία. λεγεται γάρ ὡς ἀρα Διὶ θηλὴν ἐπέσχεεν, καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ γρησινὼ περιαιχρῖσα τὸν κενετήριον τοῦ θνήσκοντος ἀνέπαιστον τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐτίθει. διὸ πάντες τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο περισεπτὸν ἡγοῦνται, καὶ οὐ (φησι) τῶν κρεῶν ἀνὲρ δαΐσαντο. Πραῖσιτοι δὲ καὶ ἱέρα μερόσιν νι, καὶ αὐτῇ προτελῆς αὐτοῖς ἡ θυσία νερόμισται." τὰ παραπλησια ἰστορεῖ καὶ Νεάνθης ὁ Κιζικηνὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τελευτῆς [Neanthes *frags.* 25 (*frags. hist. Gr.* iii. 8 Muller)], Eustath. *in Il.* p. 773, 14 ff. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ὕς ἄλλοιως ἐχει τερατεύεται γὰρ εἰς οὐκὸν τι πρὸς τὴν αἰγὰ τὴν θρηψαμένην τὸν Δία, ὡς δηλοῖ ὁ γραφας ὅτι Διὸς ἐν Κρήτῃ

## 654 The Significance of the Bull

Agathokles uses of the sacrifice on Mount Dikte practically the same expression as Pausanias uses of the human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion<sup>1</sup>.

On Mount Lykaion the human victim was not only killed, but in part eaten at a common feast<sup>2</sup>. Are we to suppose that in Crete the same ghastly rule obtained? And, if it did, what was its purpose? Direct evidence is wanting. But, since the cult of Zeus *Idaios* as early as the fifth century B.C. exhibited Orphic traits<sup>3</sup>, we may venture to press the analogy of Orphism in Thrace<sup>4</sup>. A red-figured *hydria* from Kameiros, now in the British Museum (pl. xxxvi)<sup>5</sup>, shows Zagreus devoured by the Titans in the presence of Dionysos. The vase is of Athenian fabric and dates probably from the early part of the fourth century B.C. The grotesque style (found also in the slightly earlier vases from the Theban Kabeirion<sup>6</sup>) suggests that the artist has drawn his subject from the Dionysiac drama. Sir Cecil Smith describes the scene as follows<sup>7</sup>:

‘We see a group of three principal figures. The central one is a bearded man who faces the spectator, dressed in a short chiton girt at the waist: over this is a long cloak decorated with horizontal patterns, including a double band of ivy or vine leaves, and fastened by two flaps knotted on the chest; on his head is a cap which hangs down the back and has a separate flap on each shoulder. With his right hand he raises to his mouth—obviously with the intention of eating—the limb of a dead boy which he has torn from the body that he holds on his left arm. The dead child is quite naked, and its long hair hangs down from the head which falls loosely backward. The lifeless character of the figure is well brought out, in spite of the general sketchiness of the drawing,

τεκνονμένου θηλὴν αὐτῷ ὑπέσχετο vs. καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ γυναικὶ περιοιχεύεσθαι τὸν κνυζήμηρον τοῦ βρέφους ἀνεπαίστον, ἤγουν ἀγνώστον, τοῖς παμοῖσιν ἐτίθει. κ.τ.λ.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Paus. 8. 38. 7 (*supra* p. 70 ff.) ἐπὶ τοῖτον τοῦ βωμοῦ τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ θυοῖσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ with Agathokles *loc. cit.* (*supra* p. 653 n. 3) ἐπὶ τῆς Δίκτης, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἀπορητος γίνεται θυσία.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 70 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 647 f.

<sup>4</sup> The same significance should perhaps be attached to the Cypriot cult of Zeus *Eilafinastis*, the ‘Feaster,’ and *Σελανήνοτομος*, the ‘Entrail-cutter’ (Hegesandros of Delphoi *frag.* 30 (*Frags. hist. vi.* iv. 419 Muller) *ap.* Athen. 174 A καὶ Κυπρῳ δὲ φησι τιμᾶσθαι Πηγήσανδρον ὁ Δελφῶς Δία Εἰλαπινάστην τε καὶ Σπλαγχνότομον. Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1413. 24 καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ, Δία Εἰλαπινάστην καὶ Σπλαγχνότομον). A. Bouche-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 170 explained the title Σπλαγχνότομος of the diviner’s art; but W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 188 n. 1 rightly points out that Athenaios says nothing here about divination.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 188 no. I. 246. Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 343–351 with two figs.

<sup>6</sup> H. Winnefeld in the *Arch. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 81, 412 ff., H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1892–3 xiii. 77 ff., *id.* *The Art of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 52 f., 391 f., ii. 159 f., *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 372 ff., 1907 xii. 169 f., cp. L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xii. 289 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Cecil Smith *loc. cit.* p. 344.





Zagreus devoured by the Titans on a red-figured *hydria* from Kameiros.

See page 654 ff.



On the left advances a figure who is also bearded, and who expresses his surprise at the sight of the central scene by the gesture of his left hand; his long wavy hair, wreathed with vine or ivy, and the thyrsos in his right hand mark him at once as Dionysos. He wears a succinct talaric chiton decorated with vertical stripes.

On the right a bearded personage, attired in the same way as the central figure, runs away to the right, looking back, and extending his left arm as if in surprise. In his right hand he carries a long staff. Part of this figure has been broken away in the only damage which the vase has undergone, but fortunately no important part seems to be wanting.

The dress which distinguishes the two right-hand figures is that which in Greek art is invariably used to characterise the inhabitants of Thrace<sup>1</sup>.

But how comes it that the Titans are represented as natives of Thrace? These are not the great divine figures of the Greek Titanomachy, but ordinary human beings—Thracian chieftains or the like. The fact is that the word *Titán*, as F. Solmsen in one of his latest papers points out<sup>2</sup>, meant 'King' and nothing more. It

<sup>1</sup> K. Dilthey in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxix. 179 n. 1 cited Hdt. 7. 75 Θρήκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκῆας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα λιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, Xen. an. 7. 4. 4 καὶ τότε δῆλον ἐγένετο οὐ ἔνεκα οἱ Ὠρεῖες τὰς ἀλωπεκῆας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς, καὶ ζειράς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμῖδας.

<sup>2</sup> F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 35 n. 1 *ind.*: \*Títān ion. Títēr.. schliesst sich zusammen mit dem Namen des attischen Demos Τιταλίδαι, für den Länge der ersten Silbe durch die Schreibung Τεταλίδαι I G. III 1121 III 9 (neben Τίτταλίδης 2039. 2040) erwiesen wird und den wir trotz des Widerspruches der antiken Etymologen von dem des attischen Autochthonen Τιτακός Hdt. 9. 73 ableiten dürfen (Topffer Att. Gen. 289 ff.). Eine Nebenform des letzteren, τιταξ, besser τίταξ, erklärt Hesych. durch ἐντιμος ἢ δυνάστης; οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς; zu ihr steht Τιτῶν, wie ein 459/8 gefallener Athener Ἐρεχθίδος I G. I 433 III 53 heisst, in demselben Verhältnis wie Σάλλων zu Σάλλας o. S. 8 Anm. 3. Mit der Glossierung von τίταξ vergleicht sich auf nächste die von τιτήραι βασιλεῖς, das von dem Lexikographen aus des Aeschylus Ἐκτορος Λύτρα (Fgm. 272 Nck.) angeführt wird. Aus all dem zusammengekommen ergibt sich für Títēr als die richtige Deutung die schon von Preller (Myth.<sup>4</sup> I. 44 f. Anm. 3) befurwortete: es ist samt den anderen Nomina Weiterbildung von τίρος (πολύ-τίρος Epigramm bei Hdt. 5. 92) 'geehrt, geschaut,' dem Partizip zu τίω τίσω ἐτίσω πετυμένος τιμῇ (zu ai ἀγῆται 'scheut, ehrt' ἀγῆσι 'Ehrfurcht bezeugend' W. Schulze Quaest. ep. 355). Der Name hat grade so allgemeinen, farblosen Sinn wie zahlreiche andere Gottheitsbezeichnungen der 'mykenischen' Zeit (Beitr. z. griech. Wortf. I. Teil S. 81 f.).

I was formerly (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 177) inclined to accept the conjecture of M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 81 ff. that Títēr is a reduplicated form of \*Tav, 'Zeus' (Citan Tāva, Tavós, etc.). But the reduplication Tí- is insufficiently supported by the alleged parallels (Σίσυφος, κίλινς, πῖφαύσκω).

A. Dieterich in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1893 xlviii. 280 and Miss Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 493 f. *Thomis* p. 15 have independently suggested that Orphic worshippers, about to tear the sacred bull, daubed themselves with white clay (τίτᾶνος) and were therefore known as \*Títānos, 'White-clay-men,' the name Títānes, 'Titans,' being due to mere confusion on the part of Onomakritos (Paus. 8. 37. 5). It is indeed probable enough that Orphic worshippers smeared themselves with gypsum. But—apart from the fact



was therefore an appropriate appellation of the deities belonging to a bygone age. But it could also be used, as by Aischylos<sup>1</sup>, of royalty in general. It would seem, then, that the Titans who devoured Zagreus were simply Thracian dynasts or kings. And we may fairly conjecture that behind the myth as it meets us in literature and art lies a cannibal custom, in accordance with which the chieftains of Thrace actually devoured, in part or in whole, a dismembered child and thereby assimilated the virtue of the new-born god<sup>2</sup>.

If the rite thus evidenced for Thrace once existed in Crete also, we might look to find traces of it at various intermediate points in the Greek archipelago. Nor should we look in vain. Stepping-stones between Thrace and Crete are the islands Tenedos, Lesbos, and Chios. All three had their tradition of men slain, if not actually eaten, in the service of Dionysos. Porphyrios, who draws up a long list of human sacrifices, writes: 'In Chios too they used to rend a man in pieces, sacrificing him to Dionysos *Omádios* ("the god of Raw Flesh"), as they did also in Tenedos, according to Euelpis the Carystian!'. Clement of Alexandria, after recording the Lyttian custom of slaying men for Zeus, continues immediately:

And Dosidas states that the Lesbians bring the like sacrifice to Dionysos<sup>3</sup>. Euphrantides the seer, who before the battle of Salamis

that the Orphic Titans are never called \**Títānoi* or the like—the word used of this action is regularly *γέφος*, not *τίτανος* (see the passages cited by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 653 ff., L. Weniger in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 241 ff.). No ancient author connects *Títānes* with *τίτανος* till we come to Iusath. in *L.* p. 332, 23 ff., who states—not that the Titans got their name from *τίτανος*—but that *τίτανος* got its name from the Titans reduced to dust and ashes by the thunderbolts of Zeus. In any case there can be no etymological connexion between the two words.

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. s.v. *τιτῆναι*: βασιλίδες. - Αἰσχύλος *Φρυγίαν* ins. Sopring - ἡ *Εκτορος Αἰτρώϊς*. So also Hesych. s.v. *τιτῆν* (*τιτῆν* com. M. Schmidt): ἡ βασιλευσα *τίταξ*: *ἐντυιος*. ἡ *δενάστης*. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Lobe-Lor.* 1905 xvi. 324 f.: 'Livy [i. 16. 4], after giving the usual tradition that Romulus disappeared in a thunder-storm, mentions the "very obscure tale" that he was torn to pieces by the hands of the fathers. Plutarch [v. *Rom.* 27] too, though persuaded that Romulus was caught up to heaven, records the belief that the senators had fallen upon him in the temple of Vulcan and divided his body between them, every man carrying away a portion of it in his robe. Dionysius [ant. *Rom.* 2. 56] says much the same, though he makes the senate-house the scene of the murder, and adds that those who carried away the king's flesh in their garments buried every man his fragment in the earth.'

<sup>3</sup> Porph. *de abst.* 2. 55: Euscb. *πραξ.* cv. 4. 16. 5 *ἔθνον δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ Ὀμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἀνθρώπων διασπῶντες, καὶ ἐν Τενέδῳ, ὡς φησὶν Εὐέλπις ὁ Καρύστιος* (Euelpis *μαξ.* i (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 408 Muller)). cp. Euscb. *de laud. const.* 636 c. *ἐν Χίῳ δὲ τῷ Ὀμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ, ἀνθρώπων διασπῶντες, ἔθνον*. So Orph. *h. Dion.* 30 5 *ὠμάδιον, τρεῖς τῆ. κ. τ.λ., id. h. tritac.* 52. 7 *ὠμάδιε, σκηπτοίχε, κ. τ.λ.*, Scholl. *Stuckmund anted.* i. 268 *ἐπιθέτα Διονύσου*. 42 *Ὀμαδίον*. i. 276 *Ὀμαδίος*, i. 282 *Ὀμαδίος*.

<sup>4</sup> Clem. Al. *Protr.* 3. 42. 5 p. 32, 5 f. Stahlin - Euscb. *πραξ.* cv. 4. 16. 12 *καὶ Αργείους*

bade Themistokles sacrifice three noble Persians to Dionysos *Omestés* ("the Eater of Raw Flesh")<sup>1</sup>, had these and perhaps other such cases in mind.

On the whole it seems likely enough that in Crete the part of Zagreus was originally played by a human victim, who was not only killed but eaten by the local king or kings. A remarkable passage in the *Odyssey* describes Minos as a sort of ogre<sup>2</sup>. Commentators usually explain that he acquired this evil name on account of the cruel tribute exacted by him from the Athenians

την ομοίαν προσαγειν ημισιν Δωσιδας λέγει (Dosiades frag. 5 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* iv. 400 Muller)).

<sup>1</sup> Plout. τ. *Them.* 13. Θεμιστοκλῆ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη σφαγιαζομένῳ τρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι, κάλλιστοι μὲν ιδέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, ἐσθῆσι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι διαπρεπῶς. ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδαύκης παῖδες εἶναι τῆς βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταύκτου τούτους ἰδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς αἰα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ, αἰα δὲ πταρὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμνη, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων καταρξασθαι καὶ καθεμεῖναι πάντας Ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ προσενέζαμενον οὕτω γὰρ ἀρα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νικην ἐρεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὡς κεύρα τὸ μάντευμα καὶ δεινόν, οἷον εἰώθεν ἐν μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ πράγμασι χαλεποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων ἢ τῶν εὐλόγων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀμα κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμάλωτοις τῷ βωμῷ προσαγαγόντες ἠνάγκασαν. ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκε (*Phanias frag.* 8 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* ii. 295 Muller)). Plout. τ. *Pelop.* 21. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους σφαγιασθέντας Ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας, Plout. τ. *Arist.* 9. ἐν δὲ τοῖτοις (Persians captured on Pyttaleia by Aristieides) ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς βασιλέως ὄνομα Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παῖδες, οὓς εὐθὺς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ λέγονται κατὰ τι λόγιον, τοῦ μάντεως Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, Ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι, Tzetz. *elleg. II.* p. 109, G. Hermann (printed at the end of *Draco Statuonicensis liber de metris poetis* ed. G. Hermann Lipsiae 1812) τοιαύτας ἦν θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου Εὐφραντίδης μάντις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Μεγιστίας ὁ Ἀκαρνάν· καὶ Πλούταρχος μέμνηται τοῦ τοιαυτην ἡμισίαν ποιῆσαι Τίτον καὶ Οὐάλλέριον, τοὺς Βρούτου νιούς καὶ τοὺς Κολλατίου ἀνεψίους, ἀνθρώπων ἀποσφάζοντας καὶ τῶν ἐλάτων αὐτοῦ γενοσάμενους· καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἢ ἡ παλαιὰ ἱερατικῇ. Phanias of Frosos was a pupil of Aristotle and a pain-taking historian (*W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1911 II. 1. 59 f.), and such sacrifices in time of war were not unknown (see the context in Plout. τ. *Pelop.* 21). It is only too probable that the Persian youths met their fate as described by Plutarch.

(Cf. also Plout. τ. *Ant.* 24. εἰς γοῖν Ἐφέσον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες μὲν εἰς Βίλας, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς Σατύριον καὶ Πάνας ἡγοῦντο διεσπασμένοι. κίττῳ δὲ καὶ θήρῳ καὶ ψαλτήριον καὶ σπρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ἡ πόλις ἦν πλέα, Διόνισον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλομένων Χαμηδότην καὶ Μελίκιον. ἦν γὰρ ἀμέλει τοιοῦτος ἐνίοις, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς Ὠμηστῆς καὶ Ἀρμῆνιος. ἀφημῆτο γὰρ εὐγυνεῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ ὄντα μαστιγίαις καὶ κόλασι χαρίζομενος, κ.τ.λ., Plout. *de solut.* II. 13. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ νάρθηξ ἱκανὸς κολαστῆς τοῦ μεθύοντος, ἀν μὴ προσγενόμενος ὁ θιυὸς Ὠμηστῆν καὶ Μαινολῆν ἀπὸ Ἀναίων καὶ Χορείων πολεσθῆναι τὸν ἄκρατον, *Aristot.* 18. 59. Ὠμηστῆς (Ὠμηστῆς Pantomus, Walz) Διωνυσος· ἐπὶ τῶν ὡυότατα καὶ ἀπανθρώπωτατα πραττόντων· τοιῷ γὰρ ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους ζῆθον οἱ πάλοι, *Ant. Pl.* 9. 524. 25. ὡμηστῆν, κ.τ.λ. *Ant. Pl.* II. 13. Scholl—Studemund *ant. Pl.* I. 268 ἐπίθετα Διωνυσος 43. Ὠμηστῆς.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* II. 322. Μίνως ὁλόφρομος. The scholiasts and *schol.* Q. καὶ πῶς "Μινωα εἶδον Διὸς ἀγλαὸν νύκτα". *schol.* T. πῶς οὖν θεμιστεῖ ἐν τοῖς νεανείοις οὐλοφρῶν ὢν;

## 658 The Significance of the Bull

But in the Berlin fragment of Euripides' *Cretans* Pasiphae says to him:

Wherefore if in the deep  
Thou art fain to fling me, fling; full well thou knowest  
The shambles and the murdering of men.  
Or if thou longest to eat this flesh of mine  
Raw, thou mayest eat: feast on and take thy fill<sup>1</sup>.

These words can hardly refer to the Minotaur and his victims. Or, if they do, what after all is implied by the tradition that the



Fig. 506.

Minotaur devoured youths and maidens? We have taken him to be the Cnossian crown-prince masquerading in a solar dance<sup>2</sup>. He too, like the Thracian chieftains, may have renewed his magic powers by tasting of human flesh<sup>3</sup>.

The memory of such enormities is slow to fade. A sarco-

<sup>1</sup> *Berlini Klassikertexte* Berlin 1907 v. 2. 75 no. 217, 35 ll. πρὸς τὰδ' εἴτε ποντίαν ρίπτειν δοκεῖ σοι, μὲντ' ἐπίσταςαι δὲ τοι; μαιῖφον' ἔργα καὶ σφαγὰς ἀνδρωκότοιοις· εἴτ' ὠμοπίτου τῆς ἐμῆς ἐρᾶς φαγεῖν, σαρκὺς, πάρεστι, μὴ λίπης θινὼμένους.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 490 ff.

<sup>3</sup> It may be that the atrocious language of *Il.* 4. 35 f. (Zeus to Hera) ὦμόν βεβρώτοισι Πριάμῳ Πριάμοιο τε παῖδας | ἄλλους τε Τρῶας, τότε κεν χόλον ἐξακέσαιο, cp. 22. 346 f., 24. 212 ff., Xen. *an.* 4. 8. 14, *Hell.* 3. 3. 6, Philostr. 7. *Apoll.* 4. 36 p. 154 Kayser, took its use in a grim reality and then, as civilisation increased, passed through the successive stages of tragic grandiloquence and comic bombast.

phagus(?)—relief in the Villa Albani (fig. 506)<sup>1</sup> shows portions of two scenes from Cretan legend. On the right is one of the Kouretes guarding the infant god. On the left three Titans make their murderous attack on Zagreus<sup>2</sup>.

### (5) The Cretan Zeus and Bovine Omophagy.

But to the Greek or Roman of classical times human sacrifice in general and cannibalistic omophagy in particular was a half-forgotten piece of barbarism<sup>3</sup>. A possible substitute for the victim was an ox<sup>4</sup>. A case in point is the curious sacrifice of a bull-calf at Tenedos, concerning which Aelian<sup>5</sup> writes:

'The Tenedians keep a pregnant cow for Dionysos *Anthroporhaistes*, "Smiter of Men," and, when it has brought forth, they tend it like a woman in child-bed. But the new-born young they sacrifice, after binding buskins upon its feet. The man who strikes it with the axe, however, is pelted with stones by the populace and runs away till he reaches the sea.'

In this singular rite the calf dressed in buskins was obviously the surrogate for a human victim in Dionysiac attire. We must suppose that originally a child, not a calf, was struck by the axe. And this raises the question whether the axe that struck him was not the very embodiment of the god, Dionysos 'Smiter of men'<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> G. Zoega *Le statue antiche di Roma* Roma 1808 II. 170 ff. pl. 81, F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 28 f. fig., Remach *Arch. Reliefs* III. 136 no. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Helbig *Gall. Class. Ant. Rom.* II. 90 no. 854 takes them to be 'rustics with beards, whipping a naked boy'. But why three of them (of the third the left foot only is seen)? And why such a frantic attitude on his part? Very different is the young satyr lashed by Silenos on a sarcophagus representing the education of Dionysos (Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rom.* p. 117 ff. no. 46 a pl. 24). Even if it could be proved that we have in the Albani relief merely a *genre*-scene, it would still remain probable that the type was based on a mythological *Typbild*.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. K.* p. 922 ff. and Index s.v. 'Menschenopfer' for the Greek evidence. Prof. J. S. Reid 'Human Sacrifices at Rome and other notes on Roman Religion' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 I. 34 ff. for the Roman.

<sup>4</sup> Porphy. *de abst.* 2. 54 f. = Euseb. *praef. ev.* 4. 16. 2 f. (of the man sacrificed at Salamis in Kypros to Agiaulos or Diomedes) τοῖτον δὲ τὸν θεῶν Διφίλος ὁ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεὺς κατέλυσε, κατὰ τοὺς Σελευκῶν χρόνους τοῦ θεολογοῦ γενομένου, τὸ ἐὶς εἰς βοῦν θυσίαν μεταστήσας. προσήκατο δ' ὁ δαυων ἀπὲρ ἀνθρώπου τὸν βούν· οὕτως ἰσάζειν ἔστιν τὸ δρωμενον. *ibid.* p. 417 n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ael. *de nat. an.* 12. 34 Τενέδιοι δὲ τῷ Ἀνθρωπορραίστῃ Διονεῶφι τρέφοισι κινύσαν βούν, τιλοῖσαν δὲ ἅρα αὐτῇν οἱ ἄνθρωποι χεῖρ ἑραπεινόνσι. τὸ δὲ ἀντιγενὲς βρέφος καταθιόντων ὑποδύσαντες κοθύρονσι. ὁ γὰρ μὴν πατάξας αὐτὸ τῷ πελέκει λίθοις βάλλεται δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν φεύγει.

Strattis the comedian wrote a play entitled Ἀνθρωπορραίστης, of which two fragments are extant (*frag. com. Gr.* I. 224, II. 763 f. Meineke).

<sup>6</sup> Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* V. 164 f. says: 'the cult-term ἀνθρωπορραίστης must be interpreted as the "render of men."' But this is a somewhat inexact translation apparently based on the ritual of Dionysos Ἰνμάδιος in the same island (*ibid.* p. 656). The verb

## 660 The Significance of the Bull

Later<sup>1</sup> we shall find reason to conclude that such was indeed the case, and that in Tenedos Dionysos was worshipped in the form of a double-axe. Moreover we shall have occasion to note the close resemblance of the Tenedian axe-cult to the axe-cults of 'Minoan' Crete.

Comparing, now, these ritual facts with the Orphic myth of Dionysos or Zagreus done to death in bovine shape, we can hardly doubt that in Crete too anthropophagy was early commuted into some less horrible rite, say the rending and eating of a bull. There was indeed much to connect the Cretan Zeus with this beast. At Praisos, an Eteo-Cretan town with a temple of Zeus *Diktaios*<sup>2</sup>, silver coins were struck c. 450—400 B.C. with the obverse type of a cow suckling an infant, who has been commonly and rightly identified as Zeus<sup>3</sup> (figs. 507<sup>4</sup>, 508<sup>5</sup>). At Phaistos a *statēr* of



Fig. 507.



Fig. 508.

highly picturesque style, which may be dated c. 430 B.C., shows Europe sitting on a rock and greeting the bull-Zeus with uplifted

παίω is 'to strike' rather than 'to rend,' cp. *ραιστήρ*, 'a hammer,' and the compounds *θηροραιστής*, *Γλιορραίστας*, *κυνοραιστής* or *κυνορραίστης*, *μητρορραίστης*, etc. quoted by Meineke *op. cit.* 1 224.

<sup>1</sup> *Infra* ch. II § 3 (c) 1 (o).

<sup>2</sup> Staphylos *frag.* 12 (*Fr. H. Hist. G.* IV. 507 Muller) *ap.* Strab. 476 *τοῦτων φησι Στάφυλος τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἔω Δωριεὺς κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ διηπεικλὸν Κόδωνας, τὸ δὲ νότιον Ἐτεόκρητας, καὶ εἶναι πολίχνιον Ἠράσσων, ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν.* See R. S. Conway in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 125 ff., R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 231 ff., L. S. Forster *ib.* 271 ff., R. S. Conway *ib.* 1903—1904 x. 115 ff., R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 222 f., R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 1904—1905 xi. 304 f., R. M. Burrows *The Dioscuri in Crete* London 1907 p. 151 ff. and p. 240 Index c. 7. 'Praisos,' Sir Arthur Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 1 105.

<sup>3</sup> Zeus enthroned with sceptre and eagle appears on the obverse of silver coins of Praisos from c. 400 B.C. onwards: he is often accompanied by a bull on the reverse, and is described by Mr W. Wroth and Dr B. A. Head as Zeus *Diktaios* (J. N. Svoronos *Nouveau catalogue de la Cité antique* Macon 1890 1. 288 f. pl. 27, 21—28, 28, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 70 f. pl. 17, 8 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* II. 196 pl. 42, 19, *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 476).

<sup>4</sup> L. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* in Série 1885 in. 161 pl. 8, 8 (Paris), J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* 1. 286 pl. 27, 2, *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 475.

<sup>5</sup> H. Weber in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1896 xvi. 18 f. pl. 2, 10, *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 475.

hand (fig. 509)<sup>1</sup>. At Gortyna coins of about the same period and of even greater artistic merit represent their union as consummated in the sacred tree<sup>2</sup>. Not unnaturally, therefore, when in the service of Zeus a substitute was required for the human Zagreus, the animal chosen was a bull. The resultant rites are described by Firmicus Maternus in a passage of great and even painful interest,

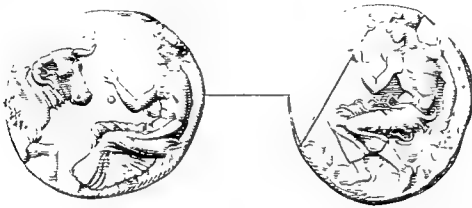


Fig. 509.

though written of course from the view-point of a Christian Euhemerist. Firmicus, dilating *On the Error of Profane Religions* for the benefit of the emperors Constantius and Constans (between 343 and 350 A.D.), expresses himself as follows<sup>3</sup>:

'There are yet other superstitions, the secrets of which must be set forth—to wit, those of Liber and Libera. And here I must convey to your sacred senses a systematic account with full details, that you may realise how in these profane religions too sanctity attaches to the death of men. Liber, then, was the son of Iupiter a Cretan king. Though born of an adulterous mother, he was reared by his father with more care than he deserved. The wife of Iupiter, Iuno by name, fired with the feelings of a step-mother, tried all manner of tricks to kill the child. The father on going abroad, well aware of his wife's smouldering rage and anxious to avoid guile on the part of the angry woman, entrusted his son to suitable guardians, as he supposed. Iuno, judging this a fitting opportunity for her designs and being more than ever incensed because the father on setting out had left both throne and sceptre to the boy, first bribed his guardians with royal rewards and gifts, and next stationed her minions called Titans in the heart of the palace and, by dint of rattles and a cleverly made mirror, so beguiled the fancy of the child that he left his kingly seat and, thanks to his childish desire, was led on to their place of ambush. Here he was caught and butchered; and, that no vestige of the murder should be found, the band of minions cut up his limbs joint by joint and divided them among themselves.

<sup>1</sup> J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 254 f. pl. 22, 35—37, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 61 pl. 14, 16, *Head Hist. num.* p. 473. The reverse represents Hermes seated on a tree-stump (?) with a *caduceus* in his right hand and a *Penthesilea* hanging from his shoulders. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection.

Other silver coins of the same town show obv. forepart of bull, rev. head of Europe (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 255 pl. 23, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 41 pl. 10, 9 attributed wrongly to Gortyna), or obv. head of Europe, rev. forepart of bull kneeling (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 255 pl. 23, 4, *Hunt. Cat. Coins* ii. 192 pl. 42, 12, *Head Hist. num.* p. 473).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 527 ff. figs. 391 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Firm. Mat. 6. 1—5.

## 662 The Significance of the Bull

Then, to add crime to crime, since they were much afraid of the tyrant's cruelty, they boiled the boy's limbs with various ingredients and devoured them. Thus they actually fed upon a human corpse—a repast never heard of till that day. His sister, Minerva by name, who had herself been party to the deed, kept his heart as her share, that she might have clear proof of her story and something to mollify her father's wrath. So, when Jupiter came back, his daughter told him the tale of crime from beginning to end. Thereupon her father, exasperated by the disastrous murder of the boy and by his own bitter grief, slew the Titans after torturing them in various ways. Indeed, to avenge his son, he had recourse to every form of torment or punishment. He ran riot in exacting all kinds of penalty by way of vengeance for the death of a son, who was none too good. The father's affection and the tyrant's power were here combined. Then, because he could no longer bear the tortures of grief and because the pain of his bereavement could not be assuaged or comforted, he made an image of his son moulded in gypsum, and placed the boy's heart, by means of which on the sister's information the crime had been detected, in that part of the figure where the contour of the chest was to be seen. After this he built a temple in front of the tomb and appointed as priest the boy's tutor, Silenus was his name. The Cretans, to soothe the fierce mood of the angry tyrant, instituted certain days as a funeral feast and coupled a yearly rite with a celebration on alternate years, performing in order due all that the boy had done or suffered at his death. They tore a live bull with their teeth, recalling the savage banquet by a yearly commemoration of it. They penetrated the solitudes of the forest uttering discordant cries and so feigning madness, that the crime might be set down to lunacy, not to guile. Before them was carried the basket in which the sister had concealed and hidden the heart. With the music of pipes and the clash of cymbals they got up a make-belief of the rattles by which the boy had been deluded. And so a servile people paying court to a tyrant made his son a god, though a god could never have had a tomb.<sup>1</sup>

The Euhemerism of this passage will be readily discounted. We are indeed likely to underestimate rather than to overestimate its importance. After all Euhemerus, to judge from the extant fragments of his famous work, seems to have based his theory of apotheosised kings in no small measure upon Cretan tradition<sup>2</sup>. The priests of his island utopia claim descent from Crete and appeal for proof to their Cretan dialect<sup>3</sup>. His Zeus *Triphýlios* has a couch, on which is set no effigy of the god, but a great golden pillar covered with records in a script resembling Egyptian hieroglyphs<sup>4</sup>. One may well suppose that Euhemerus had at least an inkling of the old-time glories of 'Minoan' Crete—its pillar-thrones, its aniconic cults, its linear pictographs. And, if he said that Zeus was a Cretan king when he ought to have said that Cretan kings played the part of Zeus, we can easily make allowance for the error.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 406 and in *Proc. A.S.P.* 1904 xv. 304 I suggested that the Euhemeristic belief in Zeus as a former king of Crete was based on the divine kingship of Minos.

<sup>2</sup> Diocl. 5. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Diocl. 5. 46, 6. 1.

## Zeus and Bovine Omophagy 663

Euhemerism apart, we note three points in Firmicus' account of the Cretan ritual<sup>1</sup>. It was dramatic: it was sacramental; and it was, to his thinking at least, self-contradictory. It was dramatic: for every year one might see the Cretans 'performing in order due all that the boy had done or suffered at his death.' It was sacramental: for they tore the live bull with their teeth in memory of the Titans feasting upon his flesh. And it was self-contradictory; for the boy, though dead and buried, was yet living and a god to boot. The closing sentence of Firmicus recalls the panegyric of Zeus attributed to Minos:

'A grave have fashioned for thee, O holy and high One, the lying Kretans, who are all the time hars, evil beasts, idle bellies: but thou diest not, for to eternity thou livest, and standest, for in thee we live and move, and have our being<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Firm. Mat. 6: 3 Cretenses, ut parentis tyranni saevitiam mitigarent, festos funeris dies statuunt et annuum sacrum triticea consecratione componunt, omnia per ordinem facientes quae puer moriens aut fecit aut passus est. Vivum laniant dentibus taurum, crudeliter epulas annuis commemorationibus excitantes, et per secreta silvarum clamoribus dissomis eulantes fingunt animi luentis insaniam, ut illud facinus non per fraudem factum sed per insaniam crederetur. praefertur cista, in qua cor soror latenter absconderat, tiburum cantu et cymbalorum timitu eripundia quibus puer deceptus fuerat mentiantur, sic in honorem tyranni carente plebe deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulchrum.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 157 n. 3. In the *Journal* of 1912 pp. 348—353 Dr J. Rendel Harris publishes a fuller version of the Theodorean matter, which he had previously cited from the *Ginn & Baker*. The following is found in the commentary of Isho dad, the Nestorian church-father, upon the *Acts of the Apostles* and is rendered: "The Interpreter [*i.e.*, Theodorus of Mopsesia] says that the Athenians were once upon a time at war with their enemies, and the Athenians retreated from them in defeat: then a certain Damon appeared and said unto them, I have never been honoured by you as I ought: and because I am angry with you, therefore you have a defeat from your enemies. Then the Athenians were afraid, and raised up to him the well-known altar: and because they dreaded lest this very thing should have happened to them, that they had secretly neglected one who was unknown to them, they erected this altar and also wrote upon it, *God, the never and the not God*, wishing, in fact, to say thus, that though there is a God in whom we do not believe, we raise this altar to His honour that He may be reconciled to us, although He is not honoured as a known deity: therefore Paul did well to take a reason from this and to say before them, *Ye worship God, to whom ye have raised an altar, not yet knowing Him, I am come to declare unto you*. There is no God whom ye know not, except the true God, who hath appointed the times by His command, and hath put bounds, etc. [*He hath appointed the times*, that is to say, the variations of summer and winter, spring and autumn.]

"In *Hymns to the gods and to the living and to the dead* and *to the gods and to the living and to the dead*, Paul takes both of these quotations from certain he then poets.

Now, about this passage, "In *Hymns to the gods and to the living and to the dead*", the Cretans said about Zeus, as if it were true, that he was a prince, and was lacerated by a wild boar, and was buried, and behold! his grave is known amongst us: so Minos, the son of Zeus, made a panegyric over his father, and in it he said:

The Cretans have fashioned a tomb for thee, O Holy and High!  
Thou, evil beasts, all, bellies:  
For thou diest not; for ever thou livest and standest;  
For in thee we live and move and have our being.



## 664 The Significance of the Bull

These lines, quoted from a lost hexameter poem by Epimenides (21), seem at first sight to be a flat negation of the Cretan faith, opposing to it a later and nobler conception of the deity. But, as spoken by Minos, they more probably preserve to us the view taken by the genuine mystic of Idaean Zeus. If so, we may be very sure that they contain no vague transcendental philosophy, but the main point and purpose of the Cretan cult. In early days the child that represented the god re-born, in later times the bull that served as his surrogate, was essentially a focus of divine force. Those who tasted of the sacred flesh and blood thereby renewed their life, their movement, their very being, for they became one with the god whom they worshipped. Such a belief, though primitive in its inception, was obviously capable of further development. Paul, when preaching at Athens, quoted the words of Minos and attached to them in perpetuity a significance at once deeper and higher. He must have been aware that the fine concluding phrase referred originally to the Cretan Zeus; for elsewhere he cites Minos' description of the Cretans as given in the same context. Nay more, with the next breath he adduces from Aratos a line in which

So the blessed Paul took this sentence from Minos; and he took the quotation,

"We are the offspring of God."

from Aratus, a poet who wrote about God, and about the seven [planets] and the twelve [signs]; saying, "From God we begin, from the Lord of heaven, that is Zeus; for all markers, and seas, and havens are filled with His name; and also in every place, all men are in want of Him, because we are His offspring, and He out of His goodness giveth good signs to us and to all men. He moves us to come forward to work; and He ordains all that is visible and invisible; and because of this we all worship Him, and say, 'Hail to thee, our Father, wonderful and great!'"

<sup>21</sup> Plato also and others say that souls are by nature from God."

<sup>1</sup> Dr Rendel Harris refers them to the poem of 4000 lines written by Epimenides *περι Μινω καὶ Ραδάμανθιος* (Diog. Laert. i. 112). H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1912 ii. 188 f. conjectures that the line *Κρήτες αἰεὶ φεύσται, καλὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί*, cited by Paul in Tit. i. 12, came from the *προφήτεια* of Epimenides' *Θεογονία* (Diog. Laert. i. 111 *ἐποίησε δὲ Κοιρήτων καὶ Κοινηζάντων γενεσιν καὶ Θεογονίαν, ἔπη πεντακισχίλια*); and O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 176 agrees with him. But Dr Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1907 p. 336 f. acutely conjectures "that the early Cretans ate then deity sacramentally under the form of a pig and that, as in so many similar cults, they ate the animal raw. This would at once explain why Epimenides called them not only hars, but also beasts and gluttons."

Putting together Kallim. *h. Zeus* 84, Acts 17, 28, and Tit. i. 12, we may venture to restore the original text in some such form as the following. *σοι μὲν ἐτεκτεήσαντο τάφον, παννίπερταε δόσιμον, | Κρήτες αἰεὶ φεύσται, καλὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί | ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ σὺ θᾶνες, ζῶεις δὲ καὶ ἔσθασαι αἰεὶ, | ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ εἰμεν.* Dr Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1907 p. 335 f. (cp. *ib.* 1912 p. 350) restores - *τεμνον ἐτεκτεήσαντο σπεν, κῆδιστε, μέγιστε, | Κρήτες, αἰεὶ ζεῖδεῖς, καλὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί | ἀλλὰ σὺ γ' οὐ ἡνθρώποις, ἔσθας γὰρ ζῶς αἰεὶ, | ἐν γὰρ σοι ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα ἥδη καὶ εἰμεν.*

<sup>2</sup> Tit. i. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 17, 28 *ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ εἰμεν, ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς*

that Tarsian poet, speaking on behalf of the whole human race, claims kinship with Zeus—Zeus that made the stars, Zeus that was born as a babe in Crete.

### (η) The Origin of Tragedy.

The cult of Zeus annually reborn as Dionysos spread, with some variety of circumstance, throughout a large area of ancient Greece. Side by side with the bull it utilised other animals, especially the goat<sup>1</sup>. The Praesian tradition that the infant Zeus was suckled by a cow<sup>2</sup> was overshadowed by the common belief that his nurse had been a goat<sup>3</sup>. The Bacchantes are said to have torn asunder oxen and devoured their flesh raw<sup>4</sup>, but sometimes also to have treated goats in like manner<sup>5</sup>. And such was the type of Maenad idealised

ποιητῶν εἰρηκασιν τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰσιν. There may be a side glance at Kleantes. *h. Zeus* (trist.), 48 Πρασιῶν 4 ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος εἰσμέν. But it is clear that the main reference is to the apostle's fellow-citizen Arat. *phoen.* 4 f. πάντα δὲ Διὸς λεχημμένα πάντες τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰσιν. Note also that Aratos introduces Zeus as Lord of the Stars, thereby recalling the Cretan Zeus *Astrios* (*supra* p. 545 ff.), and that he actually goes on to describe the birth and rearing of Zeus in Crete.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 500 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 660.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 112 n. 3, 150, 529 n. 4. See further G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1130. K. Wernicke *ib.* i. 1720 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 357 οἱ δὲ οἴσας. μηδὲ Κρατίνου βακχεῖα ἐτελέσθη, ἃ ἐστὶ τοῦ ταιροφάγον Διονύσου. ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαινόντος ταῖς βάχαις. διέσπων γὰρ βοῖς καὶ ἡσθιον ὠμὰ κρέα. Eur. *Bacch.* 734 ff. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν φεύγοντες ἐξηλύξαμεν | βακχῶν σπαραγμόν, αἱ δὲ νεμουμεναις χλόην | μύσχοις ἐπήλθον χειρὸς ἀσιδήρου μέτα. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἂν προσεΐδες εἰσῆλθον πόρην | μυκωμένην ἔχουσιν ἐν χειρὶν δίχα. | ἄλλαι δὲ δαμάλας διεφόρουν σπαραγμῶν. | εἶδες δ' ἂν ἢ πλείρ' ἢ δίχην ἔμβασιν | ῥιπτόμεν' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω. κρεμαστὰ δὲ | ἔστασ' ἐπ' ἐλάταις ἀναπεφυμέν' αἵματι. | ταῦροι δ' ὑβριστὰί κεῖς κέρας θυμούμενοι | τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐσφάλλοντο πρὸς γαίαν διμας, | μυριάσι χειρῶν ἀγόμενοι νεανίδων. | θάσσον δὲ διεφοροῦντο σαρκὸς ἐνδύτῃ | ἢ σὲ ἵνα ψαῖαι βλέφαρα βασιλείοις κόραις. Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 377 ff. ἄλλη δ' ἔχονσ' ἀγόνισα βοοτρόφον εἰς βάχιν ἔλθῃς | ἄσχετα μαινομένοιο δορῆς ἐδράζατο ταῖρον, καὶ βλοσυροῖς ὀνίχῃσι χαρασσομένης ἀπὸ δειρῆς | ταυρεῖν ἀτόρητον ἀπεφλόωσε λαλίπτρην. κ.τ.λ., 43. 40 ff. καὶ τίνα βοσκομένην μελανόχροον ἐγγύθι πόντου | εἰς βοῆην ἀγέλην Ἡοσιδίου ἀλυατὶ λάδρω, | θιγαδὲς ἐρρώντο· τανυγλήνοιο δὲ ταῖρον' ἢ μὲν ἐφαπτομένη βάχιν ἔσχισεν. ἢ δὲ μετώπου | διχραδῆς ἀτίνακτα διέθλασεν ἄκρα κεραιῆς. | καὶ τις ἀλουητῆρι διέτμαγε γαστέρα θύρῳ. | ἄλλη πλεῖρον ἔτεμνεν ὅλον βοός· ἡμιθανὲς δὲ | ἵππιος αὐτοκταλὶστος ὑπὸ ἐκλάσε ταῦρος ἀρούρη' | καὶ βοὸς ἀρτιτόμοιο λιανδομένου κούρῃ ἢ μὲν ὀπισθιδίου πύδος ἔσπασεν. ἢ δὲ λαβούσα προσθηδίου ἐρύεσκε. πολυστροφάλιγγε δὲ ῥιπῇ | ὄρθιον ἐσφαίρωσεν ἐς ἡέρα δίρυγα χηλῇ. *Anth. Pal.* 6. 74. 1 f. (Agathias) Βασσαρίς Εὐρυνόμη σκοπελοδόμος, ἢ ποτε ταυρὸν | πολλὰ τανυκράϊον στέρνα χαραξαμένη, κ.τ.λ., Cat. 64. 257 παῖς c divols iactabant membra iuvenco, Pers. 1. 100 f. et raptum vitulo caput ablata superbo Bassaris.

<sup>5</sup> *Antech. Edoni frag.* 64 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ap. Hesych. s.v. αἰγίζειν· διασπᾶν. ἐκ μεταφορᾶς. παρ' ὃ καὶ τὸ αἰγίζεσθαι, ἀπὸ τῶν καταιγίδων. Αἰσχύλος. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν Ἠδωνοῖς καὶ τὰς νεβρίδας οὕτω λέγει. cp. Soud. s.v. αἰγίζειν, Ἠδωνος. Zonar. *λεῖ.* s.v. αἰγίζειν. The same custom is probably implied by Hesych. s.v. τραχηφόροι· αἱ κόραι Διονύσω ὄργια· ζοῖσαι τραγὴν περὶ ἤπταντο and perhaps also by the cult-legend of Paus 2 23. 1. But the most definite statement is that of Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19 Bacchanalia etiam praeter-

by Skopas<sup>1</sup>. The variation, which implies that the worshippers lived among neat-herds and goat-herds respectively, is of importance, because it enables us to gain some insight into that vexed question, the origin of Greek tragedy.

The two Athenian festivals prominently connected with tragedy were the Lenaia in Gamelion (January to February) and the City Dionysia in Elaphebolion (March to April). The one, being held in winter when the sea was dangerous for voyagers, was a domestic celebration, confined to the Athenians themselves. The other, being held in spring when visitors from all parts of Greece came crowding into Athens, was a much more splendid affair<sup>2</sup>. It is, however, to the Lenaia rather than to the City Dionysia that we must look for the first beginnings of tragedy. For the former was throughout of a more primitive character than the latter. Dr Farnell justly lays stress on the fact that, whereas the City Dionysia was under the control of the *Archon*, the Lenaia was managed by the *Basilis*. He also points out that the winter-month corresponding with Gamelion in the calendar of all the other Ionic states was Lenaion, and infers that the Lenaia was already a conspicuous festival in the period preceding the Ionic migration. Finally he observes that the Lenaia was virtually the Rural Dionysia of Athens<sup>3</sup>; for the Lenaia is not known to have been held in the demes or country-districts and *en revanche* the Rural Dionysia was not held under that name at Athens.

The exact site of the *Lenaion* is still uncertain, and will be settled only by future excavation<sup>4</sup>. But this we know, that the

nuncius immania tabula collit quibus nomen Oniophagus Graecum est, in quibus furore mentito et sequestrato pectoris sanitate circumplectis vos angibus, atque ut vos plenos de nomine ac modestate doceritis, capronum reclamantium viscera cruentatis oribus dissipatis. See further L. Lenormant in the *Ga. Rev.* 1879 v. 32 ff., F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1037 ff., A. Rupp *ib.* ii. 2250 f., A. Legend in Darmberg *Sagho Diet. Int.* iii. 1485, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Zeit.* p. 731 n. 3, Farnell *Cult. of Gr. States* v. 165 ff., 303.

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck *Scenographica* p. 223 ff. no. 1162, G. Tien in the *Mon. de Peint.* Paris 1902 pp. 317-324 with pl. 2 and figs. 1-6.

<sup>2</sup> A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre* (Oxford 1898) p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Farnell *Cult. of Gr. States* v. 212 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This is the fact which Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *Hermes* 1886 xvi. 615 n. 11 underlies the statements of Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀθηναῖος ἀγων Διονυσίου ἐν ἀγροῖς ἀπο τῆς Ἀγοῆς Ἀπολλωνίου ἐν τριτῷ Χρυσῶν (Apollod. *frag.* 58 (Frag. 11. 1. 437 Muller), schol. Aristoph. *Ich.* 202 ἀγὼν τὰ κατ' ἀγροῖς τὰ Ἀθηναία Ἀγῶνισσα, ἐνθ' ἐν τὰ Ἀθηναία καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγὼν τελεῖται τῷ Διονυσίῳ Ἀθηναίων γὰρ ἑστὶν ἐν ἀγροῖς τερπὸν τοῦ Διονυσίου, κ.τ.λ., 503 τὸ δὲ δεῖτερον ἐν ἀγροῖς, οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀγῶνιστος, κ.τ.λ.: see A. Fickenshaus in the *Jahrb. d. k. u. deut. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 821.

<sup>5</sup> On this complicated problem read by all means the lucid accounts of W. Judeich *Lebensgeschichte von Athen* München 1905 p. 263 n. 10 (who inclines to place the *Lenaion*



nexion with *lenós*, a 'wine-press,' defies both philology and common sense<sup>1</sup>. At most we can admit that the jingle between *lenai* and *lenós* led the populace in ancient times, as it has led the learned in modern times, to confuse two words which in their origin and usage were entirely distinct<sup>2</sup>.

An examination of the evidence for *lenai* and its derivatives proves that the word was used by Arcadians, Ionians, and Dorians alike. It is obviously a very old term for the female devotees of Dionysos. With their ritual we are imperfectly acquainted. The festival-calendar from Mykonos says:

ON THE TENTH OF LIMNION a hymn must be sung on behalf of the crops while a pregnant sow that has not previously had a litter is sacrificed to Demeter, an ungelded boar to Kore, a young pig to Zeus *Bouleus*. The *hieropoioi* are to provide these victims from the sacred fund, and with them wood and barley-meal. The magistrates and priests shall see to it that the victims are satisfactory. If there is any need of a second and satisfactory sacrifice, the *hieropoioi* are to provide it. Any woman of Mykonos that wishes it shall come to the festival and any women dwelling in Mykonos that have been initiated into the rites of Demeter. ON THE FIFTEENTH a yearling is brought to Totaplethos? for Semele. This is divided into nine portions (of which one is burnt for Semele and the other eight are eaten by the worshippers). ON THE TWELFTH a yearling is sacrificed to Dionysos *Lenueus*. On behalf of the crops black yearlings stripped of their skins are sacrificed to Zeus *Chthoniós* and Ge *Chthoniá*. No stranger may perform the sacrifice. The participants are to eat it on the spot.<sup>3</sup>

Ἐπιλήναιος (W. Judeich in the *Altertümer von Histiaia* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.*, Ergänzungsheft iv) Berlin 1898 p. 89 no. 46, 1), and Ἀναγορας (*Antiq. Pal.* 6, 26, 2 (Makdonios)).

Cp. Hesych. s.v. Ἀληνέουσι βαλχεύουσιν, Soud. s.v. Ἀληνίς, Ἀληνίδος. ἡ βαλχη, *et. m.* 564, 4 and *et. Gud.* p. 368, 12 Ἀληνίς σημαίνει τὴν βαλχην· κ.τ.λ., Lustrath. in *Il.* p. 629, 31 αἱ δὲ ῥήθεισαι (sc. Βάλχαι) καὶ Ἀληνίδες λεγόνται κ.τ.λ. (but *Zonar.* l. vi. s.v. Ἀληνίς· ἡ μέθη).

<sup>1</sup> Dr Farnell in the *Class. Rev.* 1900 xiv. 375 rightly insisted that Ἀληναιος must be derived from a stem in *a* (Ἀληναι), not in *o* (Ἀληνός). And all the writers cited *supra* p. 667 n. 3 have been struck by the absurdity of a 'wine-press' festival in mid-winter!

<sup>2</sup> M. P. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 275 (after H. von Protz in the *Arch. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 226) shows that Ἀληναι, which occurs outside the Ionic area without change of vowel, had an original *ε*, but that Ἀληνός, which occurs in Dione as Ἀληνός, had an original *α*.

<sup>3</sup> J. de Protz *Leges Graecorum sacrarum* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 13 ff. no. 4, 15 ff., Michel *Recueil d'Insr.* 39, no. 714, 15 ff., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr.* Gr. 2 no. 615, 15 ff. Ἀληναιῶνος δεκατη ἐπὶ ὠδῇ ὑπὲρ καρποῦ Δήμητρι ἐν ἐννεμόνα πρῶτοτολον, ἢ Κόρηι κάπρον τέλειον, Διὶ Βουλῇ χοῖρον. ταῦτα διδόντων ἱεροποιοὶ ἀπο τοῦ ἐροῦ ἀργυρίου, καὶ ξύλα διδόντων καὶ ὄλας. ἐπιμελέσθων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ὡς καλὰ ἢ ἀρχόντες καὶ ἱερεῖς. ἐάν δέ τι δέμη καλλιερμέν, ἱεροποιοὶ διδόν[τ]ων· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν [πελ]ί[α]ς[ι] τῶν Μικονιάδων ἢ Βοιλό[α] [ἐ]νη καὶ τῶν οἰκονῶν ἐν Μικρόν[ω] ὅσαι ἐπὶ Δήμητρι τετέ[λ]η[ε]ται ἐν δέ[κ]α[ι]ατη ἐπὶ Τόταπληθος (so de Protz and Michel, after Kumanowits ἐπὶ ΤΟΤΑΠΛΗΘΟΣ: Dittenberger reads ἐπὶ τὸ τα.ληθος, after Latyschew ΕΠΙΤΟΤ...ΛΗΘΟΣ) Σεμέλη ἐτήσιον· τοῦτο ἓνα τεύχεται. {δ}ιωδεκάτῃ Διονύσιω Ἀληεῖ ἐτήσιον· ἐπ[ι]δή[ρ] καὶ ῥῶν Διὶ Χθονίω, ἢ Χθονίῃ δορυτα μέλαινα ἐτήσιον} ξενωοὶ ἑρως, δαιμόνων αὐτοῦ.

At Mykonos, then, in the first century B.C. the full Lenaeon festival included the worship of the following deities:

Lenaion 10—Demeter, Kore, Zeus *Bouleús*.

Lenaion 11—Semele.

Lenaion 12—Dionysos *Leneús*, Zeus *Chthónios*, Ge *Chthonía*.

J. von Prott<sup>1</sup> points out that the deities of Lenaion 10 are the Ionian triad Demeter, Kore, and Zeus *Eubouleús*<sup>2</sup>, who correspond with the Peloponnesian triad Demeter, Kore (Persephone), and Plouton (Klymenos, Hades). He adds that at Athens the Lenaia was preceded by a sacrifice to the same triad Demeter, Kore, and Plouton<sup>3</sup>. It follows that the ritual of Lenaion 10 was a prelude of the Lenaia, not the Lenaia itself. This occupied the last two days, on which Semele, Dionysos *Leneús*, Zeus *Chthónios*, and Ge *Chthonía* are the deities recognised—a group of chthonian and agricultural import. Yet here again we must distinguish the Lenaia itself from its concomitants. Since Zeus *Chthónios* is named after Dionysos *Leneús*, while Ge *Chthonía* duplicates the earth-goddess Semele, we may conclude that Zeus and Ge were due to a later amplification. The preliminary hymn for the crops was balanced by a concluding sacrifice for the crops. Subtracting both prelude and sequel, we have left as the original recipients of the cult Semele and Dionysos *Leneús*. Provokingly little is told us about their actual rites. The yearling eaten by the worshippers recalls the omophagy of the Cretan cult<sup>4</sup>. And the black fleeces were perhaps worn by them as by Pythagoras in the Idaean Cave<sup>5</sup>. But beyond this we are reduced to conjecture<sup>6</sup>.

It is by no accident that the same Thraco-Phrygian pair, Semele and Dionysos, figure in the Athenian Lenaia. The old scholiast on Aristophanes states that

'at the Lenaeon contests of Dionysos the *daidoúchos* holding a torch says

<sup>1</sup> J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 16 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Inschr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 76 (Arkesime in Amorgos, c. iv B.C.) *Δήμητρι Κόρη Διὶ Εὐβουλεί*, *Δημοδίκη*, *Σίμωνος ἀνέστηκεν*, 77 (Arkesime, s. iii B.C.) [...μη...] ο.. *Δήμητρι καὶ Κορη* [καὶ Εὐβουλεί. Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 590 f. no. 5441 (Paros, c. v. 1 B.C.)=*Inschr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 227 *Ἐρασίππη Θράσωρος* Π...ρηιδ). *Δήμητρι Θεσμοφόραι καὶ Κορη καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεί καὶ Βαυβοί*, *Inschr. Gr. Del.* ii no. 287 *Α* 69 (accounts of *ἡμεροποιί* for 250 B.C.) *ὡς ἐγκύμων εἰς θυσίαν τῇ Δημητρὶ Δ*Π· *καὶ ὥστε τῇ Κόρῃ ἱερεῖον Δ*ΔΗΗ· *καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεί ἱερεῖον Δ*ΠΓ, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 505 n. 4 (accounts of Delian *ἡμεροποιί* for 246 B.C., line 22) *τῇ Δημητρὶ ὡς ἐγκύμων Δ*Δ· *δελφάκιον καθαρὸν Δ*ΓΓΓΓ· *ἀλλο δελφάκιον τῷ Διὶ τῷ Εὐβουλεί Γ*ΓΓΓΓ.

<sup>3</sup> *Inschr. Gr. ins.* Att. ii. 2. Add. no. 834 ὁ π 46 (Pleusis, 329-328 B.C.) *ἐπαρχὴ Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ καὶ Πλούτωνι Γ*· *ἐπιστάταις Ἐπιλήραια εἰς Διονύσια θύσαι Δ*Δ.

<sup>4</sup> *Mykonos* pp. 648, 650, 662 f., 664 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Mykonos* p. 646.

<sup>6</sup> Nilsson *Gr. Rel.* p. 277 ff.

"Call ye the god," and his hearers shout "Iakchos, Semele's child, Giver of Wealth<sup>1</sup>."

What happened in answer to this evocation, we are not told. But it is permissible to suppose that a figure representing Semele with the infant Dionysos in her arms issued from a cave or artificial grotto. The *cornu copiae* carried by the babe would mark him as the 'Giver of Wealth.' Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene holding the infant Ploutos was very possibly inspired by the Lenaeon representation of Semele<sup>2</sup>; on late coppers of Athens that show the group the child has a *cornu copiae* in his left hand<sup>3</sup>. How the cave or grotto would be managed, we can infer from the well-known vases illustrating the ascent of the earth-goddess. Miss Harrison in her study of these at first conjectured 'some reminiscence of Semele<sup>4</sup>,' and later wrote: 'We have before us unquestionably the "Bringing up of Semele."<sup>5</sup>' I understand her to suggest in the same context that the type as seen in the Attic vase-paintings was definitely based on the initial rite of the Lenaia. With that I should agree<sup>6</sup>. Hermes too was, not improbably, present at the ritual evocation<sup>7</sup>, and to him Semele may have handed the new-born babe. If Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene with Ploutos was inspired by the ritual figure of Semele with Dionysos, the same sculptor's statue of Hermes nursing the infant Dionysos<sup>8</sup> may have been based yet more closely on the succeeding scene at the Lenaia. And to the Hermes of Kephisodotos the Hermes of Praxiteles was near akin

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Rav. Aristoph. *i* iii. 479 καλεῖ θεόν: ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀγῶσαν τοῦ Διονύσου οὐ δῶδοις κατέχον λαμπρότα λέγει "καλεῖτε θεόν," καὶ οἱ ὑπακούοντες βοῶσιν "Σεμελεῖς Ἰακχέ πλουτοδότα" (*varianim popularum* s. Beigk<sup>4</sup>, *versus et canthonic popularis* 4 Hillel Cusius).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. O. Jensen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 668. "nahe liegt die Annahme, die *δοτριώδωρος* [Aristoph. *frag.* 520], *πλουτοδότειρα* [*ιδιὰ, μὲ, ἀδ. φ.* 39 Hillel Cusius] Eirene habe einst in Athen als Mutter des Dionysos gegolten: denn sie erscheint wie andere frühere Mutter (Dione, Thyone) später auf Vasenbildern als Bakchantin im Gefolge des Gottes [L. von Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1222]."

<sup>3</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Nam. Comm. Puv.* iii. 147 pl. DD, 94. *Bibl. Mus. Cat. Com. Attica* etc. p. 109 pl. 19, 5. Overbeck *Gr. Plastik* i. 8 ff. fig. 134 a.

<sup>4</sup> Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.* p. 278 f. fig. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Harrison *Themis* p. 418 ff. fig. 124.

<sup>6</sup> But I completely disagree with Miss Harrison's description of the grotto on the Berlin *Frater* (Hurtwangler *Vasensamm.* Berlin n. 736 no. 2646, *Mon. d. Inst.* xii pl. 4). She says (*Themis* p. 418 f.): 'We have a great mound of earth artificially covered in with a thick coat of white. On it are painted a tree, leaf-sprays and a tortoise. From the top of the mound rises a tree. It is a grave-mound, an *omphalos*-sanctuary,' etc. I see no tortoise or grave-mound or *omphalos*, nothing in fact but a would-be cavern.

<sup>7</sup> He awaits the *anodos* of Pherophatta on a *krater* at Dresden (P. Herrmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 166 f. Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.* p. 277 fig. 67).

<sup>8</sup> *Plin. nat. hist.* 34. 87.

It would seem, in fact, that the Lenaeon festival made important contributions, not only to Greek literature, but also to Greek art.

A. Frickenhaus has recently attempted to prove that a whole series of Athenian vases extending throughout the fifth century B.C. represents scenes from the Lenaia<sup>1</sup>. Late black-figured vases, mostly *lékythoi*, show a wooden pillar decked with a bearded Dionysiac mask and sprigs of ivy: sometimes the mask is duplicated, and drapery added beneath it, or a flat-cake above it. As a rule, four Maenads are grouped about the *ágalma*<sup>2</sup>. Red-figured vases, usually *stámmoi*, complicate the scene. The god is more elaborately dressed, though he never acquires arms. Before him is a table, on which offerings of wine etc. are placed. The *entourage* still consists of Maenads<sup>3</sup>. In one case the pillar is not decked at all, but a Maenad on the left is carrying the infant god<sup>4</sup>. Various scholars from G. Minervini (1850)<sup>5</sup> onwards have interpreted the masked pillar as the Theban Dionysos *Perikiónios*. M. Mayer (1892)<sup>6</sup> suggested Dionysos *Orthós*, whom C. Robert (1899)<sup>7</sup> identified with Dionysos *Lenaios*. Combining these hints, Frickenhaus argues that at some date later than the ninth and earlier than the sixth century B.C. the cult of the Theban Dionysos came to the Lenaion, which he locates outside the Dipylon gate. Here year by year the birth of Semele's son was celebrated, his pillar decked, and his table spread<sup>8</sup>. In the absence of a definite inscription certainty is unattainable. But it will probably be conceded that the vases in question do illustrate the ritual of an Attic festival of Dionysos, and that this festival may well be the Lenaia<sup>9</sup>. If so, these vases strengthen our contention that the

<sup>1</sup> A. Frickenhaus *Lenaienvasen (Hinkelmannsfest-Prez.)*, Berlin (XVI) Berlin 1912 pp. 1—40 with figs. in text and 5 pls.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* pp. 4—6, 33 f. (nos. 1—10).

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* pp. 6—16, 34—39 (nos. 11—27 and 29).

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 20 f., 39 (no. 28).

<sup>5</sup> G. Minervini *Monumenti antichi mediti posseduti da Raffaele Brancaccio* Naples 1850 1. 34 ff.

<sup>6</sup> M. Mayer in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1892 xvii. 265—270 and 446 f.

<sup>7</sup> C. Robert *Der mude Sion (Hinkelmannsfest-Prez. Halle 1899)* p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> A. Frickenhaus *op. cit.* pp. 27—32.

<sup>9</sup> The rites of the Rural Dionysia are so imperfectly known that we cannot rule them out as confidently as does Frickenhaus *op. cit.* p. 26: 'Auch die landlichen Dionysien, wie sie Aristophanes in den Acharnern schildert, können nichts mit unseren Vasen zu tun haben.' It must not be forgotten that precisely at Acharnai there was a cult of Dionysos *Kiónios* (Paus. i. 31. 6 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*), who was near akin to Dionysos *Perikiónios* (O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1016). Moreover, the Rural Dionysia was but the country counterpart of the Athenian Lenaia (*supra* p. 666, *infra* pp. 673, 688).

Within the last few months E. Petersen 'Lenaen oder Anthesteten' in the *Klein. Mus.* 1913 lxxiii. 239—250 has attempted to prove that the vases discussed by Frickenhaus



infant god was exhibited at the Athenian Lenaia<sup>1</sup>. And I have long since maintained that in the table, which on the same vases is set before the dressed up post, we should recognise the prototype of the dramatic stage<sup>2</sup>.

Beside the ritual directions of Mykonos and Athens we have a rhetorical passage in which Clement of Alexandria<sup>3</sup> contrasts the frenzy of Lenaean fiction with the calm of Christian truth:

'So Kithairon and Helikon and the mountains of the Odrysians and Thracians, where men are initiated into error, have by reason of their mysteries been divined and hitched into hymns. For my part, fiction though they be, I can ill brook all these disasters turned into tragedy; but you have made the very recital of your woes into plays, and you deem those that act them a delightful sight. Nay, nay, let us take these dramas and Lenaean poets, - for the cup of their folly is full,—let us wreath them of course with ivy<sup>4</sup>, while they babble beyond measure in their Bacchic rite, and along with their Satyrs, their mad followers, and the whole chorus of demons to boot, let us relegate them to a superannuated Helikon and Kithairon. But for ourselves, let us summon from the heavens above Truth with luminous wisdom<sup>5</sup> and the holy chorus of prophets to come to the holy mountain of God.

The scholiast, commenting on Clement's 'Lenaean poets,' lets fall a brief but valuable hint:

'A rustic ode, sung over the wine-press, which ode itself included the rending of Dionysos<sup>6</sup>.'

refer, not to the Lenaia at all, but to the secret rites of Anthesterion 12, when—as he supposes—the *Basilinna* attended by her *Gerarai* was married to Dionysos, *i.e.* to a dressed-up pillar in the old Dionysion *ἐν Αἰνυαῖς*. But the arguments adduced in support of his view by this learned and ingenious scholar strike me as being far from cogent. It is, e.g., the merest assumption that the ritual marriage of the *Basilinna* took place on Anthesterion 12 (*infra* p. 686). And to argue that the vases cannot represent the Lenaia, because the Lenaia had no room for 'one exclusive Frauenfeier,' is to forget that *Lénaiá* means 'the festival of the *lenai*' (*supra* p. 667 l.).

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 670. *infra* pp. 695, 699, 707.

<sup>2</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 370 ff., cp. *ib.* 1907 xxi. 169 f.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Al. *Protr.* I. 2. 1 f. p. 3. 26 ff. Stahlin.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. *Cyp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 77. 21 (Athens, s. 1 A.D.), J. de Prieft *op. cit.* p. 7 ff. no. 3. 21, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr.* s. p. no. 692. 21 Γασηλιῶνος κίττωσις Διονύσου θι, on which see Mommsen *Fest. d. Stadt Athen* p. 374 n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Clement is, I think, pointedly contrasting the Lenaean rite as described by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*supra* p. 669) with Christian procedure. The former called up *fakehos* from below; the latter calls down Truth from above. The former relied for its illumination on the torch of the *didoche*: the latter has all the brilliance of celestial wisdom. The former involved a revel-rout ranging an earthly mountain: the latter witnesses inspired prophets pressing on towards Mt Zion.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Clem. Al. *Protr.* p. 297. 4 ff. Stahlin Ἀναγίνσκας· ἀγροικὴν ψῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀγρῷ ἀδουερῇ, ἥ καὶ αὐτὴ περιεῖχεν τὸν Διονύσου σπαραγμὸν. παννὴν δὲ εὐφρῶς καὶ χιρμῶς εὐπλῶς τὸ ἑκτὸ ἀναδρῶντες τῷ ἑκτῷ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι Διονύσου τὰ Ἀθηναῖα ἀνακείται εὐδελῶς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι καὶ ὡς παροιμία ταῦτα καὶ παροιμῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μεθουσίων συγχερόνται.



The connexion of Dionysos with the goat has recently been questioned by Prof. Ridgeway<sup>1</sup>. But he ignores the express statement of Hesychios that in Lakonike Dionysos was worshipped as *Éríphos*, the 'Kid-'; and the definite mention by Apollodoros of a cult of Dionysos *Eríphios*, the 'Kid-god,' at Metapontum<sup>2</sup>. It is the existence of these cults that gives significance to certain myths recorded by Apollodoros and by Ovid. Apollodoros relates that Zeus gave the new-born Dionysos to Hermes, who carried the babe to Ino and Athamas, that they might rear it as a girl. Hera in anger sent madness upon them. Athamas hunted his elder son Learchos like a stag and slew him. Ino cast the younger son Melikertes into a caldron that was on the fire, and then taking the dead boy sprang into the sea. She is now worshipped by sea-farers as Leukothea, and he as Palaimon. Finally, Zeus transformed Dionysos into a kid (*eríphos*) and so saved him from the wrath of Hera<sup>3</sup>. Prof. Ridgeway makes light of the tale as coming from a late writer. But it is never safe to pooh-poo the evidence of Apollodoros. And this tale in particular, though not written down till the second century B.C., obviously contains ritual elements of extreme antiquity. We have already noted that in the service of Dionysos a man was literally disguised as a stag, slain and eaten<sup>4</sup>. We have also remarked that in the cult of Dionysos' nurse<sup>5</sup>, this

<sup>1</sup> W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Ideas*, by Cambridge 1910 p. 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. s.v. Εἰσαφιώτης· ὁ Διόνυσος, παρὰ το ἑρράφθαι ἐν τῷ ὑμηῷ τοῦ Διός· καὶ Εἰρῆος, παρὰ Λάκωνιν, i.e. 7. Εἰρῆος (Εἰρήνης cf. Faber) = ὁ Διόνυσος.

<sup>3</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀκρωρεῖα, ἀκρον ὄρους· ἐν ᾧ οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἀκρωρεῖται· οὕτω δὲ ποιοῦν Σικωνίους ἐτιμάτο ὁ Διόνυσος· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν Σικωνίους Ἀκρωρεῖταις, ποιοῦν δὲ Μεταποντινοὶς Ἐρῆφος· Ἀπολλοδώρως φησιν. The insertion of ὁ Διόνυσος is rendered practically certain by Paus. 2. 7. 5; J. G. Frazer *ad l.* points out that the temple of Dionysos at Sikyon stood on the plateau, which was the acropolis of the old, and the site of the new, city. Not improbably kids were killed in the cult of the Sicyonian Dionysos, for a copper coin of the town, struck by Iulius Domna, shows a nursing Bacchant with a knife in her right hand and a kid (?) in her left (*Bull. Mus. Nat. Hist. Constantinople* p. 55 pl. 9, 19. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Const.* Pl. 1. 29 pl. II, 6 and 7).

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. 3. 4. 3, schol. Pind. *Isth.* argum. 1 and 3, *Erzt. in Lyk. II.* 229. Cf. throughout Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 45 ff., where however (as in schol. Pind. *Isth.* argum. 4) Athamas drops Melikertes into the caldron of boiling water and Ino pulls him out half-boiled.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 67 n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> At Brasiai in the territory of the Eleutherolakones Ino nursed Dionysos in a cave (Paus. 3. 24. 4, cp. Douris *frag.* 3 (*frag. hist. Gr.* n. 470 Muller) *ap. Erzt. in Lyk. II.* 104). In a pentameter of Kallimachos (?) cited by the *et. mol.* p. 372, 4 f. the nurse of Dionysos is *Epíphē* (cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 21. 81 and Arkad. *de accout.* p. 115, 18 Barker); on the authorship of the line see O. Schneider *Kallimachos* Lipsiae 1873 n. 722. Lastly, Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 1 ff. makes Athamas in his madness bind and flog a she-goat, which he takes to be Ino.

same Leukothea, a caldron was used to effect a ritual divinisation<sup>1</sup>. It might also be observed that at Tenedos infants were sacrificed to her son Palaimon<sup>2</sup>. Supported by the evidence of actual cult and embedded in this context of archaic rites, the statement of Apollodoros that Dionysos himself became a kid is not to be laughed out of court. Again, Ovid says that, when the gods fled into Egypt to escape Typhoeus, the son of Semele was turned into a goat<sup>3</sup>. And even Ovid, facile though he was and frivolous though he may have been, did not invent his *Metamorphoses* wholesale. Recent research is in fact tending towards the conclusion that he did not invent them at all<sup>4</sup>. And we have twice had occasion to accept as based on definite cult-practice transformations presupposed by this very Ovidian narrative<sup>5</sup>.

In the tale told by Apollodoros we detected certain remnants of Dionysiac ritual—the caldron of apotheosis and the young god transformed into a kid. I should conjecture that there was a version of the Dionysos-myth, in which the god boiled in a caldron and subsequently devoured was done to death not as a bull, but as a kid. I am further inclined to think that his worshippers, by way of identifying themselves with him, took the name of 'kids' and actually pretended to be seethed like him in a caldron. This may seem a rash guess. But it is not entirely unsupported by evidence. Hesychios informs us that a man who performed the rites of Adonis was known as a 'kid'. And we have seen that the Cretan Zeus, whose death and resurrection were annually enacted, was at the first hard to distinguish from Adonis<sup>6</sup>. Possibly, therefore, Kuster was not mistaken when he interpreted this strange gloss of some Dionysiac rite<sup>7</sup>. Again, if Dionysos was worshipped as *Eriphios*, the 'Kid-god,' at Metapontum, we might look to find some trace of the fact in Orphic formularies. Now A. Dieterich<sup>8</sup> with his habitual acumen pointed out that the lines engraved on

<sup>1</sup> *Sueta* i p. 419 n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Lyk. H.* 229 ff. καὶ δὲ Παλαίων δερκεται βρεφοκτόνος 'ζέουσιν αἰνείασι πλεκτανοστόλοις' ἡρισαν ζυνεινον Ὠγερον Τηνηίδα (the wording is curiously reminiscent of the Titanic caldron!) with schol. *ad loc.* Παλαίων ο Μελερτης. ο της Ἰνούς τως. οί τος σφύδρα ετιώατο ἐν τῇ Τενέδῳ. ἐνθα καὶ βρεφη αὐτῷ ἐθίσιαζον.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. pra.* 5. 329 proles Semelina capro.

<sup>4</sup> See the careful and critical summary in Gruppe *Myth. Ite* 1908 pp. 171—185.

<sup>5</sup> *Sueta* p. 370 n. 1 (Zeus = ram), p. 445 (Hera = cow).

<sup>6</sup> Hesych. s.v. Ἀδωνιστης ἐριφος.

<sup>7</sup> *Sueta* p. 157 n. 3, p. 530 n. 2, p. 645.

<sup>8</sup> See J. Alberti's n. on Hesych. *loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marburgi Catorum 1891 p. 30 ff. (= *Klein. Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 91 ff.), *ad. Eine Mittheilung zu*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 214.

the gold tablets from Corigliano constitute a hymn of eleven hexameters, in which the Orphic votary claims a happy entrance into the future life and receives the assurance:

‘Happy and blessed one, thou shalt be a god instead of a mortal.’

Dieterich further remarked that immediately after this hymn comes a twelfth line containing the prose *formula*:

‘I have fallen as a kid into milk’.

This enigmatic phrase he referred to the cult of Dionysos *Ériphos* or *Eriphios* and explained as a solemn pass-word, in which the mystic asserted that he too as an *eriphos* had now returned to his mother’s breast and, thus raised to the rank of a god, had entered upon the land flowing with milk and honey. Dieterich’s elucidation of the final *formula* is, however, incomplete; for it does not really justify the expression ‘I have fallen’ or adequately account for the ritual bath of milk. We must, I think, start from the fact, first noted by Dr Frazer<sup>2</sup>, that semi-civilised folk relish meat boiled in milk, but often abstain from the luxury because they fancy that the boiling would injure the cow from which the milk has been drawn. Among the Baganda, for example, ‘it is recognized that flesh boiled in milk is a great dainty, and naughty boys and other unprincipled persons, who think more of their own pleasure than of the welfare of the herds, will gratify their sinful lusts by eating meat boiled in milk, whenever they can do so on the sly’.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, tribes that commonly refuse to boil milk will not hesitate to do so on certain solemn and specified occasions: the Bahima cowmen are a case in point<sup>4</sup>. It is therefore possible that the original Thracio-Phrygian ceremony involved a ritual boiling of milk. At the Athenian festival of the Galaxia a mess of barley was actually boiled in milk for the Phrygian mother-goddess<sup>5</sup>. And Sallustius,

<sup>1</sup> *Inscr. Gr. Sic.* II no. 641, 1, 14 ff. οὐχὲν καὶ πακαρῶστε, θεὸς δ’ ἐσσι ἀντὶ θροῦτῳ ἐμφορὸς ἐς γάλα ἐπετοῦρ, no. 642, 4 ff. θεὸς ἐγγύερον ἐς ἀνθρώπων, ἐμφορὸς ἐς γάλα ἐπίτεες.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Frazer in *Introp. to the Study of Folk-lore* (London 1907) p. 151 ff., discussing the ancient ritual law ‘Thou shalt not scathe a kid in its mother’s milk’ (Ex. 23, 19, 34, 26, Deut. 14, 21), argues (a) that among pastoral tribes in Africa there is a widely spread and deeply rooted aversion to boil the milk of their cattle, the aversion being based on an idea that a cow whose milk has been boiled will yield no more milk, (b) that, notwithstanding this belief, the Baganda boys etc. do boil their meat in milk whenever they can, and (c) that the scriptural precept may have been directed against miscreants of this sort, whose surreptitious joys were condemned by public opinion as striking a fatal blow at the staple food of the community.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> See the interesting account given by my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe *The Baganda* (London 1911) p. 418.

<sup>5</sup> Bekker *anecd.* i. 229, 25 ff. Γαλαξία (Γαλάξια A. Mommsen) εὐοργητὴ Ἀθήνησιν μητρε

who allegorises her rites<sup>1</sup>, speaks of 'the feeding on milk, as though we were being born again; after which come rejoicings and garlands and, as it were, a return up to the Gods<sup>2</sup>.' Let us suppose, then, that the early Thraco-Phrygian 'kings,' the *Titānes* of the myth, after killing Dionysos as a kid, pitched him into their caldron and boiled him in milk with a view to his being born again. The mystic who aspired to be one with his god underwent, or at least claimed to have undergone, a like ordeal. He had fallen as a slain kid into the milky caldron: henceforward he was 'a god instead of a mortal<sup>3</sup>.'

θεῶν ἀγομένη, ἐν ᾗ ἐξοῦσι (εὐοῦσι A. Mommsen) τὴν γαλαξίαν. ἐστὶ δὲ πόλτος κρήνιος ἐκ γαλακτος (ἐν γαλακτι A. Mommsen), Hesych. γ. Γαλάξια (γαλαξία cod. γαλαξία Musurus, γαλάξια Ruhnken) εὐοῖται ἐν ᾗ ἐξοῦσι γαλαξίαν. ἐστὶ δὲ πόλτος κρήνιος ἐν γάλακτι. Cp. *Corp. insc. Att.* n. 1 no. 470. 13 (of the *εὐφροῖ*), ἐθίσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Γαλαξίαις τ[ῇ] μνηστῶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀνεθῆκαν φιάλην ἀπὸ δραχμῶν ἑκατον κ.τ.λ. Mommsen *Epist. d. Staat. Att.* p. 449 refers the Γαλαξία to Elaphebolion on the ground that in the Delian calendar Elaphebolion was called Γαλάξιος (cf. Γαλαξίων). See further P. Stengel and Bischoff in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 559 f. and 571.

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1541 n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* 4 ἐπὶ τούτοις γάλακτος τροφή, ὥσπερ ἀναγεννωμένων. ἐφ' οἷς ἱλαρίαι καὶ στεφανοὶ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς θεοῖς οἶον ἐπάνοδος trans. G. Murray.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 625 f.

<sup>4</sup> A somewhat similar belief may lie at the back of the Roman Lupercalia; for here too human 'goats' underwent rites, which are best explained (W. Mannhardt *Mytholog. h. F. u. Kunst* Strassburg 1884 p. 99 f.) as a mimic death and resurrection by means of milk. The relevant facts are the following. On Feb. 15 the celebrants met at the Lupercal, a cave in the Palatine Hill, and sacrificed goats (Plout. *v. Rom.* 21. Ov. *fast.* 2. 445 cp. 441. Val. Max. 2. 2. 9. Quint. *inst. or.* 1. 5. 66. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 343 and interp. *ut loc.*) and a dog (Plout. *v. Rom.* 21. *quintst.* *Rom.* 68, 111). In the Lupercal was an image of the god whom Justin calls Lupercus, nude but girt with a goat-skin (Just. 43. 1. 7). The *luperci* too were nude and wore about their loins the pelts of the newly-sacrificed animals (Q. Aelius Tubero (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 200 f. Peter) ap. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 80). They ran round the base of the Palatine striking those whom they met with strips of things cut from the goat-skins (Plout. *v. Rom.* 21. Ov. *fast.* 2. 445 f. Val. Max. 2. 2. 9. interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 343. Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 101, 21 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 441 Muller)). These *luperci* are described not merely as 'human flocks' (Var. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 34 *luperci nudis lustratum antiquum oppidum Palatinum gregibus humanis emectum*), but actually as *capri* (Paul. ex Fest. p. 57 Muller, p. 49 Lindsay). *i.e.* 'goats' (Paul. ex Fest. p. 48 Muller, p. 42 Lindsay. Isid. *orig.* 12. 1. 15: see S. Bugge in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1872 cv. 92 f. Preller—Jordan *Rom. Mit.* i. 389. W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* Oxford 1894 p. 98). Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Rom.* 2 p. 209 n. 8 says: 'man kann die *τραγοειστίαι* des griechischen Dionysos-dienstes zum Vergleich heranziehen'—an analogy noted by W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte* Berlin 1905 ii. 200. The ritual of the *luperci* is given with most detail by Plout. *v. Rom.* 21. 'They sacrifice goats. Then two young men of high rank are brought to them: whereupon some touch the forehead of the young men with a bloody knife, and others promptly wipe off the blood, applying wool steeped in milk. After this wiping the young men are obliged to laugh. Next they cut up the skins of the goats and run round naked except for their girdles, striking with the whips any one who encounters them. Young women do not avoid this whipping, because they deem it a help towards easy labour and conception. It is a peculiarity of the festival that the *luperci* sacrifice a dog likewise.' See

To modern ears this rite may sound not only disgusting but incredible. Yet a partial parallel can be found for it, and nearer home than we might have imagined. Giraldus Cambrensis<sup>1</sup> tells us how kings used to be inaugurated in Tirconnell, now the county of Donegal:

'There are some things which shame would prevent my relating, unless the course of my subject required it. For a filthy story seems to reflect a stain on the author, although it may display his skill. But the severity of history does not allow us either to sacrifice truth or affect modesty: and what is shameful in itself may be related by pure lips in decent words. There is, then, in the northern and most remote part of Ulster, namely, at Kenel Cunil, a nation which practises a most barbarous and abominable rite in creating their king. The whole people of that country being gathered in one place, a white mare is led into the midst of them, and he who is to be inaugurated, not as a prince but as a brute, not as a king but as an outlaw, comes before the people on all fours, confessing himself a beast with no less impudence than imprudence. The mare being immediately killed, and cut in pieces and boiled, a bath is prepared for him from the broth. Sitting in this, he eats of the flesh which is brought to him, the people standing round and partaking of it also. He is also required to drink of the broth in which he is bathed, not drawing it in any vessel, nor even in his hand, but lapping it with his mouth. These unrighteous rites being duly accomplished, his royal authority and dominion are ratified.'

It remains to ask—what is the bearing of all this on the origin of Greek tragedy? To put the matter briefly, it seems probable that at the winter festival of the Lenaia as originally celebrated by the Athenians a song was sung commemorating the passion of Dionysos<sup>2</sup>; and that this song was accompanied by a mimetic performance, a passion-play<sup>3</sup>, which ultimately developed into Attic tragedy. It is, I think, significant that Thespis came from the deme Ikaria, where it was an ancient custom to dance round a he-goat (*tragos*)<sup>4</sup>, that for the purpose of his tragedies he first smeared the faces of the performers with white lead<sup>5</sup>, as if they

further W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 310 ff., *id.* *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 478 ff., F. A. Hild in Darenberg *Saglio Dict. Ant.* iii. 1398 ff., L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1910 xiii. 481 ff. (whose attempt to show that the *Wundergeburtsceremonie* was a Greek cathartic rite added by Augustus is ingenious but hardly convincing).

<sup>1</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis *The Topography of Ireland* dist. 3 chap. 25 trans. T. Forester revised by T. Wright (ed. London 1905 p. 138).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 672 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 673 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Liato-thenes *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4 'Ἰκαρίον ποσὶ πρῶτα περὶ τραγὸν ὠρχήσαντο. Faurell *Culte of Gr. States* v. 234, 315 reads 'ἰάριοι (but B. Bunte *ad loc.* suggests that the line was preceded by *ἐνθα ἑταίροι* or the like), and justly infers 'that there was there some primitive mimetic service of the goat-god.'

<sup>5</sup> Soud. s.v. Θέσπης. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν χρίσας τὸ πρόσωπον ψιμνθῶ ἐτραγῳδῆσεν, εἶτα ἀνδράχην εσκεπασεν ἐν τῷ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσήνεγκε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσωπίων χρίσιν ἐν μῶν ὁθῶν κατασκευάσας = *Γυδοκ. τῆν'*. 471.

were so many Titans<sup>1</sup> smeared with gypsum, and finally that the titles of the plays rightly or wrongly ascribed to him by Soudas are the *Prizes of Pelias* or the *Phorbas*, the *Priests*, the *Young Men*, and the *Pentheus*<sup>2</sup>. The last-named tragedy certainly had reference to the rending of Dionysos; for Pentheus, a Theban embodiment of the god<sup>3</sup>, was torn asunder, if not also devoured<sup>4</sup>, by the *lênai* themselves. Aischylos too wrote a *Pentheus*<sup>5</sup> and dealt with the same theme in his *Xantriai*<sup>6</sup>, as did Euripides in his *Bakchai*, Iophon in his *Bakchai* or *Pentheus*<sup>7</sup>, Chairemon in his *Dionysos*<sup>8</sup>, Lykophron in his *Pentheus*<sup>9</sup>. The extant Euripidean play was neither the first nor the last dramatic presentation of the subject. Further, we can well understand how the incidents of the passion would be told of others beside Pentheus, who in this or that part of Greece had died the Dionysiac death. Pelias was cut to pieces by his daughters and boiled in a caldron in order that he might recover his youth<sup>10</sup>. Apart from the play attributed to Thespiis, Sophokles composed a *Pelias*<sup>11</sup> and Euripides a *Peliades*<sup>12</sup>. The myth of Pelias and that of Pelops<sup>13</sup> have been shrewdly and, I believe, rightly interpreted by Mr F. M. Cornford as presupposing a ritual of regeneration or new birth<sup>14</sup>. It is therefore noteworthy that the boiling and eating of Pelops were for centuries regarded as among the most popular of all tragic themes<sup>15</sup>. Moreover, Palaimon, once boiled in a caldron by Leukothea and later worshipped as a god<sup>16</sup>, was a stock character in the dramatic rites of the Iobakechoi<sup>17</sup>. From such personages the transition would be

<sup>1</sup> On Titan-dances see Ioukian, *ib. salt.* 79 η μὲν γὰρ Βαλχική ὄρχησις ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν Πορτῷ σπουδαίοντα. καίτοι Σατυρική οἶσα, οὕτω λεγέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐκείῳ πρὸς κατὰ τὴν τετραμένην ἐκάστην καὶρὸν ἀπαντῶν ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων λάθηνται δι' ἡμέρας Τίτᾶνας (Sommeil-Boulh. 17. Πάνας) καὶ Κορυβάντας καὶ Σατυροὺς καὶ Βουκόλους ὀρῶντες. καὶ ὀρχοῦντο γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ εὐγενεστάτοι καὶ πρωτεύοντες ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων οὐχ ὅπως αἰδομένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ φρονούντες ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι μᾶλλον ἢ περ' ἐπ' εὐγενεῖαις καὶ λειτοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ ἀξιομασί προσηγορίαις.

<sup>2</sup> Souda, s.v. Θεσπίς. ἀρχαῖον αἰνέσθαι δὲ τῶν δράματων αὐτοῦ Ἀθλα Πελλοὶ ἢ Φόρβας, Ἰερεῖς, Ἥθεοι, Πενθεὺς (c.p. Poll. 7. 45) = Eudok. *triv.* 471.

<sup>3</sup> A. G. Bather 'The Problem of the *Bakchae*' in the *Journal. H.E. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 244 ff. Farnell *Cult. of Gr.* *States* x. 167 f.

<sup>4</sup> Orphan. *frag.* 4. 304 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 60 f. Nauck<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* p. 55 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* p. 761.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* p. 783 f.

<sup>9</sup> Souda, s.v. Λυκόφρων.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 244 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 238 Nauck<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.* p. 550 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* *Rez.* p. 145 regards Πελλας as merely a hypocoristic form of Πελλοί.

<sup>14</sup> F. M. Cornford in J. I. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 243 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Ioukian, *ib. salt.* 54.

<sup>16</sup> *Supra* p. 675.

<sup>17</sup> S. Wide in the *Att.* *Mitt.* 1894 xiv. 148, 254 f. = 260 (line 120 ff. μερῶν δὲ γεινομένων αἰρέτω ἱερεῖς, ἀντιερεῖς, ἀρχιβαλχος, ταμίας, βουκολικός. Διόνισος, Κόρη, Παλαιμῶν, Ἀφροδείτη, Πρωτεύρηνος. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν συνκληροῖσθω | πᾶσι), 276 f.



easy to suffering heroes in general—Hippolytos dragged to death by his horses but brought to life again by Asklepios, Orestes reported as dead but returning to wreak vengeance on his foes, Apsyrtos murdered and di-membered by Medeia, Neoptolemos mangled beside the altar at Pytho, and many another who, as old-fashioned folk were apt to complain, had 'nothing to do with Dionysos!'

### (θ) The Attic Festivals of Dionysos.

Prof. G. Murray pursuing a different route has arrived at a similar, or at least analogous, conclusion. In a lucid and closely-reasoned note<sup>2</sup> he shows that Greek tragedies, so far as they are extant and so far as they can be reconstructed from extant fragments, normally contain a sequence of six parts—an *agôn* or 'contest'; a *pathos*, generally a ritual or sacrificial death; an *angelia* or 'messenger's speech' announcing the death; a *threnos* or 'lamentation,' often involving a clash of contrary emotions; an *anagnôrisis* or 'recognition' of the slain and mutilated body; a *theophânεια* or 'epiphany in glory.' Following a clue put into his hands by Dieterich<sup>3</sup>, Prof. Murray makes the really important discovery that Greek tragedy fills out the ritual forms of an old *sacer ludus*. This is what he is chiefly concerned to prove; and this, I think, he has succeeded in proving.

When, however, Prof. Murray assumes that the *sacer ludus* in question was the dithyramb or spring *drômenon* of Dionysos regarded as an 'Eniautos-Daimon' or 'Year Spirit,' I demur to his nomenclature<sup>4</sup> and I disagree with his presuppositions. Had he

<sup>2</sup> Phot. *cc.* 17, οὐδέν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον—Schol. 17, οὐδέν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον. Apostol. 13. 42, Zenob. 5. 40, Diogenet. 7. 18, Append. Prox. 4. 82; Strabo 381, Phot. *genf.* 1. 1. 5, Loukian. *Var. h.* 5, Liban. *ep.* 1. 881, Heliod. *Ad.* 2. 24, schol. Loukian. *Alc.* 53 p. 185, 9 f. Rabe, schol. Loukian. *de salt.* 80 p. 189, 29 ff. Rabe. Cp. the word ἀπὸ διόνυσος (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* 1. 2, 1820 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Printed as an excursus in Miss Harrison's *Tragedy* (Cambridge 1912) pp. 341–363.

<sup>4</sup> A. Dieterich 'Die Entstehung der Tragödie' in the *Deutsche Rev.* 1908 xi. 163–196.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Murray writes to me (July 6, 1913): "I want to put in a word of explanation about the Daimon, where I am not sure that you have taken my point. I could, of course, call him simply Dionysus, as the ancient authorities do. Only then there would have to be explanations for each separate play. Hippolytus is not Dionysus; it is a strain even to call him a Dionysiac hero. The same with Orestes, Oedipus, Actaeon, Pentheus even. It seemed to me simpler, as a matter of nomenclature, to say "Dionysus, though of course a complex figure, belongs so far as tragedy is concerned to a special class of beings called Vegetation Spirits or Year-Daimons. Tragedy, while in official cult specially belonging to Dionysus, readily accepts as its heroes all sorts of other people who are, in their various degrees, Daimons of the same class, and have the same set of Pathos." Thus in each case I can speak simply of "the Daimon."

been content to speak, as the Greeks spoke, of Dionysos with no new-fangled appellative, and had he cited the Lenaia rather than the dithyramb as providing the germ or ritual outline of tragedy, I should have found myself in complete accordance with his view.

This expression of partial dissent from the opinion of so high an authority as Prof. Murray makes it necessary for me to add a word as to the relation that I conceive to have subsisted between the dithyramb and the Lenaean rite. The dithyrambic contest was essentially the opening ceremony of the City Dionysia<sup>1</sup>, which began on Elaphebolion 9 and in the fifth century was over by Elaphebolion 14<sup>2</sup>. Now the Lenaia began on Gamelion 12<sup>3</sup>. The interval between the City Dionysia and the Lenaia was therefore just ten lunar months. My suggestion is that Dionysos was conceived at the City Dionysia and born at the Lenaia. The former festival was the Lady Day, the latter was the Christmas, of the Attic year. I take it that the dithyramb was properly the song commemorating the union of Zeus<sup>4</sup> with Semele and the begetting

<sup>1</sup> J. Girard in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 243. O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Re. n.-E. n.* v. 1024 and O. Cusms *ib.* v. 1207.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen *Fest. u. Stadt. Athen* p. 430 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* *ib.* p. 375.

<sup>4</sup> *Διθύραμος* has a suffix found in other words denoting dance and song—*ιαυζος*, *θραυζος*, cp. *ἰδυζος*. Boisacq *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 363 f. regards *ιαυζος* as probably a Thracio-Phrygian word. I would support his contention by pointing out that Iambe was a Thracian (Nik. *ac.* v. 132 *Θρηίσσης* · *Ἰάμβης* with scholl. *ad loc.* *Θράσσα δὲ τὸ γένος* and τῆς Θρακικῆς *Ἰαυζης*, cp. Proklos in R. Westphal *Metra scriptores Graeci* Lipsiae 1866 i. 242) and that *διθύραμος*, *θρίαμζος*, *ἰδυζος* are all Dionysiac terms, the first two being cult-titles of Dionysos himself (Athen. 30 v. 465 A. Diol. 4. 5. *et. mās.* p. 274. 45 ff. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1131. *αἰὲς*), the last the name of a dance used in his service (Poll. 4. 104).

The first element in the compound is *Δι-* for *Δι-* as in *Διφίλος* · *Διφίλος*, *Διπολεία* · *Διπολεία*, *Διπόλεια* · *Διπόλεια*, *Διπολία* · *Διπόλεια*, *Δισωτήρια* · *Δισωτήρια*.

The second element in the compound and the *μιν* for its interpreters is the syllable *-θμ-*, which cannot be satisfactorily connected with *θήρα*. I have suggested (in Miss Harrison's *Thema* Cambridge 1912 p. 204) that *-θμ-* is a northern form of *-θαρ-* (on *σ* becoming *ν* see O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Völkertum* Göttingen 1906 p. 242, K. Brugmann *Grundriss Grammatik*<sup>1</sup> München 1913 p. 36), and have compared Hesych. *Δειπάριος* · *θεὸς παρὰ Στυμφαίοις* a name which not only illustrates both the phonetic changes postulated by my explanation of *διθύραμος*, but also provides a parallel for the meaning that I would attach to it. If on the confines of Makedonia, Iperos, and Thessaly *Δειπάριος* denoted 'Zeus the Father,' it is allowable to suppose that in the same region \**Δειθρος* denoted 'Zeus the Begetter' (*θορος*, *θορή*, *θόρνυμαι*, *θρόσκω*, etc.). Thus *διθύραμος* could mean what in substance I believe it to have been 'the song of Zeus the Begetter.' In favour of this etymology is the fact that Apollon, who often has the same cult-titles as Zeus, was worshipped in Boiotia (?) as *Θοραίος* (Lyk. *ll.* 352 with *Τιερτ.* *ad loc.* *Θοραίον τὸν σπερμογονοῦ καὶ γεννητικοῦ*) and in Lakonia as *Θοράτης* (Hesych. *Θοράτης* · *Ἀπολλων παρὰ Λακωνῶν*). Agam. Arch. *μεγ.* 301 does not hesitate to describe Zeus as consorting with *Ἰὼ πρεποντα βοιθόρῳ τανῶν δειας*. And in the Dictaeon hymn six times over comes the impressive cry of the Chorus

of their child Dionysos<sup>1</sup>. His life-history, in which I would recognise the prototype of tragedy, was the theme of the Lenaeon performance.

On this showing tragedy belonged by rights to the Lenaia and was only later attached to the City Dionysia<sup>2</sup>. Conversely it might be maintained that comedy belonged by rights to the City Dionysia and was only later attached to the Lenaia. For the great god of the City Dionysia was Dionysos *Eleuthereus*, whose cult was introduced by Pegasos from Eleutheraï<sup>3</sup>. It is said that the Athenians at first thought scorn of the god, and that thereupon they were visited by a phallic disorder, which could not be cured till, both privately and publicly, they made *phalloi* in his honour<sup>4</sup>. Certainly such *phalloi* played their part in the City festival<sup>5</sup>; and Aristotle believed that comedy took its rise from

addressed to Zeus himself *ἦ ὦρε ἦ ὦρε ἦ ὦρε ἦ ὦρε ἦ ὦρε ἦ ὦρε* (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908-1909 xv. 358 line 27 ff.).

Finally, I should surmise that in *θημιστος* we have the weakest grade of the same root (*τεπ. ἠρδσκιω*). Hence the association of *θημιστος* with *διθύραυτος* (*Pratinas πιάς*, l. 16 Hiller = *Crusius ap. Athen.* 617 f *θημιστος διθύραυτος*).

<sup>1</sup> The exquisite dithyramb written by Pindar for the Athenians deals expressly with Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos. *Pind. frs.* 75 Christ (75 Schroeder) *ap. Dion. Hal. de vit. ant. rom.* 22 *Διόνυσον τέ υε σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ ἰδότε πομπὴν ἑνὶ ἀοιδᾷν ἡείτερον ἐπὶ κισσοδάῃ ἦσαν. Βρόμιον δὲ τ' Ἐριβρόν τε βρώσι καλεομέν. γούρον ὑπατῶν καὶ πατέρων μελπέειν γυναικῶν τε Καδμειᾶν [Σεμελιῆν] κ τ.λ.* (*op. Plat. dial.* 700 B καὶ ἄλλοι εἶδος ψῶδης) *Διονισσοὶ γένεσις, οἶναι, διθύραυτος λεγόμενος*, where *γένεσις* includes *γενετήσις*.

Further evidence tending to show that the City Dionysia culminated in the union of Zeus with Semele and the conception of Dionysos will be adduced, when we come to consider the festival of the Pandia (*infra* p. 733).

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 379 says 'Zur Zeit des Thespis und der älteren Dramatiker, im VI. Jahrh. und wohl noch im Anfang des V., hatten die Stadter keine anderen Schauspieltage als die der Lenaen, denen mithin sämtliche in Athen zur Aufführung kommende Stücke zuzuweisen waren. Das wurde anders, als man, verm. im V. Jahrh., die städtischen Dionysien stiftete.' This agrees with the results obtained by W. Vollgraff 'Dionysos Eleuthereus' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1907 xxviii. 367 ff. 77, that Eleutheraï was not incorporated with Athens till shortly before the peace of Nicias (421 B.C.) and that a temple was built for the *canon* of Dionysos *Eleuthereus* in the theatre-precinct probably by Nicias himself (c. 420 B.C.). But, in reply to Vollgraff, Farnell *Cult. of Grk. States* v. 227 ff. has made it probable that the introduction of Dionysos *Eleuthereus* and the constitution ('re-constitution': *infra* p. 692 n. 4) of the City Dionysia as his festival took place in the sixth century and were the work of Peisistratos.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i. 2. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 243, who describes the *φαλλος* as *ξύλον επισηκτες, έχον ἐν τῷ ἀκρῷ σκυρτινον αἰδοῖον ἐξηρημένον*.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit.* *πεισθέντες οὖν τοῖς ἡγελευνοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φαλλοὺς ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεσκεύασαν, καὶ τοῖσις ἐγέραιον τὸν θεόν, κ.τ.λ.*, *cf. C. I. fr. m. vi. Att.* i no. 31.11 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. m. vi. Gr.* 2 no. 19 a 11 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 72.11 ff. (in a decree concerning the colony of Brea, not much earlier than 443 B.C.) *ποῖν δὲ καὶ [πρόβατα] : [δῶν ἀπ' ἀπ' ἐς Παναθήναια τα μεγάλα καὶ ἐς Δ.] [ιονσι]α φαλλόν,*

this form of worship<sup>1</sup>, which was obviously appropriate to the season when Dionysos was begotten. Confirmation of the view that tragedy originated at the Lenaia, comedy at the City Dionysia, may be found in a curious but little-noticed fact<sup>2</sup>. At the Lenaia tragedy took precedence of comedy: at the City Dionysia comedy took precedence of tragedy<sup>3</sup>.

There are, however, traces of a different and probably older arrangement of the Dionysiac year. It can hardly be accidental that of the two remaining Attic festivals of the god one was held just a month before the City Dionysia and the other a month before the Lenaia. The Anthesteria took place on Anthesterion 11—13<sup>4</sup>; the Rural Dionysia, shortly before Poseideon 19<sup>5</sup>. Here, then, we have again the same interval of ten lunar months. And we may legitimately suspect the same cause—a conception at the

*Corp. inscr. Att.* n. 1 no. 321 b, 7 (in a decree of 278/7 B.C., which apparently refers to a procession passing through the Dipylon Gate) -- *τῆς φάλλας [εργίας]*.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle *Pol.* 4, 1440a 9 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen *F. u. d. Stadt Athen* p. 441 n. 2 remarks that at the City Dionysia first came lyrics, then comedy, then tragedy, and justly infers 'dass der Agon ursprünglich nur aus ernstem Lyrik und heftiger Dramatik bestand, und keine Tragödien vorkamen.'

<sup>3</sup> See the law of Euegoros cited by Dem. *in Mid.* 10 Εὐήγορος εἶπεν· ὅταν ἡ ποιμὴ ἢ τῷ Διονυσῷ ἐν Πειραιεὶ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀθῆναις ποιμὴ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀσπεί Διονυσίοις ἡ ποιμὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, κ. τ. λ. (Comedies precede tragedies also in the official lists of the contests at the City Dionysia *Corp. inscr. Att.* n. 2 no. 971, iv, 2 no. 9711).

A. E. Haigh *The Attic Festivals* (rev. by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge Oxford 1907) p. 23 n. 2 makes light of this evidence 'as there is nothing to show that the contests are being spoken of in order of performance, rather than in order of relative importance.' But since Euegoros arranges the same items in a different order, according as they occur at the Lenaia or at the City Dionysia, it is probable that he is giving the official programme. This probability is raised to certainty by the fact that his order agrees with that of the inscribed records, in which *εὐα* the name of Magnes precedes the name of Aischylos on a list of victors at the City Dionysia p. 469 B.C.

A. E. Haigh *op. cit.* Oxford 1898 p. 35, *op. cit.* Oxford 1907 p. 23 f. quotes Aristoph. *av.* 782 ff. οὐδὲν ἐστ' αἰετινον οἷδ' ἡδυν ἢ φύται πτερά. αὐτίχ' ἑνὺν τῶν θεῶν εἰ τις ἦν ἱπποπτερος, εἴτα πεινῶν τοῖς χοροῖσι τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἤχθετο. ἐκπαινεύς ἄν οἷτος ἤμισθησεν εὐθὺς οὐαῶν. ἀτ' ἄν εὐπνοήσῃς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αἰεὶς αὐ κατέπτετο and infers 'that the comedies were performed after the tragedies.' But, noting that this passage stands near the end of a chorus of 125 lines, I would rather interpret as follows. Aristophanes, joking at his own expense, imagines a bored and hungry spectator suddenly equipped with wings and therefore able to fly off home, get his bit of dinner, and be back in time for the next scene on the stage. That is surely the point of ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αἰεὶς αὐ κατέπτετο. If so, there is no allusion to tragedies at all, and we ought to accept the old emendation τραγῳδῶν, which was certain to be corrupted into τραγῳδῶν. The passage thus emended squares with the very weighty evidence of Euegoros' law and the official inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 354 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 351, on the strength of *Corp. inscr. Att.* n. 1 no. 578, 36 f. (a decree of Myrrhinos c. 340 B.C.) τῇ δὲ ἐνάτει ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ποσειδεῶνος μνην[ὸς] χρηματίζ[ει] [ἐκ] περὶ Διονυσίων, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv, 2 nos. 623 d and 623 e (records of the Dionysastai, who met Ποσειδεῶνος ἀγορὰ κερὰ).

Anthesteria, a birth at the Rural Dionysia. Thoukydides speaks of the Anthesteria as 'the older Dionysia',<sup>1</sup> presumably in comparison with 'the Dionysia', i.e. the City Dionysia, in the following month. The ritual of the Anthesteria with its *Pithoigia*, its *Chôes*, and its *Chytroi* is fairly well known. It culminated on Anthesterion 12<sup>1</sup>, the one day in the year on which 'the oldest and holiest sanctuary of Dionysos in the Marshes' was thrown open<sup>2</sup>. For what purpose this temple was opened, while all others were religiously kept shut<sup>3</sup>, we are not told. But we have at least materials for forming a reasonable guess. Beside the altar in the sanctuary stood a marble *stèle*, on which was inscribed a law relating to the *status* and chastity of the *Basilinna*, i.e. the wife of the *Basileus* who had presided over the drinking-competition of the *Chôes*<sup>4</sup>. Now it was the duty of the *Basilinna* to administer an oath of ritual purity to fourteen sacred women chosen by the *Basileus* and named *Gerairai*<sup>5</sup>, who took it standing at the above-mentioned altar and laying their hands upon certain baskets before they ventured to touch 'the holy things'. In view of the ascertained character of Dionysos *Eleuthereus*<sup>6</sup> I should conjecture with some confidence that these baskets contained *phalloi* covered with seed or the like, and that the temple was opened once a year for the performance of a phallic rite<sup>7</sup>. This conjecture is in general agreement with the wording of the oath taken by the *Gerairai*:

<sup>1</sup> Thouk. 2. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Thouk. 7. 23, cp. 5. 20.

<sup>3</sup> This is the day mentioned by Thouk. 2. 15 as a Dionysiac festival common to the Athenians and their Ionian descendants.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. c. *Naxos*, 76. The temple in question was probably identical with the small pre-Peric building beside the theatre, for this is expressly described by Paus. 1. 20. 3 as 'the oldest sanctuary of Dionysos' and its situation immediately south of the Akropolis accords well with the account given by Thouk. 2. 15 of the temple in the Marshes. It seems to have contained the ancient wooden image of the god, brought to Athens from Eleuthera (Paus. 1. 38. 8) by Pegasus (Paus. 1. 2. 5).

<sup>5</sup> So Mommsen *Fest d. Stadt Athen* p. 391 and Farnell *Cults of Gr. State* v. 216 f. relying on Phanodemos frag. 13 (*Ant. Inst. Gr.* i. 368 Muller) *ap.* Athen. 437 B-D.

<sup>6</sup> Dem. c. *Naxos*, 75 f.

<sup>7</sup> Aristoph. *Eccl.* 1224 f. with schol. *ad loc.*

<sup>8</sup> The evidence is collected by P. Stengel in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enz.* vii. 1232 f.

<sup>9</sup> Dem. c. *Naxos*, 73 and 78 f. A. Ficklenhaus *Lebensritzen* (*Hinkelmanns f. d. Prop.*, Berlin xxv) Berlin 1912 p. 25 n. 17 understands *αντιοθαί τωρ εσπας* of the *ανιστασθαι* (cp. *id.* in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1908 xxviii. 29 f. and 173). F. Petersen in the *Reich. Mus.* 1913 lxviii. 241 argues that the reference is, not to 'Kultgegenstände', but to 'Kulthandlungen'.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 682.

<sup>11</sup> A red-figured *pelike* in the British Museum (fig. 510), belonging to a late stage of the fine period (c. 440-400 B.C.) is thus described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 387 no. 1. 819: '(a) A girl, with long sleeved chiton, himation knotted around her waist, and hair looped up with fillet, leans forward to r., holding in her l. a rectangular box; with her r. she sprinkles with seed (?) four objects in the form of phalli set upright in the ground, around which are leaves (?) springing up. Above her on l. hangs a sash, on r. a looped fillet. (b) An ephēbos in himation and fillet moving to r. with arm extended, as if



Fig. 510.

signing to the figure in (a).<sup>2</sup> Sir Cecil Smith suggests that the scene may have reference to one of the mystic ceremonies of Athenian women, such as the Thesmophoria. If so, it might convey to us some hint of the *πολλὰ καὶ σγία καὶ ἀπορηγὰ* performed by the *Basilinna* (Dem. i. *Nicer*, 73).

'I am holy, pure, and clean from all impurities, especially from intercourse with man; and I perform in Dionysos' honour the *Theōgnia* and the *Iobakcheia* according to ancestral custom and at the times appointed<sup>1</sup>

The *Theōgnia* were presumably rites connected with the birth of the god, very possibly the ceremonial of his conception. The *Iobakcheia* may have been some service associated with the *Theōgnia* in Anthesterion, since at Astypalaia this month was called Iobakchios<sup>2</sup>, or else an equivalent of the *Theōgnia* in Elaphebolion, since the Athenian Iobakchoi are known to have been active at the time of the City Dionysia<sup>3</sup>. Here, however a difficulty arises. Modern scholars commonly assure us that on Anthesterion 12 the wife of the *Basileus* was married to Dionysos<sup>4</sup>. If so, my notion that the god was conceived on this day falls to the ground. But inspection shows that, although the ritual marriage is a well-attested fact, no ancient author early or late connects it with the Anthesteria at all. When it took place, we do not know. Perhaps it synchronised with the Lenaia<sup>5</sup>. In any case we are left with the curious problem that the Anthesteria was a Dionysiac festival at which Dionysos himself played no obvious part. The problem is solved, if I am

<sup>1</sup> Dem. 1. *N. de i. 78* Ἀγαστεῖω καὶ εὐμὴ καθαῖᾳ καὶ σγνῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οἱ κοσμοποιῶντες καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς παντοίας, καὶ τὰ θεῶγνια καὶ τὰ ἰοβάκχεια καὶ τὰ ἰοβάκχεια γεραιῶν (Dobson *op. cit.* γεραιῶν) τῷ Διον. τὰ κατὰ τὰ πατρία καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσιν χρόνοις.

<sup>2</sup> L. Blümmel (1891) prints the inferior reading *θεογνια*, which has rightly been rejected by A. Mommsen *Historische Topographie* 1864 p. 359 n. 2 and by E. Petersen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1913 xxviii. 248. The *θεογνια* was a name given to the demotic Dionysia as a festival of Dionysos *Θέουρος* (Harpocration s.v. *Θεογνιον*). If that reading were sound, we should have an additional reason for linking the Anthesteria with the Rural Dionysia.

<sup>3</sup> H. van Herwerden *Levens oorsprong, opvoeding en ontwikkeling der Kunst* 2 Lugdun Batavonum 1910 i. 707.

<sup>4</sup> S. Wide in the *Arch. Mitth.* 1894 xiv. 248 ff., especially p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. E. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1073; E. C. Pariser in Smith-Wayte-Marmorlin *De i. Ant.* i. 639; J. Guard in Daremberg-Saglio *De i. Ant.* ii. 238; E. Heller von Gaertingen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enz.* i. 2373 f.; Mommsen *De i. Ant. Staat Athen* p. 392 ff.; Farnell *Cults of Gr. Stat.* v. 217 f.; A. Frickenhaus in the *Journal de la dévotion arch.* in 1912 xxvii. 69; G. Murray *The Story of Art* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London New York 1912 p. 31 f.

<sup>6</sup> A. Frickenhaus *loc. cit.* p. 80 ff. has adduced strong reasons for thinking that the *φῶς ἐκτεταγμένον τῶν Διονυσίων ἀπὸ τῆς σκάρας εἰς τὸ θέατρον μετὰ φωτός* (Cicero *de i. Ant.* ii. 1 no. 47 f., 12 f., *op. cit.* nos. 469, 14 f., 470, 11 f.) at the festival of the Lenaia. It is possible that this torch-light procession stood in some relation to the marriage of Dionysos.

Mr D. S. Robertson, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, kindly draws my attention to the fact that Frazer *Golden Bough* 2: The Magic Art ii. 137 has called in question the date usually assigned to the marriage, and has even (*ib.* n. 4) been tempted to conjecture that it took place in Gamelion. If so, it may well have happened at the Lenaia. In any case Mommsen's attempt (*Historische Topographie* p. 357 ff., *De i. Ant. Staat Athen* p. 392 ff.) to connect it with Anthesterion 12 remains conjectural and unconvincing.

right in my contention that Dionysos as yet was not. Let us suppose that the *Anthesteria* was originally a day or days set apart for magic rites intended 'to make things bloom<sup>1</sup>, and that, when Dionysos first came to be worshipped at Athens, this season was chosen as the fittest time for his conception. The view here advanced is not inconsistent with the Athenian belief that at the *Anthesteria* souls came up from the Underworld<sup>2</sup>. It is likely enough that the yearly renewal of vegetation was attributed to the agency, perhaps even to the actual re-embodiment<sup>3</sup>, of the nameless and numberless dead. If Dionysos too was to be re-born, this surely was the moment for the procreative rite. The *panspermia* boiled in a pot (*chytros*), which gave its name to the last day of the festival<sup>4</sup>, was a piece of primitive magic applicable at once to vegetation and the vegetative god. But, if the *Anthesteria* resembled the City Dionysia in celebrating the conception of Dionysos, did it also resemble the City Dionysia in providing the germ of comedy? Aristophanes in a familiar chorus tells how at the precinct in the Marshes on the day of the *Chytroi* a scarcely-sobered *kômos* sang of Dionysos son of Zeus<sup>5</sup>. From such a *kômos*-song comedy, the *kômos*-song *par excellence*<sup>6</sup>, might well have arisen; and the more so, since we hear of definite contests as held on that concluding day<sup>7</sup>. The contests in question were

<sup>1</sup> See the simple and satisfactory remarks of Funell *Cults of Grk. State*, v. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen *Fest. d. Stadt Athen* p. 390 n. 3, Lannell *op. cit.* v. 212 ff., and especially Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Relig.* p. 32 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Boetticher *Baumkult.* p. 254 ff. ('Bezug der Bäume auf Grab, Tod und Apotheose des Menschen') gives a good collection of relevant facts. Note also Emped. *frags.* 117 Diels *ap. Diog. Laert.* 8. 77 καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παντοῖα εἶδη ζώων καὶ φυτῶν ἐνδύεσθαι· φησὶ γοῖν· Ἡδὴ γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενοῦμαι κοῦρος τε κορη τε θάμνος τ' οἰωνός τε καὶ ἐξ αἵδος ἐμπυρος ἰχθύς, Emped.  *frags.* 127 Diels *ap. Diel. op. cit.* 12. 7 λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἀριστήν εἶναι μετοικῆσαν τὴν του ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὲν ἐς ζῶον ἢ λήξει σίτον μεταβάλοι, λέοντα γίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἐς φυτὸν διαφύη, ἃ δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς λέγει, ταῦτα ἔστιν· Ἐν θηρεσσι λέοντες ὀρεόχρεες χαυναίειναι γιγνόνται, δάφναι δ' ἐν δένδροισιν ἡμερομισν. It seems probable that trees were planted on or around graves, not, originally at least, as a mere pleasure (Rohde *Psyche* i. 230), but rather as a vehicle for the soul of the deceased. See further A. Dietrich *Myster. Etrusc.* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Mommsen *Fest. d. Stadt Athen* p. 397 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Aristoph. *ran.* 211 ff. λυραῖα κρηῶν τέλεια, ξυραῖον ἱγῶν βοάει, φθεγγόμεθ', εἴημεν ἐρᾶν αἰοδᾶν, κοᾶς κοᾶς, ἂν ἀμφὶ Νησῆιον Διὸς Διωρίσιν ἐν Αἰναισιν ἀχρησάμεν ἄνι· ὁ κραιπαλοκῶμος | τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χίτροισι χωρεῖ κατ' ἐμὸν τεμενος λαῶν ὄχλος.

<sup>6</sup> The word κωμῳδία means properly 'the performance of the κωμῳδοί'; and the κωμῳδοί are 'those who sing in the κῶμος' (J. Meyer *Hanv. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 345; Boussacq *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 544). The connexion with κῶμος, 'village,' is quite fallacious.

<sup>7</sup> Philochorus *frag.* 137 (*Frags. Hist. Gr.* i. 407 Müller) *ap. schol. Aristoph. ran.* 218 ἡγοῦντο δὲ ἀγῶνες αὐτότε οἱ Χίτρονοι καλούμενοι, καθά φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἐκτῇ τῶν Ἀτθίδων, cp. Favonius *l. c.* p. 1880, 44 f.



an obsolete custom revived by the orator Lykourgos (c. 396—323 B.C.), who passed a law to the effect that comedians should compete in the theatre on the day of the *Chytroi* and that the successful competitor should enter for the more important contest of the City Dionysia<sup>1</sup>. This points to a comic contest as a time-honoured institution at the *Chytroi*, later superseded by the more brilliant shows of the City Dionysia, but restored in the fourth century B.C. as a first heat or preliminary competition. Theatrical displays of a quasi-comic character were certainly given at the Anthesteria during the first or second century of our era<sup>2</sup>; for Philostratos' say of Apollonios:

'The story goes that he rebuked the Athenians for the way in which they kept the Dionysiac festival in the month of Anthesterion. He supposed that they were flocking to the theatre in order to hear solos and songs, choruses and music, such as you get in comedy and tragedy. But, when he heard that, as soon as the flute gave the signal, they danced with all sorts of contortions and performed the epic and theological poems of Orpheus, playing the parts of Horai or Nymphs or Bacchantes, he broke out into open censure of their conduct.'

Ten months later came the Rural Dionysia, a festival which we have already taken to be the equivalent of the Lenaia<sup>3</sup>. As such it would involve that 'rustic ode' which set forth the rending of Dionysos and so furnished the original core of tragedy. In short, the Anthesteria was an early festival of reproduction, at which the begetting of Dionysos was celebrated with rites that led on towards comedy; the Rural Dionysia was another early festival, at which the life-history of Dionysos was represented with rites that developed into tragedy. It will doubtless be objected<sup>4</sup> that Dikaiopolis, who in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* conducts a private celebration of the Rural Dionysia<sup>5</sup>, equips his daughter with a basket, his slave Xanthias with a *phallós*, and himself sings a phallic song<sup>6</sup>,—a performance more comic than tragic. To

<sup>1</sup> A. Westermann *Historische Grammatik* (Bonn vol. 1845) p. 372, 39 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hence perhaps the curious and misleading statement of Theophrastus, *De sign. 1. 11. 3*, *ἐστὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐκείναι* (the Attic magicians) *τετρασι δῆμιον οὐκ ἐξωρίζονται, Δωριεῖσι, Ἀθηναίοις, Περσέσδεσιν, Χοίροις, ὡς το τετάρτον ἢ Σατυροῖν*—*τα δὲ τεττὰρα δῆμιον ἐκείναι τετραλογία*.

<sup>3</sup> Philostr., *7. Ἀπολ.*, 4, 21 p. 140 Kuy.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 666, 673.

<sup>5</sup> The objection was at once pointed out to me by Mr F. M. Conford.

<sup>6</sup> Aristoph., *Αχ.*, 195 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Plaut., *de miferis dixit*, 8, *ἡ πατὴρ τῶν Δωριέων κορτὴ το παλαιον ἐπιειπετο δημοτικῶς καὶ Ἰλαρῶς, ἀνφορεῖς ὄνων καὶ κληματος, εἰς τρεῖς τες ἐλάειν, ἄλλος ἐσχάδων ἀρριχὸν ἡκολούθει κομίζων, ἐπὶ πάντι δὲ ὁ φασκλῆς*—*σὺν ταῦτα πορνῶται καὶ ἡραυται, χρυσωμάτων περιφερομένων καὶ υατίων ποσὶ τελευ καὶ ζυγίων λαινομένων καὶ προσωπειών*. There is here, however, no definite indication of season, place, or date.

this objection I would reply, first, that when Aristophanes penned his play in 425 B.C. comedy had already invaded not only the Lenaia (at which the *Acharnians* was produced) but also its provincial counterpart the Rural Dionysia<sup>1</sup>. Authors and inscriptions alike attest both comedies and, more often, tragedies as held at this festival<sup>2</sup>. Secondly, I would point out that in Aristophanes' play the procession marshalled by Dikaiopolis leads up to a climax in which he is murderously assaulted by the Chorus. They spring upon him from an ambush, crying 'Pelt him! Pelt him!'<sup>3</sup> and declaring that they hate him more than Kleon, whom they mean to cut into pieces<sup>4</sup>. Now we lose half the fun of the situation, if we fail to realise that this is a travesty of the *sparagmós* or 'rending' of Dionysos by the Titans. It is, of course, always difficult to know when one has got to the bottom of an Aristophanic jest. It may even be that in *Xanthias* attacked by the Acharnians, the 'Fair'-man by the charcoal-burners, we should recognise a tragedy-turned-comedy resembling our own rough-and-tumble between the miller and the sweep<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The *Ἀσκληιασμός*, in which the competitors balanced themselves on an inflated goat-skin, standing the while upon one leg (Sir W. Smith in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 209 f.; E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 473 f.; E. Reisch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* n. 1698 ff.), recalls the use of the *Διὸς κώδιον*, upon which persons stood to be purified supporting themselves on their left foot alone (*supra* p. 422 ff.). Perhaps the *Ἀσκληιασμός* too originated as a serious rite, designed to bring the celebrants one by one into contact with the skin of the sacred beast. According to Hyg. *foet. astr.* 2. 4. Icarus (*sic*) slew the he-goat that had cropped his vine-leaves, inflated its skin, and made his comrades dance round it—whence the line of Eratosthenes *Ἰκαρίον ποσὶ πρῶτα περὶ τράγον ὠρχήσαντο* (*supra* p. 678 n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the pelting received by Aischines as an actor (Dem. *de ior.* 262) is to be connected with his performance at the Rural Dionysia (*ib.* 180, 242).

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph. *Ach.* 280 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Dr L. R. Farnell in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxiv p. xlvii and in his *Cults of Gk. States* v. 130 f., 234 ff., continuing Usener's fruitful investigation of the Macedonian festival τὰ Ξανθικά, i.e. Ξανθικά (*Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 301 ff. = H. Usener *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 438 ff.), has argued that the tale of the Boeotian Xanthos slain by the Neleid Melanthos with the aid of Dionysos Μελάνταγος (schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 146; cp. schol. Plat. *Symp.* 208 D, who calls the Boeotian Xanthos and does not mention Dionysos) presupposes 'an old Thrako-Greek mummers' play in which a divine figure in a black goat-skin kills another divine figure who is the fun or bught god.' Dr Farnell holds that this play was properly a vegetation-masque performed in the winter, which, attached to the goat-god *qua* vegetation-god in his own northern home, was carried through Greece by the Minyans (Melanthos as a Neleid was a Minyan, as were the Φολοεῖς and Ὀλκῆαι of Orchomenos in Boiotia (Plout. *quaest. Gr.* 381), acquired variety of motif as it spread from village to village, reached Athens τῇ Eleutherai, and ultimately became the parent of Greek tragedy. This important contention cannot be discussed in a foot-note. It certainly contains large elements of truth, and has not, in my opinion, been materially shaken by Prof. Ridgeway's criticism (W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 p. 73 ff.). But here it is in point only to quote

The relation of the four Dionysiac festivals as here determined may be conveniently set forth in tabular form. It appears that the Anthesteria and the Rural Dionysia were duplicated after a month's interval by the City Dionysia and the Lenaia respectively<sup>1</sup>. How is this duplication to be explained? According to the Greek and Roman chronologists, the earliest attempt to correct the lunar by the solar year was the adoption of a *trieteris* or two-year cycle, wherein the years consisted alternately of twelve and thirteen months<sup>2</sup>. We are expressly told that this cycle was used for the mysteries of Dionysos<sup>3</sup>, who in many places had trieteric rites<sup>4</sup>. Further, we have learnt that in Crete at least these rites were performed side by side with an annual celebration<sup>5</sup> and represented

Dr Farnell's words: 'The black man could easily degenerate into comedy; the soot-covered figure in the phallophoria [Athen. 622 D] appears to have been comic, and this is the case now with our May-day sweep.

<sup>1</sup> On the attempt of O. Gilbert *Die Fest der Alten Dionysien* Göttingen 1872 to prove that 'die Lenaen und Anthesterien sind identisch und gehören zu den ländlichen Dionysien' see O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1021 f.

<sup>2</sup> Gemm. *clm. astr.* 8. 26, Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2. So T. Mommsen *Die römische Chronologie bis auf Caesar* Berlin 1859 p. 224 ff. and A. S. Wilkins in Smith—Wayte—Marshall *Diet. Ant.* i. 337; see, however, F. K. Ginzel *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*. Das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker Leipzig 1911 ii. 366 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956. W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxorum 1913 p. 279 Index s. *Τριετηρίδες*.

Dr Farnell in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 139 f. and in his *Cults of Greek State* v. 177 ff. rejects the calendrical explanation of the Dionysiac *τριετηρίδες* on grounds that to me seem unsatisfactory: (a) 'we know that the Greeks corrected their calendar every eight years' (Maer. *Sat.* i. 13). But there is nothing to suggest that they ever did this every other year.' This ignores the definite statements of Gemm. *clm. astr.* 8. 26 and Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2, who both assert that the most ancient form of the luni-solar year was the *trieteris* of 12 + 13 months. (b) 'And it is not with Greeks but with uncultured Thracians that we are here concerned. But the barbarous tribes of Thrace were scarcely capable of such accurate solar observations as would compel them to correct their lunar calendar every other year.' If it comes to *a priori* argumentation, surely the very rough approximation of the *trieteris* is much more suitable to a barbaric tribe than the comparatively exact eight-year cycle.

But Dr Farnell is constructive as well as destructive. 'I venture to suggest, as a new hypothesis, that the "trieterica" are to be associated with the original shifting of land-cultivation which is frequent in early society owing to the backwardness of the agricultural processes' (Vide Hansen, *Agrarhistorische Abhandlungen*, i. pp. 125–126.); and which would certainly be consecrated by a special ritual attached to the god of the soil.' The weak point in this ingenious view is that it does not account for the trieteric rites in other cults, of which Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956 n. 4 gives a formidable list. Dr Farnell attributes these to 'casual local convenience or exigencies of finance.' It is, I think, safer to postulate the two-year cycle as a *vera causa* of all trieteric rites.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot share the odd view advanced by A. Fick *Hatteln und Panibier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 47: 'Das έτος der Trieteris bestand aus 12 Halbmonaten, wie auch die 13 Monate des Mythos von Ares' Fesselung durch die Alouden *E* 385 ff.

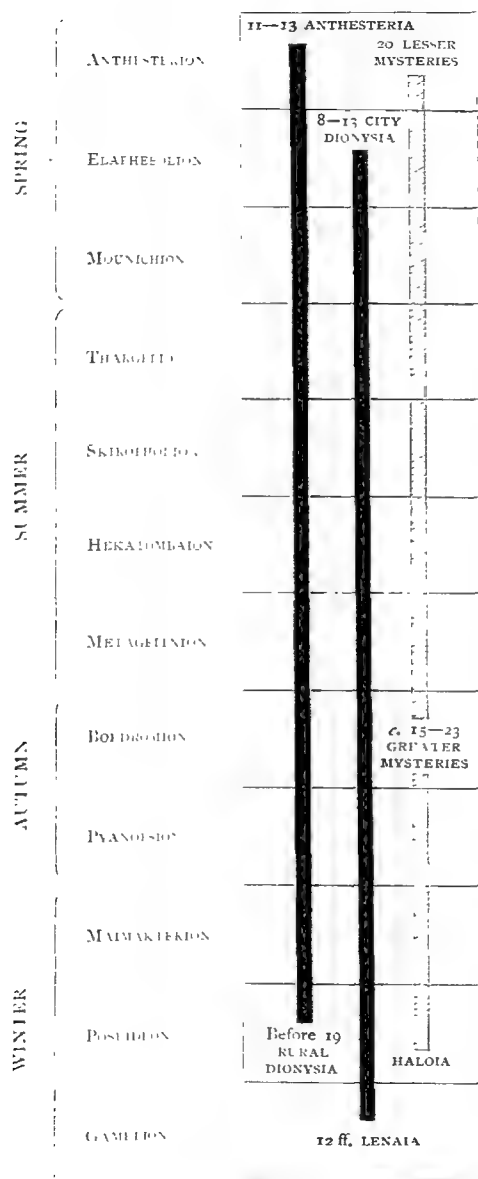
THE ATTIC FESTIVALS  
OF DIONYSOS

Fig. 511.

als Halbmonate zu verstehen sind: in jedem Monate (*μήν*) durchläuft der Mond ja zweimal alle Lichtphasen, wenn auch in verschiedener Richtung. In Wahrheit wurde die Trieteris in jedem Mittwinter gefeiert, beim Beginne eines dritten Halbjahres.

the passion of the god<sup>1</sup>. Presumably, then, in Attike, where the intercalary month was always a second Poseideon, the *tricteris* involved a ritual representation of Dionysos' death in the month following the first Poseideon. But the *tricteris* was at a very early date, probably in 'Minoan' times<sup>2</sup>, found to be inadequate. For, given alternate years of 354 and 384 days, every two years the error would amount to about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  days, and every eight years to about 30 days, in fact to a whole month. Hence, says Geminus, the first attempt to rectify the error took the form of an *oktacteris*, in which three (not four) months were intercalated in the third, fifth, and eighth years of the cycle<sup>3</sup>. This arrangement brought the lunar year into approximate accordance with the solar year. But it laboured under a serious disadvantage. Once in every period of eight years the intercalary month was dropped, and with it would go the trieteric rites of Dionysos. Perhaps it was to guard against this disaster, perhaps also to avoid the confusion arising from the performance of trieteric rites every third, fifth, and eighth years, that the Athenians made the rites annual and assigned them to Gamelion, the month following Poseideon. We can thus account for the celebration of the Rural Dionysia (*i.e.* the old annual festival) and the Lenaia (*i.e.* the old trieteric rites) in successive months. The date of the City Dionysia would be fixed by that of the Lenaia, the significant interval of ten lunar months being carefully observed<sup>4</sup>.

In sundry other festivals of the Attic year, all of them mystic in character and all belonging by rights to Demeter and Kore, Dionysos as a god of kindred function played a subordinate part. He appears to have gained some footing at Agra or Agrai, for the Lesser Mysteries there are described by a late author as 'a representation of Dionysos' story'. He certainly intruded, under the name of Iakchos, into the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis<sup>5</sup>. And

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 662 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 957 n. 1. The evidence is discussed more fully by Dr Frazer in his *Golden Bough*<sup>1</sup>: The Dying God pp. 58-92 and by me in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 411 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394-412.

<sup>3</sup> Gemin. *elem. astr.* 8. 27 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Farnell's contention (*supra* p. 682 n. 2), that it was Peisistratos who introduced the cult of Dionysos *Eleutheriis* and organised the City Dionysia as his festival, allows us to suppose that Peisistratos only re-organised a previously existing Dionysiac celebration. I incline to think that this was the case and that the essential feature of the pre-Peisistratic *fe* was the performance of the dithyramb (*supra* p. 681 f.).

<sup>5</sup> Steph. Byz. *ἱερ.* "Αγραι καὶ "Αγραι, χωρίον ἐν ᾧ τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖται, μυστήρια τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

<sup>6</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 54 n. 11 ff., p. 1167 f., p. 1435 n. 2, E. Potliet in Darcmberg-Saglio *Diet. Ant.* iii. 369 ff., and especially Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* iii. 146-153.

he was recognised at least as an adventitious deity in the mystic rites of the Haloia<sup>1</sup>. These festivals fell in Anthesterion, Boedromion, and Poseideon. It is therefore tempting to see in them some traces of a Dionysiac cycle. Accordingly A. Mommsen has surmised that at the Lesser Mysteries on or about Anthesterion 20 Zeus begat Iakchos by Semele; that Semele bore Iakchos as a seven-months' child, who at the Greater Mysteries on Boedromion 20 was taken to Eleusis and there incorporated with Zeus; and finally that at the Haloia in Poseideon Zeus himself gave birth to Dionysos<sup>2</sup>. But this reconstruction is a mere fancy-flight, which goes far beyond ascertained facts and may be safely relegated to the limbo of improbable conjectures<sup>3</sup>.

The arrangement of the Dionysiac year that I have been advocating might be supported by a consideration of analogous festivals in Italy<sup>4</sup>. But it will be more in point to observe that

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Loukian. *dial. mer.* 7. 4 p. 279. 24 ff. Rabe, Bekker *anecd.* i. 384, 31 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 23 f.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen *loc. cit.* even attempts to combine all the Attic festivals of Dionysos, with the solitary exception of the City Dionysia (which he believes to have been originally Apolline!), in a consistent Dionysiac *Jahreskreis*. It is a pity that a scholar who has done such good service in the collection of materials should waste his time by building them into a fantastic whole.

<sup>4</sup> We must not here be drawn into a discussion of the Roman calendar. But in passing we may note that the Liberalia of March 17 and the Saturnalia of December 17, separated by the same interval of nine solar or ten lunar months, appear to be the old Italian equivalents of the Greek festivals examined above.

Of the Liberalia little is known (W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 54 ff.). The aged priestesses of Liber crowned with ivy, who sat about the streets with cakes and a brazier sacrificing on behalf of their customers (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 14. Ov. *fast.* 3. 725 ff.), recall the *Geraiat* of the Anthesteria (*supra* p. 684); and in many parts of Italy, including Rome, Liber was served with phallic rites *pro æcentibus seminum* (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 21, cp. 4. 11, 6. 9, 7. 2, 7. 3, 7. 16; see further G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2021 ff. and in his *Rel. Kult. Rom.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 120, 298 ff., who regards Liber as a creative or procreative god developed out of Iupiter *Liber* and later identified with the Greek Dionysos). T. Mommsen *Römische Geschichte*<sup>7</sup> Berlin 1881 i. 162 took the Liberalia to be 'das Fest des Kindersegens.'

The Saturnalia too stood in obvious relation to *semina*. In view of the fact that our own Christmas has been to a large extent grafted upon this festival (see e.g. C. A. Miles *Christmas in Ritual and Tradition Christian and Pagan* London 1912 pp. 20 ff., 113, 165 ff., 180, 359), we may reasonably conjecture that it once involved a ritual birth. Dr Frazer (*Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>, The Magic Art ii. 311) has also detected in it traces of a ritual marriage and (*ib.* p. 310 ff.) of a ritual death. The human victim originally slain at the Saturnalia (to Dr Frazer's evidence we may perhaps add Plaut. *Amph.* 4. 2. 15 ff. *A.M. Tui' me mactes, caruifer: t' nix formam du hodie meam perduint, Easo, ut bubulis cornu omnis sis Saturni hostia. Ita ego te certo cruce et cruciatu mactabo. exi foras Mastigia*. The passage is, owing to the loss of a quaterion, absent from our MSS. It is usually supposed that the gap was filled up by Helimolaus Barbarus in the fifteenth century: see J. L. Ussing *ad loc.* But the sentences quoted, which describe the victim of Saturn as scourged and crucified, involve a very curious anticipation of modern discoveries, and even if written by Helimolaus Barbarus may well have been drawn from

the suggested origin of tragedy in the Lenaeon rite<sup>1</sup> is borne out by the modern carnival-plays of northern Greece. These plays, which have been carefully described of late by Messrs G. F. Abbott<sup>2</sup>, R. M. Dawkins<sup>3</sup>, J. C. Lawson<sup>4</sup>, and A. J. B. Wace<sup>5</sup>, mostly occur in the winter at Epiphany or the New Year or both, though in the Pelion district they are performed on May-day. Mr Wace<sup>6</sup> summarises what is known of them:

'It seems clear on comparing the accounts of the different festivals that though they are celebrated over a wide area, and at different seasons of the year, the same idea is present in all. In every instance there is a death and resurrection. In nearly all cases one of the two principal characters is disguised in skins, or at least a skin mask. In the songs sung at Epiphany in Thessaly, and those sung on Mayday there are several common elements. Also the mere fact that licensed chicken stealing is a feature of the festival in Thrace and Thessaly seems to point to a similar tradition. Is it then possible out of the different versions to reconstruct the main plot of the drama?..... we may imagine the full original of the drama to have been somewhat as follows. The old woman first appears nursing her baby in her arms Viza and Léchovo, and this child is, in some way or other, peculiar (Viza). He grows up quickly and demands a bride Viza, and on Pelion the old man is sometimes called the old woman's son. A bride is found for him, and the wedding is celebrated (at Lechovo a priest is one of the characters), but during the wedding festivities he quarrels with one of his companions who attempts to molest the bride, and is killed. He is then lamented by his bride, and miraculously restored to life. The interrupted festivities are resumed, and the marriage is consummated. It is worth noting for those who seek for the origins of Greek tragedy that this simple drama recounting, like an ancient trilogy, the life history of its hero ends with a satyrn display that could be paralleled by the satyrn drama that followed a trilogy. Also, in view of the survivals of Dionysos worship seen in these festivals, it should be noted that they seem to occur only in North Greece Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace, which was, after all, the reputed home of Dionysos worship.

some source inaccessible to us) was on this showing the Italian counterpart of the child dis-membered and eaten by the Thracian chiefs (*supra* p. 654 ff.). A Roman parallel to that gruesome rite has been already cited (*supra* p. 636 n. 2), viz. the *spargimus* of Romulus whose fragments were buried by the senators (to fertilise the soil?); and Frazer *op. cit.* n. 313 remarks that July 7, the day on which Romulus disappeared, was a festival, the Nonae Caprotinae, somewhat resembling the Saturnalia.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 678 ff.

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge 1903 pp. 80 ff., 88 ff.

<sup>3</sup> R. M. Dawkins 'The modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysus' in the *Journal of Hell. Stud.* 1906 xvi. 191-206.

<sup>4</sup> J. C. Lawson 'A Beast-dance in Scyros' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899-1900 vi. 125-127 (cp. R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 1904-1905 vi. 72-74) and in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 223 ff.

<sup>5</sup> A. J. B. Wace 'North Greek Festivals and the Worship of Dionysos' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909-1910 xvi. 232-253; and in W. Ridgway *The Origins of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 pp. 20-23.

<sup>6</sup> A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909-1910 xvi. 250 f.

A divine babe who grows up with phenomenal speed and seeks a divine consort, a murderous attack made upon him by others who would occupy his place and win his bride, a miraculous restoration of the dead to a new life—these are precisely the elements that we detected in the Zagreus-cult of the Cretans<sup>1</sup>, in the Orphic mystery of the Thracians<sup>2</sup>, and in the Lenaeon rite of the Athenians<sup>3</sup>. We cannot doubt that in Crete and Thrace and Athens alike we have to do with variations on a common theme, the annual birth, death, and resurrection of Dionysos, the son of the sky-father by the earth-mother.

The name of the mother and the treatment of the child varies from place to place. In Crete, where this religion appears as a development of the old Anatolian worship, the parent remains Rhea and the babe acquires the name Zagreus<sup>4</sup>. In Thraco-Phrygian belief, as represented by Sabazian and Orphic myths, the earth-goddess was dualised into Demeter and Kore, by whom Zeus begat the horned infant Dionysos<sup>5</sup>. At Athens the mother keeps her northern name of Semele, and her child is Iakchos or Dionysos<sup>6</sup>. Again, among the Thracians, the originators and rightful owners of this cult, the part of Dionysos was played by a child actually dismembered and eaten<sup>7</sup>. In Crete the human victim was replaced by a bull, the cannibal feast by a bovine omophagy<sup>8</sup>. At Athens civilisation would not permit even this attenuated orgy: the slaughter became dramatic make-belief, and the omophagy a banquet for the successful poet and his *troupe*<sup>9</sup>. The Athenians of the fourth century, sitting on cushions in their theatre to witness a triumph of the tragedian's art, had travelled far indeed from the primitive simplicity of that *mimesis*, in which the celebrants had identified themselves with the god to become the consorts of the goddess and so share in her all-pervading life.

### (1) The Satyric Drama.

Yet even in the fourth century one touch of primitive life remained in piquant contrast with surrounding refinement. I refer to the Satyric drama. Here Prof. G. Murray has made a very interesting suggestion, which it concerns us either to accept or

<sup>1</sup> *Syllaba* p. 647.

<sup>2</sup> *Syllaba* p. 654 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Syllaba* p. 669 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Syllaba* p. 644 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Syllaba* p. 390 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Syllaba* p. 669 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Syllaba* p. 654 ff.

<sup>8</sup> At the Lenaeon rites of Dionysos Semele had εἰερον τε τραπέζαν ἰδὲ υἱοστητά θ' αἶνον (Orph. *h. Scm.* 449). In Hesych. Σεμελη· τραπέζα. παρὰ δὲ Φρυγίων εὐρητή O. Jensen would read Σεμελης τραπέζα· παρὰ Φρυγίων εὐρητή (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 668).



to reject. 'The Satyr-play,' he says<sup>1</sup>, 'coming at the end of the tetralogy, represented the joyous arrival of the Reliving Dionysus and his rout of attendant daimones at the end of the Sacer Ludus.'

The question of the Satyr-play is so bound up with that of the Satyrs themselves that one is practically forced to begin by asking—Who were the Satyrs? Were they the horse-like or the goat-like creatures of the Attic vase-painters? After a full and, I hope, impartial survey of the facts<sup>2</sup> I am of opinion that by rights the horse-creatures were *Silēnoi* and the goat-creatures *Sátýroi*, but that as early as the middle of the fifth century, and perhaps earlier, the goat-type proper to the *Sátýroi* had been, at least for dramatic purposes, more or less contaminated with the horse-type proper to the *Silēnoi*<sup>3</sup>.

On the *kratér* of Klitias and Ergotimos (c. 600—550 B.C.) three ithyphallic creatures with equine legs, tails, and ears are inscribed *Silēnoi*<sup>4</sup>. On a *kylix* signed by the same Ergotimos, now at Berlin, an ithyphallic being with human legs and feet, but equine tail and ear, is again inscribed *Silēnos*<sup>5</sup>. On a fragmentary black-figured *kylix* from the Persic *debris* at Athens are the remains of a shaggy personage inscribed *Silēnos*, but whether he is equine or otherwise does not appear<sup>6</sup>. Red-figured vases tell the same story. A *kylix* at Munich shows an ithyphallic figure with equine tail named *Silēnos*<sup>7</sup>. A gilded *aryballos* at Berlin calls another

<sup>1</sup> G. Murray in Harrison *Themis* p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> For a fair summary of the evidence, both literary and monumental, see E. Kuhnert's article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 444—531. The learned author reaches, as I hold, the wrong conclusion, but he is scrupulously just to his opponents.

<sup>3</sup> S. Reinach in an able essay on 'Marsyas' in his *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1912 iv. 29—44 argues that the *Silēnoi* were originally asses, and that their type became equine in Greece through confusion with that of the Centaurs. Miss Harrison, who first drew my attention to Reinach's view, adds (May 22, 1913): 'I suspect that the mules and asses turned into horses in horse-bearing Thessaly.'

Reinach may well be right in supposing that the *Silēnoi* were ass-like before they became equine. But on the Attic vases, with which we are here concerned, the transformation was already complete: the *Silēnoi* are regularly depicted with the traits, not of asses, nor even of mules, but of horses pure and simple.

<sup>4</sup> Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12.

<sup>5</sup> Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenh.* iii. 160 ff. pl. 238, Reinach *Rept. Fun.* ii. 120, 3—6, *Wun. Vorleschl.* 1888 pl. 2.

<sup>6</sup> P. Kietzschmer *Die Griechischen Vasenmalereien* Gutersloh 1894 p. 233, C. Frankel *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* Halle a. S. 1912 pp. 20, 84 f.

<sup>7</sup> Jahn *Vasensamm.* München p. 97 f. no. 331 (*SILANOSTEDPON*), Kietzschmer *op. cit.* p. 132 (*SILENOS*), W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Ithyphallien* Leipzig 1898 p. 65 (*SILENOS TEDPON*).





nude figure with equine tail and pointed ear *Silenós*<sup>1</sup>. A *stámmos* in the British Museum (c. 440—400 B.C.) gives the name *Silenós* to a nude figure with pointed ear: in this case the horse-tail is absent, because Silenos has his hands bound behind him and the hanging cords produce the effect of a tail; other exactly similar figures on the same vase are tailed like a horse<sup>2</sup>. An *amphora* with volutes in the Jatta collection has again a figure with equine tail and ear inscribed *Silenós*<sup>3</sup>. In view of these vases we may safely conclude that the type of *Silēnoi* known to Attic painters in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. was equine, not hircine<sup>4</sup>.

But beside these horse-creatures Attic vases of the fifth century represent goat-creatures, who are in no case inscribed. The most obvious name to give them is *Sátýroi*, because the Satyrs of the Hellenistic and Roman age had undoubtedly the horns, ears, tail, and tufted hair of goats<sup>5</sup>. In the absence, however, of a definite inscription, an argument can be drawn from the nature of the scenes in which these goatish beings appear. P. Hartwig<sup>6</sup> and K. Wernicke<sup>7</sup> have between them made out a list of fifteen

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler *Vasenstudien*, Berlin II. 690 ff. no. 2471, *id.* *Samml. Sabouroff* Vasen p. 4 ff. pl. 55, Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 132, C. Frankel *op. cit.* pp. 72, 98 f., A. Legrand in Darmberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* III. 1489 fig. 4772.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* III. 274 f. no. I. 447 (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ), Remach *Rep. Vases* I. 122, L. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1844 XVI. 200 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* IV pl. 10, Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 132 (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ).

<sup>3</sup> H. Heydemann *Satyr- und Bockhemmenamen* (*Wienckelmanns Inst.-Progr.* Halle 1880) p. 3 ff. with pl., L. Deubner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* III. 2117 f. fig. 8, F. Hauser in Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* II. 328 f. fig. 107, C. Frankel *op. cit.* pp. 72, 98 f. (ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ).

<sup>4</sup> Miss Harrison has pointed out to me an interesting possibility. O. Lagercrantz 'Zur Herkunft des Wortes Silen' in the *Scriptum Philologicum Caroli Ferdinandi Johansson obitum* Göteborg 1910 pp. 117—121 refers σιλάρός, σιληρός to a root σιλ- (Indo-European *sil-*), whence Thracian-Phrygian \*σιλᾶ, \*Brunst, Geile, Mutwille der Hengste, and \*σιλᾶνος. He finds a neatly related word in κήλων, 'a stallion' (used of horses, of asses, and of Pan: see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* IV. 1516 B—C), and further cp. κηρέλος (for \*κηλίλος: Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 451 'ingenieux, mais douteux'), κιλίας (better κηλίας), σιλαιορδῆσαι, σιλαιορδῆν, modern Greek τσιλιπουρδῶ, τσιλιπουρδισμα. But P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1910 II. 398, *ib.* 1913 IV. 351 ff. prefers to derive Σιλῆρος from the Thracian σιλᾶ, 'wine.' *Viderint fidei e.*

<sup>5</sup> E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* IV. 488 ff., 516 ff.

I take this opportunity of publishing (pl. XXXVII) a fine votive mask of terra cotta, said to have been found near a spring at Anthedon and now in my possession. It measures 8½ inches in height, and has three holes for suspension. The eyes and nostrils are pierced; but the mouth is not. The face has the snub nose, the ears, the horns, and even the *monocai* of a goat. It is wearing both a head-band and an ivy-wreath. In short, it has all the characteristics of a Satyrine *phorokos*. Mr H. B. Walters, on grounds of style, refers it to the Hellenistic period.

<sup>6</sup> P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitt.* 1897 XII. 89 ff.

<sup>7</sup> K. Wernicke in *Hermes* 1897 XXXII. 290 ff. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* III. 1410 f.

fifth-century vases on which goat-figures occur<sup>1</sup>. They are seen

<sup>(1)</sup> Red-figured *kyrie* from Nola (J. de Witte *Description de antiquités et objets d'art qui composent le cabinet de feu M. de la Roche-Ep. Duval* Paris 1836 no. 142) = goat-headed figure skipping on all fours.

<sup>(2)</sup> Red-figured *kyrie* from Nola (J. J. Dabois *Description de antiquités faisant partie des collections de M. le comte de Flourens* Paris 1841 no. 384, *Catalogue des objets d'art qui composent la collection de M. le comte de Flourens* Paris 1865 no. 399) = goat-headed figure skipping on all fours.

<sup>(3)</sup> Late black-figured *amphora* with white ground at Munich (Jahn *Uebersicht Münchener* p. 214 no. 682 wrongly described) = goat with bearded human head skipping on all fours; with him dances a bearded Silenos.

<sup>(4)</sup> Red-figured *kyrie* of c. 440 B.C. from Certosa at Bologna (Pellegriani *Cat. Mus. d. Certosa* Bologna p. 216 no. 491, E. Baur in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1872 p. 112 no. 86, H. Heydemann *Wunderkammer des Prinzen Heinrich* 1879 p. 63 no. 150, P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92 f. fig. 2) = obv. human figure with goat's head, tail, and legs dancing with a goat that stands on its hind legs; rev. goat with human arms and hands skipping on all fours to compete with an actual goat. The design has been much restored.

<sup>(5)</sup> Fragment of a red-figured *kyrie* of c. 450 B.C. now in the possession of F. Hauser at Stuttgart (P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91 fig. 1) = human figure with goat's head and tail dancing.

<sup>(6)</sup> Red-figured *amphora* of c. 450 B.C. in the British Museum (*Cat. Mus. Brit. Mus.* iii. 758 no. E 735) = obv. human figure with goat's horns and tail mistaking a dog; rev. Silenos reclining.

<sup>(7)</sup> Red-figured jug of c. 450 B.C. now in the possession of Confraternità Calceolo at Santa Maria di Capua (P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92) = human figure with goat's feet and beast's ears striding forwards, his hands crossed at his back; round his head is twisted a curious skin, and behind him is a basket.

<sup>(8)</sup> Red-figured *kyrie* of c. 440 B.C. in the Albertinum at Dresden (P. Hartmann in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins deutsch. Arch.* *Inst.* 1892 vii. Arch. Anz. p. 1661, P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92, Müller-Wieseler, *Wienische Ant. Denkm.* ii. 2, 226 f. pl. 19, L. Hanson *Proleg. ad. Rel.* p. 277 f. fig. 67) = obv. three human figures ( $\Sigma\text{ΜΟΣ}$ ,  $\Gamma\text{ΑΝΔΡ}$ ?, and .... $\text{ΟΣ}$ ) with goat's horns, tail, and feet capering round Hermes ( $\text{Ἑρμῆς}$ ), who holds a forked stick, and Pheropatta ( $\text{ῥερεφᾶττα}$ ), who rises from a grotto; rev. three draped figures.

<sup>(9)</sup> Red-figured *kyrie* of c. 440 B.C. in the Albertinum at Dresden (P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 93 n. 1, K. Wernicke in *Herm.* 1897 xxxii. 298) = similar goat-figure on either side of the vase, one with equine tail.

<sup>(10)</sup> Red-figured *kyrie* of c. 450 B.C. from Vico Equense in the Bourguignon collection at Naples (W. Frohner in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 205 ff. pl. M, Reinach *Revue Arch.* 348, f. f. C. Robert *Archäologische Missionen aus der und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 194 f. fig., P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91 f.) = obv. two human figures with goat's head and tail capering, while between them a goddess rises from the ground; rev. two Silenoi with horse's ears and tail dancing on either side of a Maenad.

<sup>(11)</sup> Red-figured *kyrie* of c. 450 B.C. from Falerni, now at Berlin (L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1378, P. Hartwig in the *Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 384 n. 2 and in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 89 ff. pl. 4-5) = obv. (a) a goddess with hades and *limetion* rising from the ground, surrounded by four dancing figures with the horns, ears, and tails of goats, (b) a lion and a bull, rev. (1) Hermes *cruciatum* in hand surrounded by four dancing goat-figures of the same sort.

<sup>(12)</sup> Red-figured *kyrie* of c. 450 B.C. from Altamura in the British Museum (pl. xxxviii, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vase* iii. 2851, no. I 467, A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* 1890 xi. 278 ff. pls. 11 f., P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92) = obv.

capering or dancing, for the most part alone<sup>1</sup>, but sometimes paired with a goat<sup>2</sup> or with a horse-tailed *Silenós*<sup>3</sup>. Twice they dance round Hermes<sup>4</sup>; once, round a goddess rising from the ground<sup>5</sup>. Twice they cut their capers about a pair of deities—Hermes, who holds a forked stick or a *caduceus*, and Pherephatta, who emerges from a grotto or more simply from the ground<sup>6</sup>. Now these situations recall certain scenes in the carnival-plays of modern Greece which we have already compared with the Lenaeon performance<sup>7</sup>. In fact, it is possible to interpret the vases with reference to that performance. We might, for example, suppose some such sequence as the following:—

*Scene i*: Hermes, lyre in hand, sits on a rock awaiting the *ánedes* of the earth-goddess.

*Scene ii*: the earth-goddess rises from an artificial cavern.

*Scene iii*: she hands over her child to Hermes, who acts as its foster-father.

Further, if the Lenaeon drama was, as we have contended, the true parent of Attic tragedy, it was presumably followed by a Satyric display<sup>8</sup>. And it may therefore fairly be argued that

(a) the decking of Euripidean actors human figures dancing round a flute-player; each dancer wears a snail-nosed mask(?) with goat's horns and ears, a black waist-band to which is attached an erect phallus, and a goat's tail, and shoes(?) in the form of goat's feet; (b) girls dancing to and a flute-player in the presence of a *choros*; (c) a group of four horse-tailed Silenoi, Maccarii, etc. playing at ball. Height of vase 1 ft 7 in.

(13) Red-figured *kylix* of Etruscan style, c. end of fifth century B.C., now at Gotha (*Mon. et Inst.* iv pl. 34, L. Braun in the *Ann. d'Inst.* 1846 xvi 238 ff., Lenormant—de Witte *Z. v. m. n.* v. ii 150, n. 255 f. pl. 90, Reinach *R. A. T.* v. i. 129, 2, P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitt.* 1897 vii. 93) = obv. Hermes ΕΡΜΗΣ seated on a rock with an ivy wreath on his head and a lyre in his hand; round him dance three human figures wearing head-bands and ivy wreaths; they have the horns, ears, tails, shaggy thighs, and feet of goats; rev. three chaped figures.

(14) Red-figured *kylix* found at Chusi in 1854 (*Ar. d. Zeit.* 1855 xiii. Anz. p. 67) = Hermes surrounded by goat-footed figures with inscriptions.

(15) Black-figured *kylix* from Tanagra, not earlier than c. 450 B.C., now in the collection of Kyros Simos in Thebes (G. Korte in F. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte der Dichtung im Altertum* Leipzig 1896 p. 339, P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitt.* 1897 vii. 91) = satyphallic dancer with the horns and face of a goat, but the tail of a horse, holding an *omphalos*.

Nos. (11), (12), and (14) of this list are known only from the records here cited.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 nos. (1), (2), (5), (7), (9), (15).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (4).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (3), cp. the reverse of nos. (10) and (12).

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 nos. (13) and (14).

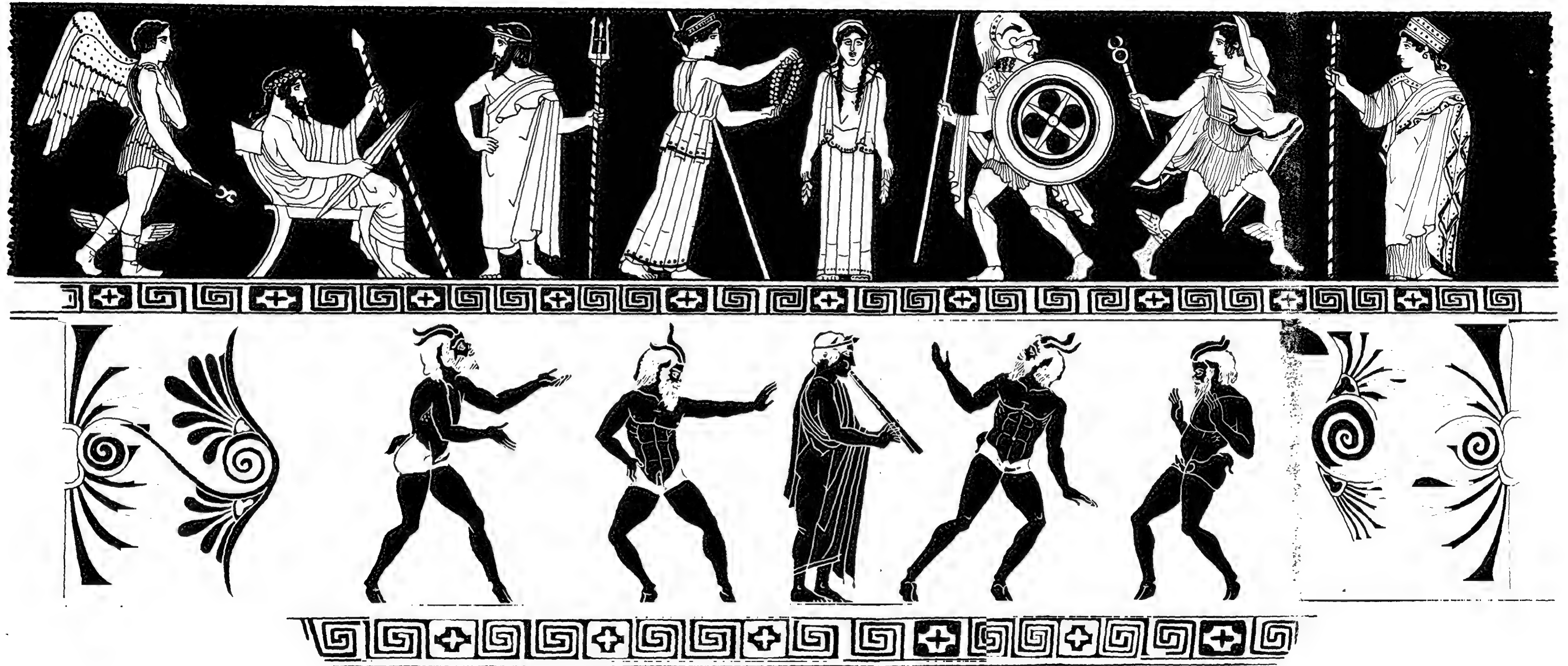
<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (10).

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 nos. (8) and (11).

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 694 f.

<sup>8</sup> This is not definitely recorded (A. E. Haigh *The Attic Tragedies* rev. by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge Oxford 1907 p. 25); but our records are very incomplete.





*Krater from Altemura: (a) the decking of Pandora; (b) a Satyric chorus.*

*See page 700, cf. page 698 n. 1.*





representing preparations for a Satyr-play<sup>1</sup>. In this group the Satyrs, both on and off the stage, have equine tails like the *Silenoi*<sup>2</sup>, but hairy loin-cloths which may be meant for stylised goat-skins<sup>3</sup>. Later again, but descended from the same original, are a famous *kratér* at Naples painted c. 400 B.C.<sup>4</sup> and a contemporary *kratér* at Deepdene (pl. xxxix, 2)<sup>5</sup>. Here too the

<sup>1</sup> M. Bieber *loc. cit.* was the first to detect that the vase at Athens and its replicas at Bonn are but 'ein ziemlich gedankenloses Excerpt aus einer grosseren und besseren Vorlage.' We may venture, on the strength of the Naples *kratér* (*infra* n. 4), to conjecture that this original was a fresco by Polygnotos, whose fondness for figures arranged at different levels is notorious (see e.g. H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 441 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 696 f. A. Furtwangler *Winckelmannsfest-Programm*, Berlin xl. 25 (= *Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 207) cites Ktesias *frag.* 57 (p. 86 f. Müller) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 45 a 20 ff. cod. Mon. 287 *ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ Ἰνδικῇ εἰς τὸν μυχὸν τῆς πελαίας (πελαγίας Hecschel) νήσου φασὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας κάκεϊ οὐρὰς ἔχειν μεγίστας, ὁποίας διαγράφουσι τῶν Σατύρων*, cp. Ptol. 8. 3 *ταύτας οἱ κατέχοντες οὐρὰς ἔχειν λέγονται, ὁποίας διαγράφουσι τὰς τῶν Σατύρων*.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Radornament' (Bieber) on the loin-cloth is perhaps a conventional rendering of a patchy skin.

<sup>4</sup> Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 546 ff. no. 3240, J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiv. 303 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 31, B. Arnold in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 385, 388 ff. pl. 5 fig. 422, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 114, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 496 ff. fig. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* i. 122 f. pl. 39, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 288, 5. I have again to thank Mr E. M. W. Tillyard for the accompanying photograph and notes:

'*Lucanian Bell-Krater*. Height 325<sup>m</sup>. Well-preserved except that the varnish is beginning slightly to flake off. The clay is of a rich, salmon-pink colour and the varnish deep black and rather metallic in appearance. The shape shows the middle development of the bell-krater, being neither broad nor elongated. Above is a laurel-wreath pattern of the usual type with small and carefully drawn leaves. Below is a band of double meanders in pairs divided by saltire-squares. At each handle-base is a reserved band with black tongues painted on it.

The obverse shows three young comic actors. They all wear close-fitting leathern loin-cloths, into which are fixed large *phalloi*. The actor on the right being in profile, it is possible to see that he also wears a small tail, whether of a horse or a goat it is a little difficult to say. On the side of each loin-cloth is a little ornament like a four-spoked wheel. All three actors have masks. The one on the right wears his, and, with his hands clapped to the small of his back and his right leg kicked back, strikes a comic attitude. The other two stand in easy attitudes, holding their masks in their hand. On the right, on the ground, is a tympanum, seen obliquely. On the reverse are three *Mantlingini*.

The vase is of Lucanian fabric and dates from about the end of the fifth century. In style it is considerably under Attic influence and is descended directly from the class of early South Italian vases which Furtwangler thought might have come from the Attic colonies in Italy and which Hauser later proved to be connected with Heraclea<sup>1</sup>. The drawing is very easy and careful.

The vase belonged to the second Hamilton Collection and has been already published by Tischbein<sup>2</sup>. The present reproduction is from a new photograph. The vase is now in the Hope Collection.

<sup>1</sup> *FRH* II p. 274

<sup>2</sup> I. pl. 37. Reproduced on a small scale in Wieseler *Lehrbuch* plate pl. VI 37

Satyrs have shortish horse-tails. But those on the Naples vase are in most cases wearing a shaggy skin, presumably a goat-skin, round their loins; and those on the Deepdene vase have their waist-bands patterned in such a way as to suggest a fringed or shaggy edge.

In short, the evidence of the vases—agreeing, as it does, with one or two literary allusions<sup>1</sup>—leads me to follow in the steps of Furtwangler<sup>2</sup>, Korte<sup>3</sup>, Hartwig<sup>4</sup>, Wernicke<sup>5</sup>, and to conclude that the *Sátýroi* before contamination with the *Sílenoi* were conceived at Athens as goat-like dancers<sup>6</sup>, who greeted the uprising of the chthonian goddess, mother of Dionysos.

<sup>1</sup> Aisch. *Prometheus Pykaios frag.* 207 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ap. Plout. *de utilit. et inimit. ferrip.* 2 τοῦ δὲ Σατύρου τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πρῶτον ὤφθη, βουλομένου φιλῆσαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν, ὁ Προμηθεύς "τράγος γένειον ἄρα πενήσεις σὺ γε," Eustath. *in Il.* p. 415, 6 ff. καὶ τὸ "τράγος γένειον ἄρα (*leg.* ἄρα) πενήσεις σὺ γε" ἀντι τοῦ ὧ τράγε, πᾶν στερήσῃ γενείου, εἰ τὴν φλόγα φιλήσεις, Eriphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208, 29 ff. Dindorf) ἄλλος δὲ (*sc.* Ζεὺς) ὁ τραγυῶδός, ὁ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καύσας· τάχα δὲ θεὸς ὦν ἐπελαθετο ὅτι δάκνει τὸ πῦρ καὶ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν πρόγνωσην τοῦ λόγοντος τραγυῖ τῷ Σατύρῳ, εὐρόντι πρότερον (ὁρῶντι πρῶτον Meineke) τὸ πῦρ καὶ προσελθόντι φιλῆσαι, "μὴ ἄψῃ, τράγε" ἀψάμενος γάρ μιν ἐμπρήσεις τὸ γένειον.

Soph. *Ichneutai* col. xi, 15 f. (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1912 ix. 59 no. 1174) νέος γὰρ ὦν ἀνὴρ, π[ώ]γωνι θάλλων ὡς τράγος κν- <ή> κω χλιδῶς.

Eur. *Cycl.* 76 ff. XO. (of Satyrs). ἐγὼ δ' ὁ σὸς πρόπολος θητεύω | . | δοῦλος ἀλαίνων ξὺν τᾷδε τράγον· χλαῖνα μέλεα.

None of these passages affords conclusive proof that the Satyrs were hucine, since the first might be explained as a case of abbreviated comparison (see P. Shorey in *Class. Philol.* 1909 iv. 433 ff.), the second is a simile, and the third implies that the goat-skin was a cheap country garb (see W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 p. 87). But all alike gain considerably in point, if we may assume that the Satyrs were essentially goat-like.

<sup>2</sup> A. Furtwangler *Winkelmannfest-Progr.* Berlin xl. 22 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 204 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> G. Korte in E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 339 ff.

<sup>4</sup> P. Hartwig in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 89 ff.

<sup>5</sup> K. Wernicke in *Hermes* 1897 xxxii. 290 ff. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1409 ff.

<sup>6</sup> E. Reisch 'Zur Vorgeschichte der attischen Tragödie' in the *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz* Wien 1902 p. 451 ff. and E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 524 ff. have attempted to show that these goat-creatures were *Pínes*, not *Sátýroi*. In answer to their arguments I would reply: (a) We have no reason to think that the Athenians of the fifth century believed in a plurality of *Pínes* and personated them in public religious dances. Aisch. *Glaukos frag.* 35 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ap. schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 36 Αἰσχύλος δὲ δύο Πᾶνας τον μεν Διὸς ὄν καὶ (Διὸς Ἀρκάδος Vater, οὗ εἶναι Ἀρκάδα Nauck) δίδοντον, τον δὲ Κρόνον and schol. Theokr. 4. 62 τοὺς Σατύρους πλείους φησὶν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Σιληνοὺς καὶ Πᾶνας, ὡς Αἰσχέλος μὲν ἐν Πλαῦκῳ, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀνδρομέδῃ proves that Aischylos recognised two *Pínes*. Soph. *Andromeda frag.* 132 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ap. schol. Theokr. *loc. cit.* merely proves that Sophokles mentioned two or more *Sílenoi*. Other passages, e.g. Aristoph. *ccl.* 1060, Plat. *Legg.* 815 c, are of later date than the fifth century. (b) If the goat-figures on the vases listed *supra* p. 698 n. 1 were *Pínes*, they would rather have been associated with Nymphs (Plat. *legg.* 815 c, Paus. 8. 37. 2) and equipped with the *gymnion* (*sc.* *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 180 f. no. I. 228 pl. 9, Heydemann *Favensamml. Neapel* p. 19 ff. no. 690, p. 495 ff. no. 3218, cp. H. Schrader in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 275 ff.).



1



2

1. Attic bell-*krater* at Deepdene: preparations for a Satyr-play.  
S. 105, 700 f.
2. Lucanian bell-*krater* at Deepdene: preparations for a Satyr-play.  
S. 105, 701 f.



At the same time it remains possible, indeed probable, that these goat-dances were not *ab origine* connected with Dionysos, but had existed from time immemorial as a popular custom in south Europe. On August 12, 1908, Monsieur P. Bourrinet found in the Abri Mège, a Magdalenian rock-shelter at Teyjat (Dordogne)<sup>1</sup>, a well-preserved 'bâton de commandement' of stag's-horn, on which were engraved various animal forms—the head of a hind, three snakes, a large horse followed by the forepart of a little horse, three swans, and lastly three 'diablotins' (fig. 512)<sup>2</sup>. These remarkable figures represent men disguised

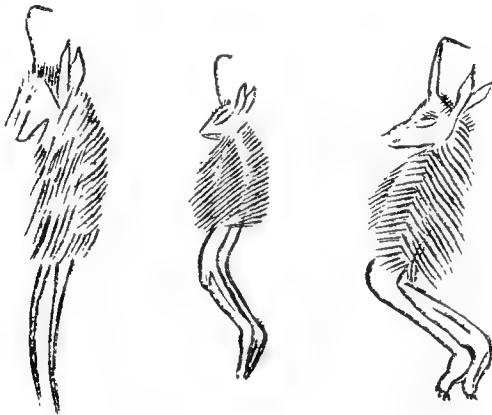


Fig. 512.

as goats—chamois, to judge from their horns,—and engaged in jumping or dancing, probably with the intention of multiplying the supply of actual goats by means of magic mimicry<sup>3</sup>.

Nineteen years ago I figured two 'island stones' from Crete and one from Athens, on which human beings are seen dressed in the skins of goats (figs. 513, 515, 516)<sup>4</sup>. I pointed out then

<sup>1</sup> L. Capitan, H. Breuil, P. Bourrinet, and D. Peyrony 'L'abri Mège' in the *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris* 1906 xvi. 196—212 with 9 figs.

<sup>2</sup> L. Capitan, H. Breuil, P. Bourrinet, and D. Peyrony 'Observations sur un bâton de commandement' etc. in the *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris* 1909 xix. 62—79 with 15 figs. and 1 photographic plate. I reproduce fig. 11 by kind permission of the Abbé Breuil. See also H. Obermaier *Der Mensch aller Zeiten* 1 (Der Mensch der Vorzeit) Berlin etc. 1912 p. 427 fig. 252.

<sup>3</sup> For parallels see in *primis* E. Cartailhac et l'abbé H. Breuil *La Caverne d'Audoubert à Santillane près Santander (Espagne)* Monaco 1906 p. 164 ff. fig. 127 pls. 32, 33. S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1912 iv. 361 ff., *id.* *R. p. Art. Quat.* p. 181 nos. 2—5, explains otherwise ('ratipais' or embryonic souls).

<sup>4</sup> See the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 150 ff.

Fig. 513 is a lenticular seal of serpentine from Crete in the Pauvert de la Chapelle collection (O. Rossbach in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1887 lvi. 193 pl. GH. 6, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt.* 2<sup>e</sup> 1. 57 fig. 34, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 150 fig. 20, Furtwängler *Ant.*

that, according to Hesychios<sup>1</sup>, the Bacchantes wore goat-skins, and I suggested that the ritual thus found in the cult of Dionysos was very possibly a relic of a more wide-spread practice. Today I can add another (fig. 514)<sup>2</sup> to the series of seal-stones portraying human goats and venture on a closer determination of their meaning. I suppose them to show 'Minoan' dances, the object of which was to promote fertility—originally the fertility of the local fauna—by means of imitative magic and so to safeguard the food-supply of the population.



Fig. 513.



Fig. 514.



Fig. 515.



Fig. 516.

Given the existence of such old-world dances within the Greek area, it is reasonable to surmise that they might attach themselves to the cult of any fertility-power—Hermes, Demeter, Dionysos, or the like<sup>3</sup>. Further, if in a certain district the said power was

*Gemmen* 1 pl. 2, 40, ii. 12 f.) = a man wearing the *protomé* of a wild goat with three pellets in the field, one of which is rayed like a star.

Fig. 515 is a lenticular seal of cornelian, found at Athens in 1884 and now in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 116 fig. 11) = two human figures, one wearing the forepart of a goat, the other that of a lion.

Fig. 516 is a lenticular seal of green porphyry from Crete now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 44 no. 76 pl. A. A. Milchhofer *Die Anfänge der Kunst* Leipzig 1883 p. 78 fig. 50, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* 1. 57 fig. 36, Perrot- Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 850, 859 fig. 432, 15, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 161 pl. 26, 57, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120 f. fig. 15, Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* 1 pl. 2, 41, ii. 13) = the legs of a man combined with the forepart of a goat and the forepart of a bull; two pellets in the field.

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. s.v. *πράγγοροι*· αἱ κόραι Διονύσω ὀργιάζουσιν πράγην περιήπτοντο.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 514 is a lenticular seal of green porphyry in the Story Maskelyne collection (Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* 1 pl. 6, 6, ii. 26, Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 n. 69 fig. 193) = a human goat with a hound running beside him and three linear signs in the field, viz. Ψ on the left, Σ on the right, and Δ beneath.

<sup>3</sup> Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* m. 1. 220 figs. 1 (= my fig. 517), 2, 3, 4, 7 (= my fig. 519), 9 (= my fig. 518) has classified under six types a number of archaic terra-cotta statuettes, mostly found in central Greece (the Theban Kabirion, Tanagra, Halai, etc.), which represent an ithyphallic goat-man with human or human legs and a *cornu caprae* in his hand. P. Baur, who in the *Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 157-165 pl. 5 (= my fig. 520) adds yet another type to the series, proposes the name of *Tityros* for them all. But O. Kern in *Hermes* 1913 xlviii. 318 f. distinguishes *Tityros* as 'Schafbocksdamonen' from *Σάτιροι* as 'Ziegenbocksdamonen,' citing Serv. in Verg. *ec.* 1 proem. (*Ant.* p. 401 n. 7), schol. Bernens. *ec.* 1. 1 p. 749 Hagen *tityrus* lingua Laconica villosus ans appellatur, Prob. in Verg. *ec.* p. 349 *Lion hucus Libyca* Cg.; Laconica lingua *tityrus* appellatur, and a small bronze group of ram-headed male dancers from Methydion now in the National

believed to take shape as a goat, his cult would almost inevitably be amalgamated with the aboriginal goat-dances. Now we have in point of fact found the Satyrs or goatish dancers of the fifth-century vases sometimes cutting capers by themselves, but sometimes also associated with Hermes, Pherephatta, and the equine followers of Dionysos<sup>1</sup>, in short with a whole posse of fertility-powers. Moreover, we have seen Dionysos himself worshipped as *Ériphos* in Lakonike<sup>2</sup>, as *Eríphios* at Metapontum<sup>3</sup>; and we have had reason to conjecture that his Thraco-Phrygian devotees identified themselves with him and hence took the name of *éríphoi*<sup>4</sup>. Finally, we have observed that Thespis the reputed founder of Greek 'tragedy' came from Ikaria, where men danced round a *trágos*<sup>5</sup>. These facts suggest that the tragic chorus in pre-literary days consisted of men dressed as *trágoi* in order to personate a goat-Dionysos. They must have sung then, as in northern Greece they still sing<sup>6</sup>, of an annual birth, death, and resurrection. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if such a performance attracted to itself and absorbed into itself those primitive goat-dances that had subsisted in south Europe from palaeolithic times. The tragic chorus thereby acquired a Satyric supplement. Tragedy led up to the Satyr-play. And the revelrout may well have served, as Prof. Murray acutely divined<sup>7</sup>, to represent the joyous arrival of the re-born god.

Museum at Athens (F. Hiller von Gaettringen and H. Lattermann in the *Abh. d. berl. Acad.* 1911 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 41 pl. 13, 3 a, b). Probably in Boiotia the goat-dances were absorbed into the cult of the Kabentios just as at Athens they were absorbed into that of Dionysos.



Fig. 517.



Fig. 518.



Fig. 519.



Fig. 520.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 698 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 674 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 675 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 678.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 697 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 694 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 694 f.



## (κ) Zeus, Dionysos, and the Goat.

The Attic festivals with their amazing output of tragedy and comedy tended to obscure the early Thraco-Phrygian relations of Zeus, Dionysos, and the goat. But it would be a mistake to suppose that those relations were wholly forgotten. For example, at the Phrygian Laodikeia, a town once called Diospolis<sup>1</sup>,



Fig. 521.



Fig. 522.

quasi-autonomous coppers were issued with a bust of Zeus *Asclepius* on the obverse and sometimes a goat on the reverse side (fig. 521)<sup>2</sup>, or again with a youthful head of Demos on the obverse and Zeus *Asclepius* carrying the infant Dionysos with a goat beside him on the reverse (fig. 522)<sup>3</sup>.

A fragmentary *kylix* of red-figured technique, painted in the style of Hieron and found on the Akropolis at Athens (fig. 523)<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *Phn. nat. hist.* 5. 105.

<sup>2</sup> This cult-title has been usually identified with the name of the Syrian and Arabian god *Asi* (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1531. See W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 33), who along with Mommos was worshipped at Edessa as a supporter of Helios (*Ioul. cr.* 4. 150 C, 154 A), the pair being probably conceived as morning- and evening star (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2644. H. Steuding in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 743. W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 3202. R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 128—133, 1904 i. 208 n. 3 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie grecque* Paris 1903 pp. 9—14, 1905 p. 75 n. 3). If so, the epithet is Semitic (*asi*, 'the Strong'). But P. Carolides *Bemerkungen zu den alten khamasata oder Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg 1913 p. 32 f. proposes to refer it to an Armenian *as*, 'Luft, dann Geist, Dämon und Gott'. Both explanations are highly precarious.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* pp. lxxxi, 300 pl. 36, 11 ΣΕΥC ACCEIC and ΛΑΟΔΙ [Κ]ΕΩΝ, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 128, Head *Hiv. num.* p. 679.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* pp. lxxxi, 298 pl. 36, 5 ΔΗΜΟC and Λ ΑΟΔΙ Κ ΕΩΝ, Eckhel *Dobl. num.* 761<sup>2</sup> iii. 158 f. Rasche *Lex. num.* Suppl. iii. 263. Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 129 pl. G, 30. The same reverse is found on a coin struck by Julia Domna (*id.* *ib.* p. 407 no. 131), and, with the head of Zeus turned to the left, on a coin of Onacria (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 323 no. 258, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 132 pl. G, 31). Cf. also a coin of I. Achus Caesari with reverse showing Zeus *Asclepius*, who stands to the left and extends his right hand over the head of a goat (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 311 no. 201 ACCEIC ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 1301).

<sup>5</sup> First published in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 43 pl. 1 by

represents a procession of deities conducted by Hermes towards an altar, beside which stand two women, one with an *oinochôe* and a flower, the other with a basket. Beyond the altar are trees, denoting a sacred grove. Foremost in the procession marches



Fig. 523.

Zeus carrying the child Dionysos; and we notice that the pediment of the altar is occupied by figures of a goat and two kids. A. Frickenhaus argues that this vase must be brought into connexion with others, which, as he endeavours to prove, illustrate the ritual of the Lenaia<sup>1</sup>. Be that as it may<sup>2</sup>, we have here clearly the old association of Zeus, Dionysos, and the goat<sup>3</sup>.

But it is to the theatre itself that we naturally turn for the last traces of this lingering connexion. Nor are we disappointed.

B. Graef, who after adding further fragments allowed A. Frickenhaus *Leinenrasen* (*Wien. menschl.-hist. Progr.*, Berlin 1912 p. 21 f. with fig. (=my fig. 523) to publish the principal group in its reconstituted form and so to anticipate the final publication in Graef *Ant. Vasen. Abh.*

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 671 f.

<sup>2</sup> A *Trilogie* of severe style at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 331 f. no. 440. Inghmann *Vas. græc.* iv. 112 pl. 384, Laynes *Descr. de vases peints* p. 16 f. pl. 28 = my fig. 524, E. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie* Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 218 pl. 2, B. Graef in the *faux d'vases deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 46 f. with fig., E. Leconte in Daremberg *Saghe. Dict. Ant.* i. 603 fig. 680, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus Atlas pl. 1, 19, Remach *Reb. Vases* ii. 260, 1) again shows Zeus (ΙΕΛΣ ?) bearing the child Dionysos (ΔΙΩΝ|V|ΔΙΟΣ) towards two women. The first sits on a folding-stool beside a pillar, with a spray of ivy in her left hand, a *strophæ* on her head, and above her perhaps the word *καλός* (certainly not *Tâdes*). The second stands with a sceptre in her right hand and an ivy-wreath on her head. It is open to us to see in these two women the Maenads of Frickenhaus' 'Lenaean' vases, and to suppose that the cult-pillar and its table-altar have been modified into the pillar and stool of a *symposium*.

<sup>3</sup> It was Miss Harrison who, with her customary kindness, pointed out to me the importance of this vase as a link in my argument.

The stage of Phaidros (s. iii or iv A.D.) is still decorated with four marble reliefs, which came from an earlier stage (probably of Neronian date) and illustrated appropriately enough the life-history of Dionysos. Existing publications of them<sup>1</sup> are so inadequate that I have had fresh drawings made from photographs, and have ventured to add on a transparent overleaf a restoration of the missing parts in accordance with what I hold to have been the sculptor's design (see pocket at end of vol. i).



Fig. 524.

The first slab (pl. xl, 1) shows Zeus seated on a rock, as befits a sky-god<sup>2</sup> the consort of an earth-goddess<sup>3</sup>. He has a *himation* wrapped about his knees, and his right hand doubtless held a sceptre<sup>4</sup>. Before him stands Hermes carrying the new-born

<sup>1</sup> F. Matz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlv. 97-106, *Mon. d. Inst.* i. 15 pl. 16 (faceless), L. Julius in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 1878 xlv. 236 ff., J. K. Wheeler in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1882-1883 i. 136-142 with a helotype pl., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 281 ff. figs. 22-25, Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 222 f., 226 f., v. 505 f., E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 450 f. with fig. on p. 453, M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 240 ff. fig. 106, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmuseum*, pp. 232-236 pls. 61-64, Remach *Reliefs* i. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 124 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the type of the *hērōs gámos* on Mt Ide (*infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) iii).

<sup>4</sup> S. e.g. on two reliefs in the Louvre (11) Clavier *Mus. d. Sculpt.* pl. 200 fig. 26, Remach *K/p. Stat.* i. 88 no. 3, Overbeck *Gall. hel. Bilder* i. 390 Atlas pl. 16, 17, *id.* *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 171, 176 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 15, Friedrichs-Wollers *Gipsabg.* p. 743 f. no. 1875; (2) T. Panofka in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 298 ff., *M. d. Inst.* i.

Dionysos. And the scene is enclosed by two Kouretes ready to clash their shields and so avert mischief from the babe.

The second slab (pl. xl, 2) commemorates the god's entrance into Attike. He stands, a comely youth dressed in *chiton*, panther-skin, *himation*, and *kóthornoi*, beside his own altar beneath a spreading vine. His left hand held a *thyrsos*, his right hand probably a *phiale*. Approaching the altar is Ikarios, who drags a goat for sacrifice with one hand and dangles a grape-bunch in the other. The old Attic hero is attended by his hound Maira and followed by his daughter Erigone, who carries a tray of cakes and fruit. Her figure is balanced by that of a Satyr with panther-skin and crook, standing on tip-toe in the pose known as *apokopeion*.

On the third slab (pl. xl, 3) we have, if I am not mistaken<sup>1</sup>, a scene of great interest—the marriage of Dionysos and the *Basilinna* or 'Queen' of Athens<sup>2</sup>. A young man of large but somewhat soft and effeminate build, easily characterised as Dionysos by means of attributes, stands beside a young woman draped in a Doric *peplos*, who pulls forward an ample veil with a gesture familiar to us as that of a bride. To the right of the youthful pair is a broad matronal figure, who bears a *cornu copiae* in her left hand and most likely held a sceptre in her right. She

pl. 12 1, Clavier *Mus. de Sa. et. A.*, pl. 123 fig. 104, Reinach *Rep. Stat.* 1, 22 no. 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kün. myth. Zeus* pp. 171, 177 f., §76 f.

<sup>1</sup> E. Mitzel *ibid.*, followed in the main by J. R. Wheeler *ibid. cit.*, held that the third slab represents, from left to right, Hestia, Theseus, Eirene; the fourth slab, Eirene, Theseus, Hestia, Dionysos. Eirene and Hestia stood together in the Prytaneion (Paus. 1, 18.3), and might perhaps have symbolised the public and private happiness of the citizens, but the Greeks never hit upon a distinctive art-type for Hestia (A. Preuner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1, 2653), and the younger goddess of the third slab is obviously conceived as a bride.

J. N. Svoronos *ibid. cit.* thinks that the two slabs show Ptolemy Philometor Soter II and his family paying homage to Dionysos, and that the figures, from right to left, should be identified as follows: (1) his mother Kleopatra II with sceptre; (2) Ptolemy Philometor Soter II with club; (3) his wife, name unknown, with sceptre and *cornu copiae*; (4) his favourite daughter Berenike III with sceptre and *cornu copiae*; (5) his young son Ptolemy king of Kypros; (6) his other daughter Kleopatra Tryphaina; (7) his youngest son Ptolemy Auletes, whose figure may have been cut away either on political grounds or because he had irreverently assumed the title Dionysos (Loukian. *de cynet.* 10). This very ingenious hypothesis rests on the assumption that the reliefs came from a *thymele* erected in the *orchestra* of the theatre, for the performance of such competitions as had been previously held in the Orleion burnt by Aristion (85 B.C.), at the expense of Ptolemy Philometor Soter II—a king who is known to have conferred many benefits upon the Athenians (Paus. 1, 8.6ff.). But the existence of such a *thymele*, in spite of Svoronos' long and learned advocacy, is still highly problematic.

<sup>2</sup> *Sueton.* p. 686. An Attic *anaglyphe* of fifth-century style, now in the British Museum, has another rendering of the same scene (Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* v. 260).

has long since been recognised as Tyche<sup>1</sup>, that late successor of the old-world mother-goddess<sup>2</sup>. To the left a whole figure has been carefully chiselled away from the background. Since that part of the base on which it stood has been removed along with it, we may surmise that it was carried off as being a piece of exceptional beauty, to be set up again in some rich man's house. And since the marks on the back-wall indicate a slender male figure with something raised on the spectator's left, I have restored it as Eros with wings<sup>3</sup>. Tyche carrying the horn of Amaltheia was paired with a winged Eros at Aigeira<sup>4</sup>; and coins of the town struck by Plautilla prove that the former stood grasping a sceptre in her right hand, while the latter with crossed legs held a long torch or staff pointing upwards in both hands<sup>5</sup>. Together they would be appropriate witnesses of the ritual marriage

Not less interesting is the fourth slab (pl. xl, 4), on which we see Dionysos finally installed in his own theatre. He sits in an attitude of easy dignity on a gorgeous marble throne, recalling that of the priest who personated him in the front row of the *auditorium*. The background shows the broken surface of the Akropolis-rock, and above its edge rise the eight columns of the Parthenon's *façade*. It is probable that a *thýrsos* or sceptre once rested against the god's left shoulder. Of the three figures before him two are already known to us. His bride, the 'Queen,' still fingering her veil, perhaps held out a wreath towards him. Tyche is present, as before, with *cornu copiae* and sceptre. And between them stands a short but sturdy figure with *himátion* and club—Theseus, the embodiment of the Athenian people assembled in the theatre to pay homage to Dionysos on his throne.

The Greek genius even in its decline knew how to build old materials into new and significant shapes. This series of reliefs ostensibly illustrates the infancy, the advent, the marriage, and the installation of Dionysos. But the art-types employed are redolent of old associations. Thus the Kouretes take our thoughts

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 136 n. 6, cp. p. 597 n. 4, *infra* ch. i § 8 (a).

<sup>3</sup> It is tempting to conjecture that this was the very statue to which a famous but of course apocryphal story attached. Athen. 591 A και Πρασιτέλης δι' οὗ ἀγαλακτοποιὸς ἐρῶν αὐτῆς (sc. Φρυγῆ) τὴν Κριδίαν Ἀφροδίτην ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπλάσαστο, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἐρωτος βάσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ θεάτρου ἐπέγραψε Πρασιτέλης οὐκ ἐπασχόμενος ἐρωτα, ἐξ ἰδίας ἔλκων ἀρχέτυπον κρηδίας. Φρόνη μισθὸν ἐμὸν διδούς εἰμ, φίλτρα δὲ βάλλω | οὐκέτ' οὐστεύων, ἀλλ' ἀπενεζόμενος (cp. *Anth. Pall.* 204 Simonides?). See, however, W. Klein *Praxiteles* Leipzig 1898 p. 219 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 7. 26 8. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1086 n. 3 *med*.

<sup>5</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Ann. Comm. Paus.* n. 91 pl. S. 81, Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 179 fig. 24.

back to Crete and remind us that Dionysos himself was but a rebirth of Zeus<sup>1</sup>. Ikarios' goat recalls the ancient custom of dancing round a he-goat at Ikaria<sup>2</sup>; and the presence of the Satyr suggests the aboriginal goat-dances of south Europe<sup>3</sup>. Similarly the marriage<sup>4</sup> and the enthronement<sup>5</sup> of the young god are reminiscent of half-forgotten sanctities. In short, the whole frieze might serve as an epitome of the development that we have been studying throughout the last seven sections.

We cannot here pursue Roman parallels. But a passing allusion must be made to the cult of Vediovis, the youthful Jupiter<sup>6</sup>. Among the few things known for certain about this god is the statement of Gellius<sup>7</sup> that in his temple between the Arx and the Capitolium the cult-statue held arrows and in consequence was often dubbed Apollo; further, that the ritual involved the sacrifice of a she-goat as if it were a human being<sup>8</sup>; and lastly, that the effigy of this animal stood beside that of the god. All this suggests comparison with Dionysos, e.g. with the Tenedian Dionysos *Anthroporrhaites*, to whom a calf dressed in buskins was sacrificed, presumably in lieu of a human victim<sup>9</sup>. The Dionysiac character of Vediovis seems to have struck the Romans themselves, if we may argue from certain republican coins, which

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 3981, 647. <sup>2</sup> *Supra* pp. 678, 689 n. 1, 705. <sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 703 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 649 n. 7, 650, 686, 694 f. <sup>5</sup> *Supra* pp. 153, 398, 646 f., 650, 661.

<sup>6</sup> *Ov. fast.* 3, 437 *Iuppiter est iuvenis* : *iuvenalis aspice voltus*, 445 ff. *nunc vocat ad nomen*, *vegetanda faria colonae* : *quae male cieverunt, vescaeue parva vocant*; *vis ea si verbi est, cur non ego Vediovis aedem* | *aedem non magni suspicet esse Iovis*? Paul. ex Fest. p. 379 Muller, p. 519 Lindsay *vegetanti* male curati et graciles homines. *re* enim syllabam rei parvae praeponebant, unde *Vediorem* parvum Iovem et *vegetandam* fabam minutam dicebant.

<sup>7</sup> Gell. 5. 12, 11 f. *simulacrum igitur dei Vediovis, quod est in aede, de qua supra* (5. 12. 2) *dicta, sagittas tenet, quae sunt videlicet partae ad nocendum*. quapropter eum deum plerumque Apollinem esse dixerunt : immolaturque ritu humano capra, eiusque animalis figmentum iuxta simulacrum stat. Cp. *Ov. fast.* 3, 438 ff. *aspice deinde, manu fulmina nulla tenet*. 'fulmina post ausos caelum adfectare Gigantes' sumpta Iovi. primo tempore inermis erat (this is, I think, compatible with the supposition that the statue really held a thunderbolt, which was mistaken for a mere bundle of arrows—harmless, of course, without their bow) *stat quoque capra simul* : *Nymphae pavisse feruntur* : *Crentes* : *infanti lac dedit illa Iovi*.

<sup>8</sup> The expression *ritu humano* (*supra* n. 7) is thus understood by Frazer *Golden Bough* 2. n. 168, *etc.* : *Spirits of Corn and Wild* 1. 33—rightly, as I conceive.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 659 f. Cp. also the case of Embaros, who, after promising to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis on condition that his family should become hereditary priests of the goddess, concealed the maiden in the temple and sacrificed a she-goat dressed in her garments instead (Pausanias the lexicographer *ap. Eustath. in P.* p. 331, 25 ff., *Apollon. 1. 2*, 54, *Souda. s.v. Εὐκάρπης ἐμὰ* : see further O. Hölzl in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 3226 f., J. Fischer-Burkli in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2482, and on the substitution of goats for human victims Frazer *Golden Bough* 2. The Dying God p. 166 n. 1, *ib.* 3, *Spirits of Corn and Wild* 1. 249).

are commonly believed to represent that deity<sup>1</sup>. *Denarii* issued by L. Caesius c. 91 B.C. have as their obverse type the head and shoulders of a young god, who is brandishing a thunderbolt of three tines (fig. 525)<sup>2</sup>. A bolt of this form might be popularly viewed as a bundle of arrows; and a youthful archer would inevitably be taken for Apollo<sup>3</sup>. *Denarii* of C. Licinius Macer c. 85 B.C. repeat the type<sup>4</sup>. About the same date other and more obviously Apolline renderings of the head are found on coins of M. Fonteius (figs. 526<sup>5</sup>, 527<sup>6</sup>). That this too was



Fig. 525.

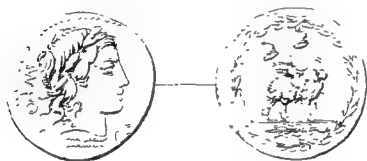


Fig. 526.

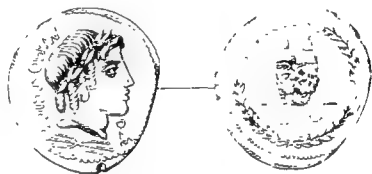


Fig. 527.

intended for a young head of Jupiter is clear from the thunderbolt added beneath it. But the god wears a bay-wreath, not a mere fillet; and that trait, if original, would give a further reason for the confusion of Vediovis with Apollo<sup>7</sup>. We cannot,

<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion expressed by E. Babelon, P. Gardner, H. Gaucher, and numismatists in general. It is called in question by H. Jordan in the *Commentationes philologicae in honorem Theodori Mommsen* Berolini 1877 p. 365, Preller-Jordan *Rom. Myth.* i. 264 n. 3, H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1882 i. 2. 116 n. 118, A. Klugmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878 xxxv 106 f.

<sup>2</sup> Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 281 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 290 pl. 94, 10, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200 *Münztaf.* 3. 4. I figure a specimen in my collection. The reverse has the two Lares *Praestites* seated on a rock with a dog between them (P. Gardner in W. Waide Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 351 f., cp. p. 101 n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> The monogram is not, however, a ligature of AP for *Apollon* (Mommsen *Histoire de la monnaie romaine* Paris 1870 ii. 370, Babelon *loc. cit.*), but a compendium of the word *Roma* (Gr. B. Zannoni *Reale Galleria di Firenze illustrata* Florence 1817 iv. 3. 176, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200, A. Klugmann *loc. cit.*, H. Montagn in the *Nouv. Chron.* Third Series 1895 xv. 162, P. Gardner *loc. cit.*, H. Gaucher in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 322 n. 2).

<sup>4</sup> Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 132 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 320 pl. 38, 8. The reverse has Minerva in a galloping quadriga.

<sup>5</sup> Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 505 ff. no. 11 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 323 pl. 38, 13, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200 *Münztaf.* 3. 5-6. I illustrate a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

<sup>6</sup> Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 505 ff. nos. 9 f. figs., cp. nos. 12 f. figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 322 f. pl. 38, 11 f., cp. p. 323 pl. 38, 14 and fig. I illustrate a specimen in my collection.

<sup>7</sup> Yet another reason for the mistake was the goat at Vediovis' side. On the relations of the animal to the Greek Apollon see L. Stephani in the *Comptes-rendus St. Pet.* 1869

however, put much faith in the accuracy of the die-sinker: for he varies loose locks (fig. 526) with archaistic ringlets (fig. 527). The reverse of Fonteius' coins shows Cupid riding on a goat<sup>1</sup>. This subject, which is fairly frequent in Hellenistic art<sup>2</sup>, seems to have arisen within the Dionysiac circle<sup>3</sup>. The *thyrsos* beneath the goat likewise confirms our impression that the Romans, under the all-pervading influence of Greece, had come to regard Vediovis as a sort of Dionysos. The former was to Jupiter what the latter was to Zeus.

Indeed few facts in the religious history of the Mediterranean peoples are more striking than the vitality displayed by this belief in the re-born Zeus or Dionysos. A bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 528)<sup>4</sup> has the infant god riding his goat to an altar, which stands beneath a tree and is adorned with festoons and an eagle in relief. A coin of Gallienus in base silver<sup>5</sup> and coins of his son Saloninus in



Fig. 528.

p. 100 ff., Gruppe G. *Myth. Rel.* p. 833 n. 1, p. 1243 n. 2, p. 1246 n. 5, Farnell *Culte et Stat.* iv. 254 f., 309.

I take this opportunity of figuring a well-preserved specimen, now in my collection, of the Lacomian tetradrachm with obv. head of King Arcus<sup>2</sup> (309–265 B.C.), rev. the cult-stane of Apollon at Amyklai (fig. 529); cp. *Head Coins of Sp.* *Acrois* p. 79 pl. 43, 27, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Nu. Comm. Paris*, ii. 59 pl. N. 16, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 121 pl. 24, 1, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* p. 178 pl. 15, 28, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 6–8 *Monat.* 1, 14–16, K. Weimack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-En.* ii. 43, *Monat. Sam. Catal.* in 1896 i. 55 no. 414 pl. 6 = 1897 ii. 30 no. 215 pl. 3, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 434 fig. 238.



Fig. 529.

<sup>1</sup> Not 'Le Gémme ailé d'Apollon Vejovis' (Babelon), nor 'der Genius des Vejovis' (Overbeck), nor even 'Infant winged Genius' (Grueber), but just a commonplace Cupid

<sup>2</sup> To the examples collected by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pet.* 1863 p. 155 n. 3, *ib.* 1869 p. 88 n. 6, cp. *ib.* 1873 p. 84 n. 1, add a second relief in the Louvre (Clavier *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 192 fig. 162 = Reinach *Rep. Stat.* i. 80 no. 11) and a wall-painting in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 35 Text p. 46 Eros fighting on goat-back).

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pet.* 1861 pp. 20, 26 n. 4, *ib.* 1863 p. 154 f., *ib.* 1869 p. 55 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Gnechchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 10 nos. 60 f. pl. 50, 4, Frohner *Med. imp. rom.* p. 68 fig., Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> n. 379 t. no. 1132 fig.

<sup>5</sup> Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 876, Suppl. iii. 154, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*<sup>2</sup> vii. 120, 398, Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> v. 381 no. 380. Other coins of Gallienus in base silver show an infant suckled by a goat (Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 1325, Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> v. 416 no. 781 PIETAS SAECVIT; Rasche *ib.* PIETAS SAECVIT). A medallion of Gallienus and Salonina struck in gold (Gnechchi *Medagl. Rom.* i. 8 no. 1 pl. 3, 7) and silver (*id. ib.*



gold<sup>1</sup> and base silver (fig. 530)<sup>2</sup>, to be dated not long after the year 253 A.D. when the former assumed the title of Augustus and the latter that of Caesar, show the same infant with the legend *Iovi crescenti*, 'to the growing Iupiter.' A bronze medallion of Saloninus (fig. 531)<sup>3</sup> has a similar design inscribed *Iovi exorienti*,



Fig. 530.



Fig. 531.

'to the rising Iupiter,'—an inscription which suggests that the young prince was viewed as a sun-god. The general significance of these designs, a fond hope that the prince in question would inaugurate a new and brighter age, is illustrated by a relief near the hippodrome on the Appian road<sup>4</sup>. The child seated on the goat is flanked by two standing figures—Sol with torches and Mercurius with a horn of plenty. The monument is dedicated 'to the Good Hope of Augustus'.<sup>5</sup>

Sometimes the babe on whom such hopes centred<sup>6</sup> is definitely characterised as Dionysos. Small bronze coins bearing a

i. 54 no. 1 pl. 27, 8, Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> v. 492 no. 9) or billon (Kubitschek *Rom. Medaillons Wien* p. 18 no. 162 pl. 10) has an infant suckled by a goat, while a second infant (who?) is seen between the forelegs of the same goat: in front, an eagle; above, a tree and the legend *PIETAS FALERI* (= *valeri* for *Faleriana*); beneath in the exergue, a thunderbolt.

<sup>1</sup> Rasche *Lea. Num.* iv. 876 f., Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> v. 519 no. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Rasche *Lea. Num.* iv. 877, Suppl. iii. 154, Eckhel *Dobl. num.* vol. vii. 422, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200 f. Munzaf. 3. 7, Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> v. 520 nos. 26—28, 29 fig., 30—32. I figure a specimen in my collection.

<sup>3</sup> Griech *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 61 no. 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 201 Munzaf. 3. 8, Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> v. 520 f. no. 33 fig.

<sup>4</sup> Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* iii. 1075 no. 1 with pl. after Boissard *Antiq.* iv. 138 ('in via Appia, non procul ab Hippodromo castrensi') BONAI • SEPI • AVG • VOT • PP • IR, Pieller—Jordan *Rom. Myth.*<sup>3</sup> ii. 254 n. 2, cp. Wissowa *Kult. Rom.*<sup>2</sup> p. 330 n. 1. I have not reproduced the plate, as Boissard's illustrations are notoriously unreliable.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. also a coin of Gallienus in base silver, which shows the infant seated on a goat with the legend *IAI III • IMP* (Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> v. 384 no. 421).

<sup>6</sup> The case is somewhat different with Hadrian's favourite Antinous, who was represented most frequently as a Dionysos (see e.g. C. v. Levetzow *Über den Antinous dargestellt in den Künstdenkmälern des Alterthums* Berlin 1808 pls. 7, 8, 9, 10 and the list of statues, busts, and coins by K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Kult.-Lex.* i. 2441).

child's head wreathed in vine-leaves and grapes (fig. 532) are referred by H. Cohen<sup>1</sup> to M. Annii Verus, the infant son of M. Aurelius and the younger Faustina<sup>2</sup>. This little fellow died in 169 A.D. after an operation at Praeneste, when only seven years of age. His death occurred during the celebration of the games of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The emperor would not interrupt them, but had statues decreed to the boy, a golden bust of him carried in procession at the *ludi Circenses*, and his name inserted in the chant of the Salii<sup>3</sup>. With him, or with some other young hopeful of the imperial house, we may connect a remarkable bust of *rosso antico*, now at Berlin (fig. 533, 1—3)<sup>4</sup>. It is the portrait of a child represented as the young Dionysos wearing a garland of ivy and ivy-berries blended with vine-leaves and grapes. Attached to the child's occiput there is the head of a calf—an interesting reminder that, despite all the associations of Greek tragedy<sup>5</sup>, Dionysos was still regarded from time to time as no goat but a bull<sup>6</sup>.



Fig. 532.

<sup>1</sup> Cohen *Monn. imp. rom.* viii. 270 no. 31 'Buste d'un enfant à droite, couronné de pampre et les épaules couvertes de raisins. (Annii Verus?).' *ep. ib.* no. 30 'Buste d'enfant à droite voilé et couronné de roseaux. (Annii Verus?).' I figure a specimen in my collection.

<sup>2</sup> On other coins of M. Annii Verus see Eckhel *Doctr. num.* i. c. 2 vii. 82—87. The brothers Commodus and Verus were identified with the Kabirion of Syros, and their heads appear on coins inscribed **KABIPΩN · CYPIΩN** (*id. ib.* *ep. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 125 f. pl. 28, 7 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 211, *Head Hist. num.* p. 492).

<sup>3</sup> *Iul. Capit.* i. *M. Ant. philol.* 21. 3—5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant. Skulpt.* Berlin p. 61 no. 134 fig., L. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1851 ix. 371—373 pl. 33, Welcker *Alt. Denk.* v. 39, E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1151, A. W. Cuntius *Das Starymbol des Dionysos* Köln 1892 p. 18 fig. 16.

Height 0.26 m. Restored neck and chest, nose, chin, both lips, large parts of the ears, grapes over the right cheek, two leafy sprays over the brow; also the muzzle and right eye of the calf. The red marble was doubtless chosen as appropriate to the god of wine.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 665 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The bull-connexion had in fact never been wholly dropped (cf. T. Welcker in the *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 6, 1—3, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1857 xxix. 153—160, *cf. Alt. Denkm.* v. 36—39 pl. 2, 1 Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1149—1151, A. W. Cuntius *op. cit. passim*). Even at Athens the bull figured in the festivals of the god. At the City Dionysia in 334/3 B.C. oxen were sacrificed and their hides sold (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 741 A. a 16 f.). Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 620 a 16 f. = Michel *Recher. d'Inscr. gr.* no. 824 1 16 f.); later a bull was taken in procession by the *epheboi* and sacrificed *or τῷ ἀρχῷ* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 471, 13 c. 112/1? B.C.; *ib.* no. 469, 15 110.9? B.C.; *ib.* no. 466, 14 c. 100? B.C.; *ib.* no. 467, 17 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 521, 17 f. = Michel *Recher. d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 17 f. 100.99 B.C.; *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 468, 11 f. 94/93 B.C.). At the Dionysia in the Peanaeus too in 334/3 B.C. oxen were sacrificed and their hides sold (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 741 A. a 6 f., Dittenberger



Fig. 533.

## xxii. Animals sacrificed to Zeus.

'Down to the close of Greek religion,' says Dr Farnell<sup>1</sup>, 'the animal-sacrifices were the chief part of the ritual of Zeus.' And

*Syll. metr. Gr.* 2 no. 620 a 6 l., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 824 i 611, and later a bull was paraded by the *epheboi* and sacrificed to Dionysos (*Corp. metr. Att. n. r.* no. 469, 13 l. 110-9? B.C.; *ib.* no. 467, 16 l. = Dittenberger *Syll. metr. Gr.* 2 no. 521, 16 l. Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 16 l. 100,99 B.C.; *Corp. metr. Att. n. r.* no. 468, 10 l. 94-3 B.C.).

<sup>1</sup> Farnell *Cult. of Grk. States* i. 101

the victims slain for him were, as a rule, either rams<sup>1</sup> or more often oxen<sup>2</sup>. We are not here concerned to detail the sacrificial rites, but merely to ask why these beasts rather than others<sup>3</sup> were chosen for the sacrifice. It is of course easy to reply that rams and oxen were the costliest victims that a pastoral or cattle-breeding people could offer. No doubt that was a consideration which, at least in classical times, partly determined the choice<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless our prolonged investigation into the ram-cults and bull-cults of antiquity has led us to conclude that the ultimate reason why both ram and bull were associated with sky-gods in general and with Zeus in particular lay in the fact that these animals possessed to an exceptional degree *Zeugungskraft* or fertilising force<sup>5</sup>. It would therefore probably be truer to say that bulls and rams were sacrificed to Zeus because, according to the belief of early days, the gift of so much virility increased his power to fertilise and bless. If so, it would appear that the

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 39, 348, 407 ff., 416 f., 420 ff., 422 ff., Aristoph. *av.* 568.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* 2. 402 ff., 7. 314 ff., 8. 236 ff., 11. 772 ff., 15. 372 ff., 22. 170 ff., *Od.* 13. 24 ff., 22. 334 ff., Hes. *teog.* 535 ff., Dem. in *Mid.* 53, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 214. 12 ff., *Anth.* Cp. the Διὸς βοῦς at Miletos (*infra* ch. II § 9 (h) 1), the oxen sacrificed to Zeus Poseidon at Kos (*ib.*), the βοφφῶρια at Athens (*infra* ch. II § 9 (h) 1), and the epithet of Zeus *Heisatombatos* (*supra* p. 545 n. 2).

Both a bull and a ram figured in the rites of Zeus *Sosipolis* at Magnesia on the Maeander (O. Kern *Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* Berlin 1900 p. 82 no. 98, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. Arch. Anz. p. 78 ff., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 553, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 23 ff.). Cp. also the *taurobolium* and *criobolium* of Kybele and Attis (G. E. Maundlin in Smith—Wayte—Maundlin *Dial. Ant.* ii. 762 f., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1718 f., H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gießen 1903 p. 199 ff.), who was identified with the Phrygian Zeus (*supra* p. 399 n. 3). In view of my subsequent contention that Poseidon was originally a specialised form of Zeus, it is to be noticed that his favourite victims were 'bulls and rams' (*Od.* 1. 25, cp. *Il.* 2. 550 of Leichtheus) or 'a ram and a bull and a goat that mates with swine' (*Od.* 11. 131, 23. 278).

<sup>3</sup> A goat was sacrificed to Zeus *Askraios* at Halikarnassos (*infra* ch. II § 9 (h) 1) and probably at Pedasa (*ib.*). The same sacrifice is presumably implied by the cult-title of Zeus *Atzophaios* (*cf. ma.* p. 27, 51 f. Αἰζοφάγος ὁ Ζεὺς, ὡς παρὰ Νικάνδρου ἐν Ἑλληναίοις (Memeke *cp. Ἑλληναίους*)), as L. Stephani in the *Comptes-rendus St. Pet.* 1869 p. 116 surmised, if not also by the myth of Amaltheia. A she-goat was slain for Vediovis (*supra* p. 711). But the *stamon Pedas* might not touch nor even mention a she-goat (*Gell.* 10. 15, 12). And in general cp. Aenob. *adv. nat.* 7. 21 si caper caedatur Iovi, quem patri solenne est Libero Mercurioque mactari, quid facinoris in hoc erit? ego audire desidero quid apphatum Iuppiter ad tauri habeat sanguinem, ut ei debeat immolari, non debeat Mercurio, Libero? aut natura quae capri est, ut his tursus adcommoda, Iovialibus conveniens sacrificiens non sit?

A young pig was sacrificed to Zeus *Boulaios* at Mykonos (*supra* p. 668), a pointer to Zeus *Enboulaios* at Delos (*supra* p. 669 n. 2).

On the sacrifice of horses to Jupiter *Menzani* see *supra* p. 180 n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> See *etc.* Alkoph. *cp.* 3. 35 cited *infra* ch. II § 9 (h).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* pp. 429 f., 634 f.

primitive conception of the Hellenic Zeus was closely analogous to that of the Vedic Dyaus<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 22 says of Dyaus: "The only essential feature of the personification in the RV. is in fact his paternity. In a few passages Dyaus is called a bull (I, 160<sup>1</sup>; 5, 36<sup>5</sup>) that bellows (5, 58<sup>9</sup>). Here we have a touch of theriomorphism inasmuch as he is conceived as a roaring animal that fertilizes the earth." My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson has most kindly supplied me (October 12, 1907) with the following translation of, and commentary on, the passages in question.—

"Rig-Veda I. 160. 3. "To Heaven and Earth."

*Sa vānuk putrah putrah pavuravān  
pūnāu dhīro bhūtanām mīyavā:  
dhenum ca prūm vṛśbhām sueta am  
vīśāhā śukraṁ payo asya dūhata.*

"The swift-comer, the son of these two parents, the purifier,  
the wise one, purifieth (or enlighteneth) the worlds through his power;  
From the speckled cow and from the bull rich in seed  
he milketh even his gleaming fluid."

Dyaus, the Heaven, is the bull rich in seed and Pṛthivī, the Earth, is the speckled cow. The son of Heaven and Earth is the Sun-god. The gleaming fluid is the rain.  
R.V. V. 36. 5. "To Indra."

*Ṛṣā tvā vṛśaṁ tavathatu Dyauḥ  
ṛṣā vṛśābhyām vahaḥ haribhyām.  
Sa nō vṛśā vṛśavathah suśṛṇa  
vṛśakrato ṛṣā rapin bhavā dhuh*

"May the bull, the Heaven, cherish thee, the bull—  
As a bull thou drivest with thy two mighty (bull-like) horses,  
Do thou the bull, with bulls in thy chariot, O fan-tipped one,  
O thou who hast the strength of a bull, do thou, O god of the thunderbolt, as a bull  
give us (booty) in the battle."

There is a constant play here on the two meanings of *vṛśan* = (1) a mighty one, (2) a bull; and it is difficult to know which meaning to select in each case. I have translated it by "bull" in every case, except in reference to the two horses, where it must mean "mighty" or "like a bull."

R.V. V. 58. 6. "To the Maruts."

*Yat pūrvāsi ta prastibhiḥ asvar  
vīṭuparibhir. Marut, vīṭubhir,  
vṛśadanta āpa, vṛśate vṛśam  
Aśvato vṛśavath vṛśavatu Dyauḥ*

"When ye go forth with speckled deer for your steeds,  
in chariots with strong wheels, O ye Maruts,  
the waters raise themselves, and the floods well forth,  
Then let the Heaven, the tawny bull, thunder."

The words for "bull," viz. *vṛśan* and *vṛśabha*, are probably derived from the root *vṛ* = "to water," from which the ordinary word for "rain" *vṛṣa* comes. A secondary meaning is "to impregnate," and this is the meaning which underlies that of *vṛśan*, which always has the idea of "male." The word is so constantly used when the idea of masculine strength is intended, that it is not easy to know when, as applied to deities, it has or has not the further specific idea of "bull." It is applied to gods, in this general sense, almost indiscriminately to Agni, Indra, the Maruts and to Soma for instance.

I should scarcely have thought that Dyaus was ever conceived by the Vedic poets as

(h) The Sun as a Bronze Man.

i. Talos in Crete.

We pass next from the theriomorphic to the anthropomorphic conception of the sun. The transition is best seen in the case of the Cretan Talos. His name, according to Hesychios, denoted 'the Sun': and he was commonly described as a bronze man<sup>1</sup>. Apollodoros, however, to whom we owe the most detailed account of him, writes: 'He was a man of bronze, but others describe him as a bull.'<sup>2</sup> Talos, therefore, 'the Sun,' being regarded sometimes as a bull, more often as a man, fittingly illustrates the aforesaid transition of ideas.

Talos belonged to the bronze generation<sup>3</sup>, or was given by Hephaistos to Minos<sup>4</sup>, or was made by Hephaistos and given by Zeus to Europe<sup>5</sup>. He had a single vein extending from his neck to his ankles: the vein was closed at its end by a bronze nail thrust through it<sup>6</sup>. Thrice a day this bronze man ran round the island of Crete as its guardian<sup>7</sup>. When the Argonauts wished to put in there, Talos observed them and flung stones at them<sup>8</sup>. But he was slain by the guile of Medeia, who drove him mad, some said, by her potions, while others maintained that she promised to make him immortal and then pulled out his nail so that all the ichor flowed forth from him and he died. A

a bull. All that these passages seem to indicate is that the Heaven impregnates the earth with its rain like a bull, and that it thunders like a bull roaring.

I cannot find any other passages in which Dyauś is likened to a bull. [I should have thought that the simile was applied much more often to many other deities.

So far as I know, neither Dyauś nor any other Vedic divinity is ever represented as a ram.

[E. J. R.]

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. Τῶλως ὁ ἥλιος.

<sup>2</sup> Spenser in *The Faery Queen* naturally makes Sir Artegall's Talus an 'iron man' armed with an 'iron flail.'

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. 1. 9. 26 ὃς ἦν χαλκοῦς ἀνὴρ, οἱ δὲ ταῦρον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν. So R. Wagner prints the passage: A. Westermann and the older editors prefer Ταῦρον as a proper name.

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Ap. Rhod. 4. 1639 f. with schol. ad loc., Zenob. 5. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Simonid. ap. schol. Plat. *rep.* 337 A, Zenob. 5. 85.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. *Od.* 20. 302, Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1893, 9, Ap. Rhod. 4. 1641.

<sup>7</sup> Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Zenob. 5. 85. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1643 ff. makes it an artery (στέρεξ αἰματώσας) closed by a fine skin or membrane (ἐννήν).

<sup>8</sup> Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Zenob. 5. 85. Plat. *Minos* 320 c, in a rationalising passage, makes Talos go the round of the Cretan villages thrice a year with Minos' laws inscribed on tablets of bronze.

<sup>9</sup> Apollod. 1. 9. 26 (τοῖς λιθοῖς), Ap. Rhod. 4. 1637 (πέτρας), 1656 (πετράων), 1675 f. (βάρεις λίθων).

third version said that he was shot in the ankle by Poias and thus came by his death<sup>1</sup>.

Silver coins of Phaistos, struck in the fourth century B.C., exhibit Talos as a youthful winged figure striding towards the left; he hurls one stone with his right hand and holds another ready in his left: the reverse type is that of a charging bull (fig. 534)<sup>2</sup>. Third-century bronze coins of the same town show Talos in a similar attitude hurrying to the right (fig. 535): the reverse here has a hound on the scent, probably the golden hound of Crete<sup>3</sup>. The resemblance of the stone-throwing Talos on coins



Fig. 534.



Fig. 535.



Fig. 536.

of Phaistos to the stone-throwing Minotaur on coins of Knossos (fig. 536)<sup>4</sup> is noticeable: the stones in either case may represent

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. i. 9, 26, Zenob. 5, 85. According to Ap. Rhod. 4, 1651 ff., Medea fixed her evil glance on Talos, who in trying to raise his heavy stones struck his ankle with a projecting fragment of rock. Thereupon his ichor ran out like so much molten lead, and he fell. Cp. Agatharchid. *de mari Erythr.* i. 7 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 115 Muller) *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 443 b 24 f. *τὴν δὲ ζωὴν μόνον τῶν ἐν ψυχῶν τούτων ἐν τῷ σφινὶ κελήσθαι*.

<sup>2</sup> J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète antique* (Macon 1890) i. 264 pl. 24, 24, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 64 pl. 15, 11, *Hunter Cat. Coins ii.* 194 pl. 42, 15, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* p. 163 f. pl. 9, 9, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 47 pl. 23, 40. The legend at the feet of Talos in the specimen figured is Τ Α Α Ω Ν. The Hunterian specimen extends the left hand without a stone, and reads Ν Ω Α Α Τ.

<sup>3</sup> J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 264 f. pl. 24, 25 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 64 pl. 16, 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins ii.* 194. Fig. 535 is from a specimen in my collection.

<sup>4</sup> A golden hound was set by Rhea to guard the goat that nurtured the infant Zeus in Crete. Zeus afterwards made the goat immortal, and its image is still to be seen among the stars. The hound he caused to guard the holy place (τὸ ἱερόν) in Crete. Pandareos, son of Merope, stole it, brought it to Sipylus, and gave it to Tantalos, son of Zeus and Pluto, to keep. After a time Pandareos returned to Sipylus and claimed the hound, but Tantalos denied that he had received it. Zeus punished Pandareos for his theft by turning him into a stone where he stood, Tantalos for his perjury by hurling him down and placing Sipylus above his head (*Ant. Lib.* 36). Variants are collected and discussed by W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1502 ff. See also P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 584 ff. and Miss J. E. Harrison in her *Proleg. Gr. Relig.* p. 299 f., who illustrate the myth from a black-figured *pyxis* at Athens. Probably the golden hound was a theriomorphic epiphany akin to the golden Lamb of Arcus (*supra* i. p. 405 ff.), the golden ram of Athamas (*supra* p. 414 ff.), the dazzling bull of Mimos (*supra* p. 467 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 65 ff. pl. 4, 23—32, *Babylon Monn. Gr. rom.* ii. 1, 1331 ff. pl. 62, 21—23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 18 pl. 4, 7—9, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 11 pl. 6, 32.







Kylix from Knossos: the death of Talos

See p. 720.



sons, or stars<sup>1</sup>, and such may have been the original significance of the stone-throwing Kyklops of the eastern<sup>2</sup> and western islands, though other interpretations are equally possible and perhaps more probable.

A magnificent *kylix* with volute-handles, found in the nekropolis of Ruvo and now in the Jatta collection, represents the death of Talos (pl. xlii). This vase is of special interest to the mythologist, because it appears to depict a form of the story not otherwise preserved to us<sup>3</sup>. The Argonauts have reached the Cretan coast. Zetes and Kalais are seen still on board their vessel. But a landing-ladder is put out from her stern across the water, which is suggested by a dolphin. A young hero—shrinking back in alarm from the central scene, springs up the ladder. On shore Kastor and Polydeukes with their horses have already pursued and caught Talos<sup>4</sup>. Polydeukes grasps him, still attempting to run, within the circle of Medeia's magic spells. Medeia herself stands by, fixing her victim with her evil eye, while she holds a basket full of potent herbs and mutters her fatal formula. Talos, overcome despite himself, falls backwards in a swoon. The nymph Krete flees in terror at the death of her watcher. Above her, in the background, appear Poseidon and Amphitrite as patrons of Argonautic prowess.

## ii. Talos in Sardinia.

Two different versions of the Talos-myth are attributed to Simonides. On the one hand, he is said to have stated that Talos before coming to Crete had dwelt in Sardinia, where he had destroyed many persons, that they grinned when they died, and that this was the origin of the expression a 'sardonic smile'. On the other hand, Simonides is reported to have affirmed that, when the Sardinians tried to cross the sea to Minos, Talos, being wrought of bronze by Hephaistos, sprang into a fire, clasped them to his breast, and slew them gaping<sup>5</sup>. Both versions agree in connecting Talos with the Sardinians.

The matter was sufficiently sensational to appeal to the imagination of the later Greeks, and further information is forthcoming.

<sup>1</sup> See W. Drexler in Roscher *l. c.* *Myth.* n. 2751 n., and cp. *supra* pp. 493 ff., 524.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 309 n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 313 n. 8, 320, 323.

<sup>4</sup> Eitwangler—Reichhold *op. Vasenmalerei* i. 196—203 pls. 38—39.

<sup>5</sup> See O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* n. 784.

<sup>6</sup> Talos, unlike the other figures in this exceedingly skilful composition, is painted white, the modelling of his body being indicated in a thin brown varnish. The artist has thus sought to mark him out from the rest as the man of bronze.

<sup>7</sup> Zenob. 5. 85.

<sup>8</sup> Soud. s. v. Σαρδάριος γένος, cp. schol. Plat. *rep.* 337 A.

Demon the antiquarian c. 300 B.C. stated in a work *On Proverbs* that the Sardinians, being settlers from Carthage, on certain days sacrificed to Kronos not only the handsomest of their captives but also such of their own elders as were above seventy years of age, and that the victims were expected to welcome their fate and even to laugh, tears being regarded as base and cowardly<sup>1</sup>. Timaios the Sicilian historian, a contemporary of Demon, informs us that the Sardinians, when their parents grow old, bring them to the burial-ground, seat them on the edge of pits dug for the purpose, and push them over, every man beating his own father with a stick of cleft wood; further, that the old folk went to their death with cheerfulness and laughter—a fact which occasioned the Greek *dictum*<sup>2</sup>. Lastly, Kleitarchos, who is probably to be identified with Kleitarchos of Aigina, author of a famous geographical Lexicon (first century A.D. or earlier)<sup>3</sup> has yet another explanation of the proverb to offer. He states that the Phoenicians in general and the Carthaginians in particular worshipped Kronos. If they desired to obtain of him some great favour, they vowed to present him with one of their children. A bronze statue of the god stood with its hands held out over a bronze furnace. In the embrace of this statue the child perished miserably. The flame licked its body, shrivelled its limbs, and distorted its mouth into a ghastly semblance of a smile<sup>4</sup>.

The foregoing accounts show that the Cretan sun-god Talos was by some authorities at least identified with the Phoenician Kronos<sup>5</sup>, a form of the Semitic deity El<sup>6</sup>. The identification was perhaps facilitated by another point of resemblance. Talos was sometimes regarded as a bull<sup>7</sup>; and his likeness to the Minotaur suggests that in process of time he had become bull-headed, a god half theriomorphic, half anthropomorphic. But the

<sup>1</sup> Demon *frag.* 11 (*Frage. hist.*, *Gr.* 1, 380 Muller) *ap. schol. Plat.* 20, 302 and *ap. Zenob.* 5, 85 (see O. Crusius *Antiquitates ad personamque Gr.*, p. 148, *Frage. de. frag.*, p. 125 f., Nuid<sup>2</sup>), Soud<sup>2</sup> 7, *Σαρδάρως γένεως*, Phot. *lex.* 7, *Σαρδάρως γένεως*.

<sup>2</sup> Timaios *frag.* 28 (*Frage. hist.*, *Gr.* 1, 199 Muller) *ap. Tract. de Lyk.* 1, 796 and schol. *Leontian. anim.* 24. Also Timaios *frag.* 29 (*Frage. hist.*, *Gr.* 1, 199 Muller) *ap. Soud.* 7, *Σαρδάρως γένεως*, Phot. *lex.* 7, *Σαρδάρως γένεως*, schol. *Plat.* 20, 302, *Justin. in Oct.* p. 1893, 15 ff., *Zenob.* 5, 85, schol. *Plat.* 20, 337 A, cp. *Tract. de Hes. ad. 59* (the *Tractes* here states that the parents were killed with clubs and stones, and then flung from a rocky height).

<sup>3</sup> W. Christ *Geographie der Griechen und Latiner* (München 1898) p. 801.

<sup>4</sup> Kleitarchos *ap. schol. Plat.* 20, 337 A, Soud<sup>2</sup> 7, *Σαρδάρως γένεως*, Phot. *lex.* 7, *Σαρδάρως γένεως*. Cp. *Plat. Minos* 315 b, c, *Diod.* 13, 86, 20, 14, *Plaut. in Pers. ad. 13*, *Just.* 18, 6, 11 f., *Diod.* 20, 14 says that the hands of the bronze statue sloped downwards so that the child placed upon them rolled off into a chasm full of fire.

<sup>5</sup> M. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1, 1504 f.

<sup>6</sup> E. Meyer *ib.* 1, 1228.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 719.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 720.

## Talos and the Bronze-founder's Art 723

Phoenician deity too, according to Rabbinic authors<sup>1</sup>, had a bovine head<sup>2</sup>. Identification was almost inevitable. Indeed, the two gods may have been strictly analogous.

Excavations now in progress beneath the ancient church of Santa Anastasia in southern Sardinia are said to have disclosed a large subterranean temple with a spring locally known as the 'Fount of Pains,' sacred images, and mural decorations. 'These indicate the worship of an earth goddess, and the prevalence of bull worship, as there is a ponderous statue in basalt of a male divinity with a bull head'. Was this the Sardinian Talos?

### iii. Talos and the Bronze-founder's Art.

It is tempting to explain certain traits in the myth of Talos along rationalistic lines. The single vein running from his neck to his ankles and closed by a bronze nail thrust through it<sup>3</sup> vividly recalls the *cire perdue* method of hollow-casting in bronze, a process which was invented at a remote period and lasted throughout the whole history of Greek art<sup>4</sup>. A rough model in clay or plaster,

<sup>1</sup> M. Mayer in Roscher *l. c.* *Myth.* ii. 1505 f. draws attention to the old Rabbinic descriptions of Moloch, ad. viced by J. Selden *De us Syris synagoga* v. Londini 1617 p. 78 ff. and T. Godwin *Moloch and Aton*: etc. London 1667 p. 144 ff., e.g. Selden *op. cit.* p. 78 f. 'Doctissimi Pauli Fagii verba de Moloch, in Chaldaeam paraphrasim Leontius scripta, & ex Hierorum etiam monumentis sumpta, adiungam. Fuit autem Moloch Imago conata ex Reptem conata, eorum aperiebant simile offerenda, aut Tutulones totum qui Quartum Archa Quantum Vitulo Syrium Boni qui totum totum offerre facere sub aperiebatur septimum cubitulum, et facies eius eodem erat et vitulo, ut Manus p'ant. disposita ad recipiendum ab as'antibus, et salutem inferum pro pueri deg. pueri in obitu succensu igne cremabatur, percutientes tympanum pueri erat et aut tu. Habuit haec ille ex libro Ialkut cuius auctor R. Simon. Sed ex hoc conflata imaginem esse ait R. Salomon ad Ieremiam VIII.

<sup>2</sup> L. N. Korfmeier *De p'opulo in univ'erso* Oeniponte 1908 p. 221 n. 3 quotes from the Midrash Peha rabbathi on *Lev.* i. 9: 'Molochi imago non constituta erat intra urbem Hierosolymorum quemadmodum idola alia, sed extra urbem. Imago fuit in intimo septem cavatum: facies eius fuit instar vituli et manus protensae, quemadmodum qui aliquid accepturus est pollicem protendit. Incendebant eam, sacerdotes (פ'רמ'22) intantem sumebant, et manibus Molochi imponebant, ubi animam efflatur'. *Id. v.* p. 222 n. 3, p. 225 c. p. 227 f. 3 compares similar descriptions from other Rabbinic sources.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Cypriot statuettes with bovine heads (L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus its antiquities, art, and temples* London 1877 p. 51 fig. Perrot—Chapuis *Hit et a l'Art* in 600 fig. 414. Obmutsch-Kachter *Kult.* i. pp. 243, 423 pl. 94, 22).

<sup>4</sup> So the correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* for Sept. 10, 1913, writing from Milan on Sept. 9. He also mentions 'the uncovering at Orin Commulu, alongside some ancient copper mines, of a great prehistoric foundry with all the furnaces for smelting, and moulds for casting, just as they were abandoned in the transition period between the ages of stone and of bronze'. I am indebted for this newspaper-cutting to the kind offices of Mr F. M. Cornford and Miss Harrison.

<sup>5</sup> H. Blumner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Kunst der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1887 iv. 285 ff., 325 ff., ut in Pauly—Wissowa *R. v. En.* vi. 607 ff.

which is contrary to the known laws of phonetics, must be due to folk-etymology of some sort. Now in northern India a snake is, for superstitious reasons, habitually called a 'string' or a 'rope': for example, if a snake bites you, you should not mention its name, but remark 'A rope has touched me!'. If, therefore, Talos was in any sense a snake, he might be euphemistically called *káilos*, a 'rope'.

Latin authors narrate that, when Daïdalos flung his nephew to the ground, the youth was in mid air changed by Athena into a partridge<sup>1</sup>. In fact, they commonly call him *Perdix*, or 'Partridge,' not Talos<sup>2</sup>. The name was applied to him by the Greeks as early as the fifth century B.C.; for it occurs in a play of Sophokles<sup>3</sup>. According to a version preserved by the Greek lexicographers, Perdix was the mother of Talos or Kalos, who, when he was killed, hanged herself and was honoured at Athens with a sanctuary beside the Akropolis<sup>4</sup>. Since the grave of Talos<sup>5</sup> or Kalos was on the way from the theatre to the Akropolis<sup>6</sup>, it is likely that the sanctuary and the grave were close together<sup>7</sup>. The myth of Talos transformed by Athena into a partridge was probably popular in Periclean Athens. For a curious historical echo of it has been detected by L. Mercklin<sup>8</sup>.

*The Sage von Daïdalos und Perdix* (Aldersbach: Berthold Thomas schen Verlag Leipzig 1902, p. 21 into *Κάλω σοφίας περι περιγέρουσαν* and by O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth. u. Arch.* 1907 into *Κάλω σοφία περιγέρουσαν*. Cf. *Lex. Plat. u. Plat.* 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3075, 3076, 3077, 3078, 3079, 3080, 3081, 3082, 3083, 3084, 3085, 3086, 3087, 3088, 3089, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3097, 3098, 3099, 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105, 3106, 3107, 3108, 3109, 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3118, 3119, 3120, 3121, 3122, 3123, 3124, 3125, 3126, 3127, 3128, 3129, 3130, 3131, 3132, 3133, 3134, 3135, 3136, 3137, 3138, 3139, 3140, 3141, 3142, 3143, 3144, 3145, 3146, 3147, 3148, 3149, 3150, 3151, 3152, 3153, 3154, 3155, 3156, 3157, 3158, 3159, 3160, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3164, 3165, 3166, 3167, 3168, 3169, 3170, 3171, 3172, 3173, 3174, 3175, 3176, 3177, 3178, 3179, 3180, 3181, 3182, 3183, 3184, 3185, 3186, 3187, 3188, 3189, 3190, 3191, 3192, 3193, 3194, 3195, 3196, 3197, 3198, 3199, 3200, 3201, 3202, 3203, 3204, 3205, 3206, 3207, 3208, 3209, 3210, 3211, 3212, 3213, 3214, 3215, 3216, 3217, 3218, 3219, 3220, 3221, 3222, 3223, 3224, 3225, 3226, 3227, 3228, 3229, 3230, 3231, 3232, 3233, 3234, 3235, 3236, 3237, 3238, 3239, 3240, 3241, 3242, 3243, 3244, 3245, 3246, 3247, 3248, 3249, 3250, 3251, 3252, 3253, 3254, 3255, 3256, 3257, 3258, 3259, 3260, 3261, 3262, 3263, 3264, 3265, 3266, 3267, 3268, 3269, 3270, 3271, 3272, 3273, 3274, 3275, 3276, 3277, 3278, 3279, 3280, 3281, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3285, 3286, 3287, 3288, 3289, 3290, 3291, 3292, 3293, 3294, 3295, 3296, 3297, 3298, 3299, 3300, 3301, 3302, 3303, 3304, 3305, 3306, 3307, 3308, 3309, 3310, 3311, 3312, 3313, 3314, 3315, 3316, 3317, 3318, 3319, 3320, 3321, 3322, 3323, 3324, 3325, 3326, 3327, 3328, 3329, 3330, 3331, 3332, 3333, 3334, 3335, 3336, 3337, 3338, 3339, 3340, 3341, 3342, 3343, 3344, 3345, 3346, 3347, 3348, 3349, 3350, 3351, 3352, 3353, 3354, 3355, 3356, 3357, 3358, 3359, 3360, 3361, 3362, 3363, 3364, 3365, 3366, 3367, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3371, 3372, 3373, 3374, 3375, 3376, 3377, 3378, 3379, 3380, 3381, 3382, 3383, 3384, 3385, 3386, 3387, 3388, 3389, 3390, 3391, 3392, 3393, 3394, 3395, 3396, 3397, 3398, 3399, 3400, 3401, 3402, 3403, 3404, 3405, 3406, 3407, 3408, 3409, 3410, 3411, 3412, 3413, 3414, 3415, 3416, 3417, 3418, 3419, 3420, 3421, 3422, 3423, 3424, 3425, 3426, 3427, 3428, 3429, 3430, 3431, 3432, 3433, 3434, 3435, 3436, 3437, 3438, 3439, 3440, 3441, 3442, 3443, 3444, 3445, 3446, 3447, 3448, 3449, 3450, 3451, 3452, 3453, 3454, 3455, 3456, 3457, 3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3462, 3463, 3464, 3465, 3466, 3467, 3468, 3469, 3470, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3475, 3476, 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 3481, 3482, 3483, 3484, 3485, 3486, 3487, 3488, 3489, 3490, 3491, 3492, 3493, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3497, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3510, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3523, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3534, 3535, 3536, 3537, 3538, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 3571, 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575, 3576, 3577, 3578, 3579, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584, 3585, 3586, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593, 3594, 3595, 3596, 3597, 3598, 3599, 3600, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3604, 3605, 3606, 3607, 3608, 3609, 3610, 3611, 3612, 3613, 3614, 3615, 3616, 3617, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3621, 3622, 3623, 3624, 3625, 3626, 3627, 3628, 3629, 3630, 3631, 3632, 3633, 3634, 3635, 3636, 3637, 3638, 3639, 3640, 3641, 3642, 3643, 3644, 3645, 3646, 3647, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3652, 3653, 3654, 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3664, 3665, 3666, 3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671, 3672, 3673, 3674, 3675, 3676, 3677, 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 3717, 3718, 3719, 3720, 3721, 3722, 3723, 3724, 3725, 3726, 3727, 3728, 3729, 3730, 3731, 3732, 3733, 3734, 3735, 3736, 3737, 3738, 3739, 3740, 3741, 3742, 3743, 3744, 3745, 3746, 3747, 3748, 3749, 3750, 3751, 3752, 3753, 3754, 3755, 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759, 3760, 3761, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768, 3769, 3770, 3771, 3772, 3773, 3774, 3775, 3776, 3777, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3781, 3782, 3783, 3784, 3785, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789, 3790, 3791, 3792, 3793, 3794, 3795, 3796, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3803, 3804, 3805, 3806, 3807, 3808, 3809, 3810, 3811, 3812, 3813, 3814, 3815, 3816, 3817, 3818, 3819, 3820, 3821, 3822, 3823, 3824, 3825, 3826, 3827, 3828, 3829, 3830, 3831, 3832, 3833, 3834, 3835, 3836, 3837, 3838, 3839, 3840, 3841, 3842, 3843, 3844, 3845, 3846, 3847, 3848, 3849, 3850, 385

During the erection of the Propylaia on the Akropolis the best of the workmen missed his footing and fell. When Perikles was discouraged by this accident, Athena appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a remedy, by means of which Perikles speedily cured the man. He commemorated the event by erecting on the Akropolis a bronze statue of *Hygieia* Athena, or 'Health' Athena, by the side of an already existing altar. So much we learn from Plutarch. Pliny completes the story, though with material differences throughout. A favourite slave of Perikles—he says—was building a temple on the Akropolis, when he fell from the top of the pediment. Athena showed herself to Perikles in a dream and prescribed the herb *perdicium*, the 'partridge-plant,' which in honour of herself was thenceforward known as *parthenium*, the 'Virgins-plant.' Pliny adds that the portrait of this same slave was cast in bronze and served for the famous statue of the *splanchnoptes* or 'entrail-roaster'.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the details of the occurrence may have been, it seems clear that the prescription of the 'partridge-plant' was due to a reminiscence of Talos' transformation into a partridge.<sup>2</sup>

But why this connection between Talos and a partridge? On bird-metamorphoses in general I have elsewhere said my say.<sup>3</sup> Here it must suffice to observe that the partridge in particular was notorious for its generative propensities.<sup>4</sup> Hence it was regarded as sacred to Aphrodite.<sup>5</sup> And the same reason will

<sup>1</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. This statue can hardly be identified with that by the Athenian sculptor Pythios, the base of which with its inscription (*C. I. A. I.* 1 no. 335

Dittenberger *Syll. Inscr.* 2 no. 585) is still to be seen on the Akropolis immediately adorning the S.E. angle column of the Propylaia; see Frazer *Poet. anim.* II. 277 ff., W. Judeich *Arch. Anz.* p. 220 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 43. The statue of the *splanchnoptes* was by Stypax of Kypros (*Plin. nat. hist.* 34. 80). On existing copies see M. Mayer in the *Jahrbuch der deutsch. Arch.* 1893 vol. 218 ff. figs. 1-3 and pl. 4, and A. von Salm in the *Arch. Mitth.* 1906 xxx. 35 ff. pl. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Opusc.* 8. 230 ff. Since then as a partridge he watched from a branching oak-tree Daedalos leaving his son Perdix. In 237 *garula ramosa prospexit ab illic perdis* (so the MSS.) others have taken offence at the notion of a partridge up a tree. An anonymous grammarian of the seventh century A.D. or later quotes the line thus: *garula limoso prospexit illic perdis* (H. Keil *Grammatici Latini* Lipsiae 1868 v. 587). Hence R. Merkel *perdis limoso illic* A. L. Housman *Opusc.* 237. But see P. Burmann *ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* 237. 1904 xv. 382 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. in the passages cited by H. Bonitz *Index Aristotelicus* Berolini 1870 1. 278a, b c. περδικας, *Ath. u. nat. an.* 3. 5. 3. 16, 4. 1. 7. 19. 17. 15, Antigoni, *hist. nat.* 81. Athen. 389 A ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 101.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* 237. 1904 4. 64 p. 117. 20 ff. Wunsch. *Ath. u. nat. an.* 10. 35 ἀθρηγὰ δὲ οὐ περδικας τῆς Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδῖτις ἔστιν ἄλλοι λεγόντων would make it sacred to Artemis (or Selene). see W. H. Roscher *Lexicon Antiquitatis et Mythologiae* Leipzig 1890 p. 97 ff. and in his *Lex. Myth.* II. 317 ff.

account for its association with Talos, who, as being the Sun, was essentially a fertilising power.

A remarkable variant of the Perdix story is preserved by the Latin mythographers.<sup>2</sup> Perdix, the inventor of the saw, fell in love with his own mother Polykaste and pined away because of her. Fenestella, who wrote his *Annals* in the reign of Tiberius, commented on this myth.<sup>3</sup> According to him, Perdix was a hunter, who tired of the chase, especially as he observed that his young comrades Aktaion, Adonis, and Hippolytos all came to a bad end. He therefore abandoned his life as a hunter and devoted himself to agriculture. Hence he was said to have loved his mother, *i.e.* Mother Earth, and to have pined away, *i.e.* to have worn himself thin over her. Her name *Polykaste* might be spelled *Polykarpe* and rendered the 'Very Fruitful One.' As for the saw, that denoted the harsh tongue with which he abused his former occupation. Fenestella's rationalism is of course absurd. Nevertheless his account appears to contain elements that are far older than the rise of rationalism. Perdix, who loved Polykaste, variously identified with Mother Earth<sup>4</sup> or the Mother of the gods<sup>5</sup> or Diana<sup>6</sup>—Perdix, who is expressly compared with Aktaion, Adonis, and Hippolytos, an ill-fated trio—Perdix, who dreaded the dangers of a woodland life, is a figure ominously like the human favourite or partner of more than one ancient goddess. His love for Polykaste was, as Claudian says, inspired by herself<sup>7</sup>. And there is perhaps a special significance in the fact that her lover bore the name of a bird, of that bird which was 'the plaything of the daughter of Zeus and Leto'.<sup>8</sup>

#### v. Talos identified with Zeus.

Talos the 'Sun'<sup>9</sup> was in Crete identified with Zeus. A Hesychian gloss explains the epithet *Talanis* to mean 'Zeus

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 719.

<sup>2</sup> Fulgent, *myth.* 3, 2, *Myth. Vat.* 1, 232, 2, 130, 3, 7, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Fulgent, *myth.* 3, 2. Fenestella in *Ann.* and *Myth. Vat.* 2, 130. Fenestella should, I think, be corrected into Fenestellus in *Ann.* On Fenestellus see M. Schanz *Geschichte des römischen Litteratur* (München 1901) II, 2, 301 ff. pp. G. Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enz.* VI, 2177 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Fulgent, *myth.* 3, 2, *Myth. Vat.* 1, 232, 2, 130, 3, 7, 3. Cf. the identification of earth-mother and Talos (?) in Sardinia *supra* p. 723.

<sup>5</sup> *Myth. Vat.* 2, 130.

<sup>6</sup> *Myth. Vat.* 3, 7, 3. Perdix in quoque primo Demeter, comitum in eam matris, amore dicitur inabuisse.

<sup>7</sup> Claud. *epigr.* 19 de *Perdix et Polykaste*. Perdix, cum matrem suam, Polykastem, diligit, ignes sui amoris, quosdam, inquit, in se, et in matrem, effudit.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 727 n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 719.



in Crete<sup>1</sup>. And that this gloss is trustworthy appears from more than one Cretan inscription. The inhabitants of Dreros in eastern Crete swore by a series of deities including Zeus *Tallaïos* and Helios to oppose the inhabitants of Lyttos<sup>2</sup>. At Olous too, a town close to Dreros, there was a sanctuary of Zeus *Tallaïos*, where a decree inviting Knossos to arbitrate between Lato and Olous was set up, as was also a decree in honour of a certain physician from the island of Kasos, who had helped the Olontians in time of plague<sup>3</sup>. Coins of Olous, struck in the latter part of

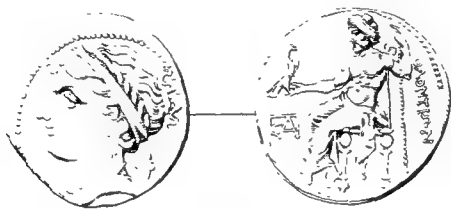


Fig. 537

the fourth century B.C., have as their obverse type a head of Britomartis with fillet, bay-wreath, necklace and quiver, and as their reverse Zeus enthroned with an eagle on his right hand, a sceptre in his left (fig. 537)<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps the same deity was worshipped on Mount Ide; for a versified inscription, found near Retimo at the foot of the mountain, records a dedication to

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. *Ταλλῖος* = ο Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ.

<sup>2</sup> Dittenberger *Syl. in. v. G.* no. 463. 14 ll. ὀμνῶ τὰν Ἑστῖαν τὰν, εἰ πρωτανεῖς καὶ τὸν Δῆρα τὸν Ἀγροαῖον καὶ τὸν Δῆρα τὸν Ταλλαῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀπέλλων(α) | τὸν Δελφικὸν καὶ τὰν Ἀθαιαῖαν τὰν Πολυούχον καὶ τὸν Ἀπέλλωνα τοῦ Ποιτίου καὶ τὰν Λατοῦν καὶ τὰν Ἀρτεμῖν καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα καὶ τὰν Ἀφοριδίταν καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆα καὶ τὸν Ἄλιον καὶ τὰν Βριτομαρτίην καὶ τοῦ Φοίνικα καὶ τὰν Ἀμφιῶνον καὶ τὰς Γᾶν καὶ τὸν Οὐρανὸν καὶ ἥρωας καὶ ἠρωσπῆας καὶ κραίας καὶ ποταμούς καὶ θεοὺς πάντας | καὶ πάσας κτλ. = Michel *Revue d'Ins. v. xv.* no. 23. 1 14 ll. = Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial. Ins. h. v.* m. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952. 1 14 ll. The inscription was found in 1854 on a hill called Χάρης near the church of St Antonios. It appears to date from a period shortly before 220 B.C. (L. Banchier in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1699).

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger *Syl. in. v. G.* no. 514. 14 ἐν δὲ Ὀλόντι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ζηρὸς τῷ Ταλλαῷ Michel *Revue d'Ins. v. xv.* no. 28. 14. The inscription, which belongs to the second half of the second century B.C., was found at Delos (L. Homolle in the *Bull. C. H.* 1879 m. 290 ff. pl. 6 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> J. Demargne in the *Bull. Cret. Hitt.* 1900 xxiv. 227 no. 1 C 57 ff. ἀναγρᾶσαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ψάφισμα ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ζηρὸς (στῆς) | τοῦ Ταλλαίου κα[τ] | ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. The inscription was found in 1898 on the site of a Byzantine church at Olous, and this portion of it dates perhaps from 50 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> N. Svoronos *Numi numism. de la Crète antienne*. Macon 1890 v. 249 pl. 22. 23; repr. v. 250 pl. 22, 27; *Bull. Mus. Cret. Cret. etc.* p. 60 pl. 14, 12; *Hant. v. Cret.* v. 192; *Hod. Hitt. m. v.* p. 472.

## 730 Direct identifications of Zeus with the Moon

Hermes 'established on the Tallaian heights<sup>1</sup>,' and we know that the mountain as a whole was famous for its cult of Zeus<sup>2</sup>.

As in Crete, so in Lakonia, Talos the sun-god came to be identified with Zeus. Mount *Taktôn* the culminating peak of Mount Taygeton<sup>3</sup>, was sacred to the Sun, and amongst the sacrifices there offered to him were horses<sup>4</sup>. It would appear, therefore that the Laconians too had a sun-god akin to Talos. But Zeus, whose worship spread by degrees over most of the mountain-tops of Greece<sup>5</sup>, naturally usurped the position of this ancient deity. A Spartan inscription links together Zeus *Taktittas* with Auxesia and Damoia<sup>6</sup>. These were goddesses of fertility<sup>7</sup>, and Zeus *Taktittas* was presumably coupled with them as being himself a fertilising force<sup>8</sup>.

### § 7. Zeus in relation to the Moon.

#### (a) Direct identifications of Zeus with the Moon.

We have next to enquire whether Zeus as god of the bright sky stood in any special relation to the second of the celestial luminaries. Direct identification, indeed, of Zeus with the moon is hardly to be looked for on Greek soil; for the Greeks, at least in historical times<sup>9</sup>, consistently regarded the moon as feminine. It is only in quasi-Greek districts that Zeus appears as a

<sup>1</sup> Corp. inscr. Gr. v no. 2569 = Congny *Anth. Pal. Arch. ind.* i. 237 σφρασι Ταλλαίουσιον (Ταλλείσιον Gruter) ἰδρυμένη κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> Append. B Crete.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 155 f.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 3. 20-4, *supra* p. 180 f.

<sup>5</sup> Append. B.

<sup>6</sup> Lebas-Foucart *Pléponnaie* no. 162 l. add. Διὶ Τακτίτῃ [καὶ Αὐξήσιῃ καὶ Δαμοίῃ] κ.τ.λ. = *Inscr. Gr. de Laconie* no. 363, 1 f. See Append. B Lakoniae.

<sup>7</sup> F. Dammula in Pauly-Wissowa *K. d. Phil.* n. 2616 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 291. H. Usener *Götternamen* p. Bonn 1896 p. 130 f. regards Zeus Ταλλεῖσιος, Τακτίτας, as gods corresponding with the goddesses Θαλλώ, Θαλα, and ingeniously compared the Zeus Θαλῆς of Aquileia (*Inscr. Gr. de la Gr. de l'Asie* no. 2337 an altar found at Aquileia in 1830 Διὶ Θαλῇ Τῇ Ἰσχυρίῳ Μανερτίῳ ἀνέθηκεν). For the interlunge of T and Θ he referred to H. E. Mulsas *De melleo* (Paris 1843) p. 83 (Hesych τῆτος πέποις Κρήτες) and quoted Hecatas, Πούτος, for Πούτος cf. Boissac *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 92, who adds an example from Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Phil.* *Inscr.* iii. 2. 261 ff. no. 4991 iv 3 f.).

<sup>9</sup> H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 36 conjectures that the Greeks originally regarded the moon as masculine, not feminine, as Μῆρ, not Μηνῆ, and that the early conception survived in the Phrygian moon-god Μῆρ (on whom see W. Diercke's exhaustive article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 2687-2770). Thus, in view of the fact that the moon is masculine in the Celtic, Germanic, Slavonic, Old Indian, and Zend languages, appears to me not improbable.

## Direct identifications of Zeus with the Moon 731

moon-god<sup>1</sup>. Thus silver tetradrachms of Antiochos viii Grypos, king of Syria, struck between 121 and 96 B.C., have as their reverse



Fig. 538.



Fig. 539.

type Zeus standing erect within a laurel-wreath: he holds a long sceptre in his left hand, an eight-rayed star, possibly meant for the planet Jupiter, in his right; and on or over his head is the crescent moon (figs. 538, 539).

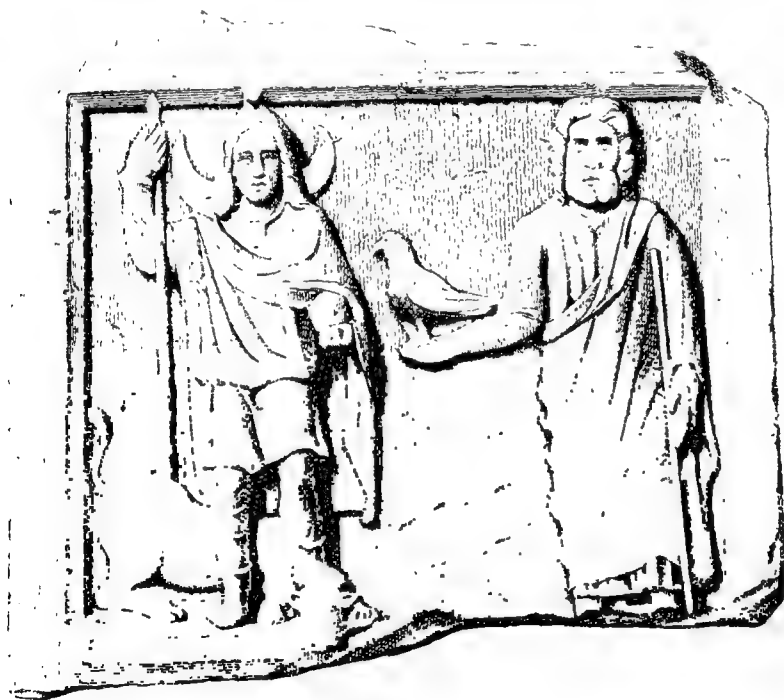


Fig. 540.

<sup>1</sup> F. Sacke *Die 'Kronos'* Leipzig 1907 pp. 28-42 attempts to show that Zeus was originally a moon-god: but his arguments (the birth of Zeus on various mountains: his grave in Crete: his epithets *Ἡνοπαρής*, *Ἀστέριος*, *Χρυσάωρ*, *Ἐπόφιος*, *Ἀρκάιος*; his connexion with the double axe, 'horns of consecration,' eagle, goat, ram: his fight with the Titans: his temporary defeat by Typhoeus, etc.) are far from convincing.

- *Bull. Mus. Cav. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 88f. pl. 24. 1. *Hunter Cav.*

## 732 Zeus paired with Selene (*Pandîa*?)

When Zeus appears in conjunction with the god Men. as in a relief from Maionia (fig. 540), he is to be regarded as a solar rather than a lunar deity<sup>1</sup>.

### (b) Zeus paired with Selene (*Pandîa*?).

Again, Zeus was paired with Selene, the Greek moon-goddess, as the father of Nemea<sup>2</sup>, while Dionysos, according to some authorities, was an offspring of the same union<sup>3</sup>. As early as the seventh century B.C. Alkman described certain flowers or plants

Which the Dew, daughter of Zeus  
And of Selana nurtureth<sup>4</sup>.

A late Homeric hymn to Selene tells how—

With her once Kronos' son in love lay locked,  
And she conceiving bare the mad Pandion  
Of form conspicuous mid the immortal gods<sup>5</sup>.

Hyginus too records the same genealogy<sup>6</sup>; and Photios states that the Attic festival Pandia derived its name either from Pandia the daughter of Selene or from Pandion the eponym of the tribe Pandionis, adding that it was held for Zeus<sup>7</sup>. It seems probable that, as W. H. Roscher conjectured<sup>8</sup>, Pandia was originally an epithet of Selene rather than her daughter<sup>9</sup>; but that the festival Pandia was *ab initio* connected with this Selene *Pandîa* is far from clear.

*Coin.* iii, 99 f. pl. 69, 18 f., Head *Hitt. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 770. Fig. 538 is from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, fig. 539 from one in my collection.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 642 n. 2 and n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 193 fig. 142.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 456 n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 457 n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Alkm. *frags.* 48 Bergk<sup>1</sup> οὐα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελευας [δίας] υἱ. *Plow.* *ymf.* 3, 10, 3, *quæst. nat.* 24, *de fa. in col. lun.* 25, cp. Macrobi. *Sat.* 7, 16, 31. Natalis Comes *mytholog.* 3, 17 p. 131 ed. Patav. quidam tradiderunt Laniam fuisse uxorem Aetii, ex quo Korem filium concepit et genuit, ut ait Aleman nichius in eo carmine: ἀγρωστων ὀρόσος αἰεὶ μεν μήνης τε καὶ ἄερος υἱός. Natalis appears to be quoting, not Alkm. *frags.* 48, but a corrupt hexameter passage, which I would restore as follows: ἀγρωστων αἰεὶ μεν μήνης τε καὶ ἄερος υἱός (glossed by ὀρόσος)

<sup>6</sup> *Il. Sch.* 14 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Hyg. *fab. poet.* p. 12, 9 Schmidt ex Iove et Luna Pandia (pandion, cod. 1, con. Schmidt).

<sup>8</sup> Phot. *eccl.* 57 Πανδία. *Soc. et. et.* p. 651, 20 f., Bekker *op. loc.* 293, 10 f.

<sup>9</sup> W. H. Roscher *Lex. Seane. mit. P.* i. iii. Leipzig 1890 p. 100 and in his *Myth.* ii, 3172.

<sup>10</sup> Ulpian in Dem. in *Ma.* 8 Πανδία δέ οὐα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἐρσαται οὐδὲ Πανδία τῇ Σελευην νομινοῖσιν κτλ. *Schol.* Dem. in *Ma.* 8 Πανδία καὶ Παντρία ἢ Σελευην, κτλ. Maximus *περὶ καταρχων* 22, 146, 208, 281 uses the expression Πανδία Σελευην, i. e. 463, Πανδία Σελευήν, and i. 123, 294, 327, 303 ἐκ Πανδίας τῆς τοῦ μηνός. Origen, i. 11, 8 Abel has Πανδία Σελευήν.

## Zeus paired with Io, Pasiphae, Europe 733

The festival itself was held on or about Elaphebolion 14, and appears to have formed the concluding act of the City Dionysia<sup>1</sup>. Its name is an extension of *Dia-* comparable, as Pollux saw, with *Panathēnaia*, *Panionia*, *Panaitolia*, *Pamboiōtia*: Mommsen<sup>2</sup> and Gruppe<sup>3</sup> suppose with much probability that the Pandia was celebrated at the time of the full moon. Now this was the time when, according to Greek belief, dew fell thickest; and dew, as we shall prove further on, was one means by which the sky-father impregnated the earth-mother<sup>4</sup>. Hence I venture to infer that the Pandia stood for the union of Zeus with Semele, whose name gave rise to frequent confusion with Selene<sup>5</sup>. On this showing the City Dionysia began with dithyrambs, which commemorated the union of Zeus with Semele<sup>6</sup>, and ended with the Pandia, which brought that union to effect. Ten lunar months later, at the Lenaia, Dionysos son of Zeus by Semele was born<sup>7</sup>.

### (c) Zeus paired with Io, Pasiphae, Europe.

When Zeus came to be paired with Selene, we may fairly assume that it was as a sun-god with a moon-goddess<sup>10</sup>. The same conception has been thought to underlie several of the love-tales told about him and already in part discussed by us. Scholars ancient and modern have regarded Io as the moon<sup>11</sup>. And, if so, her lover might well be the sun. Pasiphae and her bull almost certainly represented moon and sun in some sense<sup>12</sup>. Europe, borne off from Phoinike to Crete by Zeus, apparently by Zeus *Astérios*<sup>13</sup>, is another case in point. For Zeus *Astérios* seems

<sup>1</sup> Dem. in *Hel.* 8 f., Hapokl. and Soud., *τῇ Πανδῆϊα*. See further Mommsen *F. u. d. Stadt Athen* pp. 432 f., 441, 445, 448, G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* n. 333, E. Cahen in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 313.

<sup>2</sup> E. Cahen *loc. cit.* Another extension of *Dia* is to be seen in *Διαστία*: the simple form occurs as the name of a festival in Teos (*supra* p. 423 n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Poll. 6. 163. We need not suppose with E. Pühl *Die Atrachmenum pemptis sacris* Berlin 1900 p. 30 n. 188 (after U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *Aus Kykladen* Berlin 1880 p. 133) that the *Pindia* implies an early unification of several Zeus-cults. The prefix may be due to false analogy, *Pindia* signifying no more than a glorified *Dia*.

<sup>4</sup> Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 432 n. 4, p. 441.

<sup>5</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 938 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 8 (a). Note that at Miletos on Artemision 14 (= Elaphebolion 14) an offering was made *Διὶ Νόσιῳ*, i.e. *Νόσιῳ*, cp. Zeus *Tetios* (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 162 ff., 400 f.).

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 457 n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 681 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 669 ff.

<sup>10</sup> M. Mayer *Die Götter und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 79 ff., W. H. Roscher *Ulex, Selene und Fortandites* Leipzig 1890 pp. 8 f., 100 f. and in his *Lex. Myth.* vi. 3172 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 454 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* pp. 521 ff., 543 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra* p. 545 ff.

to have been—as C. Robert<sup>1</sup>, M. Mayer<sup>2</sup>, and W. H. Roscher<sup>3</sup> surmised—not merely a star-god but also a sun-god<sup>4</sup>.

I must, however, insist even at the risk of some repetition that not one of these myths affords any valid proof that Zeus was *ab origine* a sun-god, consort of a moon-goddess. We cannot assert that Io was from the outset lunar<sup>5</sup>. Pasiphae may have been<sup>6</sup>: but it is probable that her bull, though solar, was not originally Zeus<sup>7</sup>. Finally, Europe as the moon<sup>8</sup> and Zeus *Astérios* as the sun<sup>9</sup> were Phoenician rather than Hellenic divinities.

#### (d) Zeus paired with Antiope.

In the Homeric *Nekyia*<sup>10</sup> Odysseus interviews the shades of fourteen famous heroines, the list being probably the work of an interpolator who belonged to the Hesiodic school<sup>11</sup>. We are concerned with but one of his characters—

Antiope,  
Asopos' daughter, who in truth did boast  
That she had lain even in the arms of Zeus—  
Two sons she bare him, Zethos and Amphiion,  
Who founded first Thebes of the seven gates  
And walled the same, since not without a wall  
Could they, though stout of heart, hold wide-wayed Thebes<sup>12</sup>.

In Euripides' *Antiope* Amphiion says to his mother:

Nay, I cannot think  
That Zeus in secret copying the shape  
Of an evil-doer so drew nigh thy couch  
As might a man<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Preller—Robert *op. cit.* *Myth.* i. 136.

<sup>2</sup> M. Mayer *op. cit.* p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Roscher *Ueb. Sonn- und Mondgötter* Leipzig 1890 pp. 132, 138 f. *op. cit.* his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3193.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 493 ff., 545 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 454 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 521 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* pp. 522 f., 543 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* pp. 524, 538 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 542 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Od.* ii. 225 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. C. W. Warr *The Greek Epic* London 1895 p. 194 ff., M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque*<sup>2</sup> Paris 1896 i. 279 f., W. Christ *Geschichte der Griech. Lit.* München 1908 i. 56.

<sup>12</sup> *Od.* ii. 260 ff. The passage is paraphrased and expanded in Ap. Rhod. i. 735–741.

<sup>13</sup> Eur. *Antiope* frag. 210 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *apud* Clem. Al. *Strom.* 5. 14 p. 401, 5 ff. Stählin (= Lucubr. *proleg.* cv. 13–13, 38) οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν πᾶν πολλῶν δόξαν πέρι τοῦ θεοῦ ἱποληπτόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ λάθρα δοκῶ | φῶτος (θηρὸς) εἶ. F. W. Schneid. καλοῦργος σχηματίζουμένην | σοὶ Ζῆν' (εἶ). Val. enacti, τήνδ' εὐδὲ, τήνδ' (Euseb.) εἰς εἴρη. ὡς περ ἀνθρώπων μολεῖν, Ἀμφίων λέγει τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ.

But Hermes as *deus ex machina* declares:

Thou who didst tell her that it was a man,  
Not Zeus, who wooed and won her—how-soe'er  
She might deny it—what couldst thou have said  
More hateful to the heart of Zeus himself,  
Dishonouring thus the very bride of Zeus?<sup>1</sup>

The story was localised in Boiotia<sup>2</sup> and took on a Dionysiac colouring, Antiope being represented as a Maenad<sup>3</sup> and Zeus as a Satyr<sup>4</sup>. It is not, however till Roman times that Zeus is

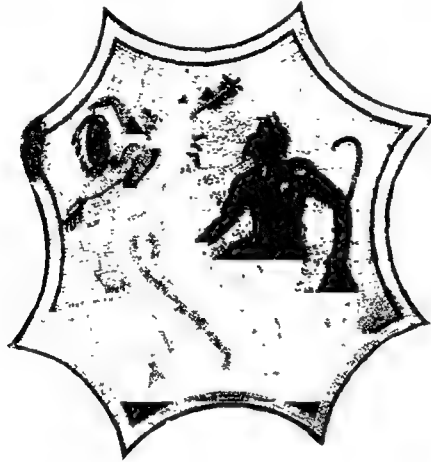


Fig. 541.

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Ant. et. t. t.*, *Antiope* 44 ff. (H. v. Arnim *Suffrag. Ant. et. t. t.*, Bonn 1913, p. 21) καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν σφίγγει λέγων αἰνέωπος [ὥς] οἱ Ζεὺς εὐεχθήν, [ἀντὶ] παρρηΐται τὰδε· τί δῆτ' ἂν εἰπείς, Ζεὺς οὐκ ἄλλαν ἤχρητο. Ζητὸς μολοῖσα <ν>· λεῖπτον ᾧδ' αἰτιμάσας.

<sup>2</sup> Antiope was born at Hyria (Hes. *frags.* 78 Hach *ant. schol.*, *Il.* 2. 496, Eustath. *in I.* p. 265, 5, Herodotus 1. 300 Lentz, Steph. Byz. s.v. Τῆρα). Her father Nykteus founded Hyria (Steph. Byz. s.v. Τῆρα, Eust. *Ant. et. t. t.*, 180 Nauck *ant. Harpokr.* s.v. Τῆρα, s.p. Herodotus 1. 300 Lentz, Steph. Byz. s.v. Τῆρα).

<sup>3</sup> On Antiope as a Maenad in literature (Paus. 9. 17. 6) and art (O. John in the *Arch. Z.*, 1853, xi. 65–105 pl. 56 f.) consult F. Weniger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 241 f. She is described as a daughter of Tykourgos in the *Kyrenaia* ap. Prokl. *schol.* i (p. 18 Kinkel) *per. Tykourgos* (Tykourgos, Heyne) *θυγατέρα*. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. K.* p. 67 f., who remarks (p. 68 n. 1) that late writers regard Tykourgos, the persecutor of Dionysos in *frags.* (Z. 6. 130 ff.) as a Boeotian (Furtw. *Mat.* 6. 6 ff., Kephalion *frags.* 5 (*frags.* 4. 7. 6), m. 628 Muller) s. v. Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 42 ff. Dindorf, Hyg. *fabl.* i. 2. 21).

<sup>4</sup> Rafin *frags.* 10. 22, Diacont. 2. 24 (*frags.* *ant.* v. 129 Baehrens), Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 123, 16. 242 f., Myth. Vat. i. 204, Laet. *Plac. in Stat.* *frags.* 9. 423, schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090. K. Wenicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enz.* i. 2497 holds that of the various monuments which have been supposed to represent Zeus as a Satyr with Antiope, two only have been rightly so interpreted, viz. an Etruscan mirror of late style in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronz.* p. 116 no. 607 = Gerhard *Enz. Myth.* iii. 83 f. pl. 81. 2) and a scene from the great mosaic on the Piazza della Vittoria at Palermo

actually said to have played the Satyr. The language of Euripides suggests rather that he courted Antiope in the shape of an ordinary man. A variant tradition, which emphasises the analogy between Europe and Antiope, makes the latter, like the former, wooed by Zeus in the form of a bull<sup>1</sup>. The bull-connexion reappears in a curious local custom recorded by Pausanias. When the sun was in the sign of Taurus, the Thebans used to mount guard over the tomb of Zethos and Amphion; for if the men of Tithorea in Phokis could at that time steal some of the earth from the said tomb and place it on the tomb of Antiope, then the district of Tithorea would be fertile, that of Thebes barren. The belief was based on the following passage in the oracles of Bakis:

But whensoe'er to Zethos and Amphion  
One of Tithoreas men upon the ground  
Shall pour a soothing gift of drink and prayer,  
What time the Bull is warmed by the great sun's might,  
Then verily beware of no small bane  
That comes upon the city: for the fruits  
Dwindle within it, when men take of the earth  
And to the tomb of Phokos bear the same.

The tomb of Phokos comes in as something of a surprise. We are expecting the tomb of Antiope. So Pausanias hastens to explain:

'The wife of Lykos (Dirke) honoured Dionysos above all the gods. Therefore, when she suffered what tradition says she suffered (being bound to a bull by Zethos and Amphion and thus dragged to death), Dionysos was wroth with Antiope. Are not the gods jealous of excessive vengeance? Antiope, men say, went mad and bereft of her wits wandered through Hellas till Phokos, son of Ornytion, son of Sisypchos, fell in with her, healed and married her. Hence Antiope and Phokos share the same grave.'

(J. Overbeck in the *Ber. sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Classe 1873 pp. 98, 105 pl. 2). But the Etruscan mirror is, both by H. B. Walters and by E. Gerhard (*Mon. d'ant.*, 1877), interpreted of Zeus with Semele: it represents Zeus with a crown of lilies (*supra* p. 622 f.) on his head and a thunderbolt in his left hand embracing a winged female figure in the presence of a tailed Satyr with two flutes. The mosaic, which may be dated c. 100 A.D., shows (fig. 541) Antiope as a Bacchant with *thyrsos* and timbrel advancing towards the left, while Zeus as an ithyphallic Satyr with *lagoballon* and fawn-skin (?) follows her from the right. Finally it may be noted that a painting by Correggio in the Louvre (no. 1118) gives Zeus as a young Satyr discovering Antiope asleep with Eros beside her (H. Schulze *Das weibliche Schonheitsideal in der Malerei* Jena 1912 p. 243 fig. 108, Remach *K. f. P.*, *Peintures* m. 754).

<sup>1</sup> Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Thib.* 7. 189 (Antiope) a Lyco expulsa per Diocem a Iove in taurum verso compressa est, unde Zethus et Amphion feruntur progeniti.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 9. 17. 4 ff., cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Tithopaia*, who wrongly places the grave of Zethos and Amphion at Tithorea; on its real position see Frazer *Panama* v. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 9. 17. 6. At a place in Daubis called Tromis there was a shrine of the *ἑρμῆς*.





Antiope's tomb at Tithorea was honoured when the sun was in the sign of Taurus<sup>1</sup>. Her partner at Sikyon was Epopeus, grandson of Helios<sup>2</sup>. Late authorities made her a priestess of Helios<sup>3</sup>. Antiope, therefore, stood in some relation to the sun. At Corinth that relation was much more clearly recognised. For Eumelos in his *Korinthiaka* (c. 740 B.C.) represented Antiope, not as wife of Helios' grandson, but as wife of Helios himself and by him mother of Aloeus and Aietes<sup>4</sup>. Diophanes too, better known as Diophantos, in his *Pontic History* (s. iii B.C.)<sup>5</sup> made Antiope the mother of Aietes<sup>6</sup>, and therefore presumably the wife of Helios. Now if Antiope as early as the eighth century B.C. was the wife of the Sun, it is reasonable to conjecture that she was a moon-goddess. *Antiope*, as O. Gruppe observes<sup>7</sup>, is 'a highly suitable appellation for the full moon, which at its rising exactly faces the sun.' For *Antiope* means 'She who looks over against, or faces' another; and Nonnos, for example, speaks of—

Phaethon balancing the full-faced *antiopeis* Moon<sup>8</sup>

W. H. Roscher<sup>9</sup>, who regards Antiope as a 'moon-heroine' or 'hypostasis of the moon-goddess,' draws attention to her rape by Epopeus<sup>10</sup>, to her vaunted beauty<sup>11</sup>, to the names of her father *Nykteus*, the 'Nocturnal,' and his brother *Lykos*, the 'Light', to

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 736 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 737.

<sup>3</sup> Kephallion *πραξ.* 6 (*Πραξ. ἱστ. Gr.* iii 628 Muller) <sup>7</sup> *Is. Metab.* i 2 p. 45 Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> Lameel *πραξ.* 2 Kinkel *ap. schol. Pind. Ol.* 13, 74, 107 *on* *Lyk.* 174, *schol. Eur. Med. aug.* 3 (iv. 4 Dindorf).

<sup>5</sup> E. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enz.* v. 1051.

<sup>6</sup> Diophantos *πραξ.* 1 (*Πραξ. ἱστ. Gr.* iv 397 Muller) *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 3, 242, Endok. *trakt.* 37. In both sources the MSS. read *Διοφάντης*, not *Διοφάντος*.

<sup>7</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Kel.* p. 938 n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 6, 76 *καὶ Φαέθων ἰσημοῖμος ἦν ἀντ' ὤπιδι Μηνος*.

<sup>9</sup> W. H. Roscher *Über Schen und Verwandte* Leipzig 1890 p. 140 ff. and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3197 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Paus. 2, 6, 2 *Ἐπὶ Πάριον Ἰπποκλ. ἱστ. τριτ.* 14 p. 18 Kinkel *φθιγας*, cf. On the rape of the moon-goddess see W. H. Roscher *Über Schen und Verwandte* Leipzig 1890 p. 78 and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3179.

<sup>11</sup> Ap. Rhod. 4, 1088 *εὐώπιδι* (cp. Pind. *Ol.* 10, 901 *εὐώπιδος Σελώνας*, cf. Paus. 2, 6, 1, Prop. 1, 4, 5, Hyg. *fab.* 8. On the beauty of the moon-goddess see W. H. Roscher *Über Schen und Verwandte* Leipzig 1890 p. 22 f., cf. *Neubauer in Hermes Schrift über Schen und Verwandte* Leipzig 1895 p. 21, cf. in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3131 f. or, better still, see herself.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* p. 65. S. Entom 'Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen' in the *Schrift über Schen und Verwandte* Leipzig 1902 in Historisch-philosoph. Klasse Christiania 1903 no. 2 argues that in the original form of the myth the twins Amphion and Zethos carried off Antiope and her sister Duke from a second pair of twins, Lykos (Lykourgos, Epopeus) and Nykteus. The myth would thus be parallel to that of the rape

her connexion with Orion<sup>1</sup>, and to her sons Amphion and Zethos, the Theban Dioskouroi, whom he believes to be the morning-star and the evening-star respectively<sup>2</sup>. This last point is of very doubtful validity. Nevertheless the analogy of Kastor and Polydeukes<sup>3</sup> predisposes us to think that Amphion and Zethos may have stood in some relation to stars. And, if so, we obtain another illustration of the old-world idea that the stars are the offspring of a union between the sun and the moon<sup>4</sup>.

### (e) Zeus and his Lunar Consorts.

On a review of the foregoing evidence it appears that Zeus, who consorted with Selene at Nemea, was elsewhere paired with a variety of heroines—Antiope, Europe, Io—who sooner or later acquired lunar characteristics. That the moon should be called by half a dozen different names in Greece, is by no means surprising—witness its numerous appellations among the peasants of modern France<sup>5</sup> and Germany<sup>6</sup>. Observe, too, that the Greek names for the moon—Pasiphae, Pandia(?), and the like—were of local, not universal, significance. Athens spoke of Pandia; Argos and Euboea, of Io; Knossos and Thalamai, of Pasiphae. Nor was there except perhaps with Antiope and Europe in Phokis and Boiotia, any overlapping of lunar names.

What has been said will suffice to establish a further and a more important contention. The combination of a solar Zeus with a lunar consort is restricted to certain well-defined areas. It occurs in Crete and in the eastern half of central Greece, but hardly anywhere in the rest of the Greek area. This may be taken to show that Zeus was not essentially the husband of a lunar bride. His association with her savours rather of non-Hellenic influence.

One other feature of these myths deserves to be mentioned. There is in them a decided tendency towards representing Zeus as a bull and his partner as a cow. The bull Zeus mates with the cow Io<sup>7</sup>. Poseidon or Zeus sent, or, as later writers put it,

of the Leukippides by the sons of Aphareus and the Dioskouroi (Gruppe *Hygk. 14*, 1908 p. 304 ff.)

<sup>1</sup> Pind. *frag.* 73 Christ *ap. Hyg. poet. astr.* 2, 34; Strab. 404.

<sup>2</sup> Welcker *Gr. Götter* i. 614 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* p. 771.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* p. 760 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 523 n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> P. Schallot *Le Folk-Lore de l'Allemagne* Paris 1904 i. 37 ff.

<sup>7</sup> J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 701.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 438 ff.

Zeus was the bull that had connexion with Pasiphaë in her cow<sup>1</sup>. Zeus sent, or, according to the usual version, Zeus was the bull that bore Europe away to Crete; and she in her turn appears at Thebes as a cow marked on either flank with a white full moon<sup>2</sup>. Lastly, Antiope is said by the scholiast on Statius to have been driven out by Lykos owing to the designs of Dirke, and then to have been won by Zeus, who had transformed himself into a bull for the occasion<sup>3</sup>; there was thus a certain poetic justice about the vengeance that Antiope's sons wreaked upon Dirke, when they bound her to a bull<sup>4</sup>. It can hardly be doubted that these bull-and-cow myths hang together with the conception of the sun as a bull and the horned moon as a cow.

### § 8. *Zeus in relation to the Stars*

Zeus as god of the bright sky was brought into various relations with the stars also, though these minor manifestations of his brightness did not often find definite expression in cult, literature, or art.

#### (a) *Zeus Astérios, Zeus Seirén, Zeus Oromásdes.*

Late authors attest the Gortynian cult of Zeus *Asterios*<sup>5</sup>, whose title may have meant originally 'god of all the Celestial Lights'; but in the Hellenistic age would doubtless be understood as 'god of the Stars' only<sup>6</sup>, perhaps with special reference to the constellation Helike<sup>7</sup>.

Other indications connect Zeus with Sirius. Once, when the dog-star was scorching the island of Keos, Aristaios is said to have made a great altar for Zeus *Ikmáios* and to have sacrificed on the mountains to Seirios and to Zeus<sup>8</sup>. The combination perhaps gave rise to a separate conception. Antimachos of Kolophon (c. 400 B.C.) called Zeus *Seirén* on account of the star<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Sappho* l. 464 ff. § 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* pp. 324 ff. § 44.

<sup>3</sup> B. Laertius in my simile. *Id.* p. 324 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Sappho* p. 736 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Sappho* p. 736. The Gortynian Zeus *Asterios* (*Asterios* was a common title).

<sup>6</sup> *Sappho* p. 324 ff. K. Wernicke in *Rev. de Ét. Class.* p. 176 argues from the existence of the hypostases *Asterios* and *Asterios* that the original Zeus *Asterios* was only 'god of the stars' p. 347.

<sup>7</sup> *Sappho* p. 495.

<sup>8</sup> *Sappho* p. 347.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* p. 347 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* p. 346 ff. See further *Id.* p. 347 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Antimachos* p. 94. *Kühn* p. 100. *Id.* p. 100. *Id.* p. 100. *Id.* p. 100.

Small copper coins of Kypros dating from the Ptolemaic period have as their obverse type a laureate head of Zeus, as their reverse Zeus standing with corn-ears in his right hand, a sceptre in his left, and a large star above his head (fig. 542)<sup>1</sup>. In view of other Cypriote coppers, which connect the star with Aphrodite and her dove<sup>2</sup>, we may venture to identify it with the planet Venus rather than with the planet Jupiter<sup>3</sup>.



Fig. 542.

Finally, stars played an important part in the cult of Zeus *Oromásdes*, the Hellenised Auramazda<sup>4</sup>, who was represented, like Men-

<sup>1</sup> *Declarum in Cassiodori Variorum* vii. 234, Σειριον cj. Schellenbergi τὸν Δια ἐφῆν διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπ. Eusebii. in *Obel.* p. 1709, 55 f. ἐν δὲ ρητορικῇ λεξικῇ εἴρηται καὶ ταῦτα Σειρίων, τὰ ἀστὲρα. See also U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf *Timotheos de Pers.* Leipzig 1903 p. 44 and D. Mallet in *Pét. égée* 1906 lxx. 217 f. cited by O. Hofel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 601. *Sageira* p. 299 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Byz. Mus. Cat. Cyprius* p. lxxxi. I figure a specimen in my collection.

<sup>3</sup> *Byz. Mus. Cat. Cyprius* p. lxxviii pl. 22, 8 and pl. 24, 16.

<sup>4</sup> In the case of tetradrachms struck by Antiochos vii Glykos (*supra* p. 731 figs. 538, 539) interpreted the star held by the god as the planet Jupiter. But the moon is so constantly associated with the evening-star in oriental art that it is at least equally possible to regard the star in question as the planet Venus.

<sup>5</sup> *Sageira* p. 10 n. 1. As to the name Auramazda my friend the Rev. Prof. J. H. Moulton in his *Life of Kurosh, Poet of Persia* Cambridge 1911 p. 73 n. writes: "Hommel's discovery of the name *Auramazda* in an Assyrian record of the middle of the second millennium B.C. takes the divine name back to the Aryan period, or to Iranian antiquity prior to the change of *s* to *z*. The Boghazkum *Indra* and *Visatva* might be Indo-Aryan, but *Mazda* cannot. It seems probable therefore that Mazda was a cult epithet of a great *Indra*—some would say the Vedic Varuna—long before Zarathushtra." *Id.* p. 56 ... "Having thus discarded conceptions of Deity which failed to satisfy his spiritual sense, Zarathushtra proclaimed his own conceptions in their stead. One immanent name for God was good enough for him—*Ahura* in the Gathas already means "Lord," its etymological meaning "spiritual" having apparently died out before the division of the Aryans. Who or what was "the Lord"? His relation to Nature is wholly in accord with the Bible itself. "Who covereth Himself with light as with a garment" is almost a quotation from the Gathas. But his own nature is something higher yet. He is "the Wise" (*Mazdā*), which seems specially to denote the "knowledge of good and evil," the unerring instinct that can distinguish between Truth and falsehood, which for the Prophet were the most vital aspects of good and evil." *Id.* p. 57 f. "The elements of the combination Ahura Mazda in the Gathas are declined as separate words, arranged indifferently, and either word may be used alone. "The Wise Lord" will probably represent it to us better than "Ahura Mazda." It soon became fixed as a proper name. By the time of the great Darius, the first Zarathushtrian King of Persia it would seem, the name has become a single word, Auramazda, with flexion only in the end." See further J. H. Moulton *Life of Zarathushtra* London 1913 pp. 30 ff., 61, 60 ff., 106 ff., 422 ff. *et passim*.

It is reasonable to suppose that the Hesychius gloss Μαζδης = Zeus παρὰ Φραγκιόφωνους in a Grecised form the cult-title *Mazdā*.

A. M. Nigam in the *Journ. of Ind.* 1843 vi. 392 f. pl. O. 12, Remich *Précis de l'hist. de l'Inde* 1835 nos. 20 pl. 123, Farwangler *Geogr. Statist. Reise in Persien* p. 141 nos. 3177 f. pl. 29 p. 197 nos. 4914, 4917 pl. 35, W. Dierker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. n. 2692, 2742.

or Attis<sup>1</sup> or Mithras(?)<sup>2</sup>, wearing a stellate tiara. We are unusually well informed about this deity, thanks to the systematic exploration of the Nemroud Dagh, an outlying spur of Mount Tauros in the region of the upper Euphrates. Here in 1881 the engineer K. Sester discovered a remarkable tumulus, which in 1882 and 1883 was investigated by two expeditionary parties, that of the Germans (O. Puchstein, K. Humann, F. von Luschan)<sup>3</sup> and that of the Turks (Hamdy Bey-Osgan Effendi)<sup>4</sup>. Their results may be briefly resumed.

Antiochos I of Kommagene (69—38 B.C. or later), who in his inscriptions announces himself as 'The great King Antiochos, the Just God Made Manifest, Friend of the Romans and Friend of the Greeks', resolved to be buried on the highest mountain-peak of his domain. On the summit of the Nemroud Dagh at an altitude

<sup>1</sup> *Ionl. or. z.* 165 B τὴν δὲ (Μητρίτ τω θεῶν) τὰ τε πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀττίδῃ καὶ τὸν ἀστέρωτον ἐπιθεῖναι πῖλον, i. e. 170 B τὸ γὰρ Ἀττίς οὗτος ἔχων τὴν κατὰστικὸν τοῖς ἀστροῖς τιάραν ἐνέθλον ὅτι τὸς πάντων τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὴν εὐσανῇ κοσμοῶν ὁρμώμενος ληξεί ἀρχὰς ἐποιήσατο τῆς καὶ τοῦ βασιλείας. Sallustius περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου 4 ἡρᾷ μὲν ἡ Μήτηρ τοῦ Ἀττίως καὶ οἱ γαμοὶς αὐτῶν διδῶσιν ὀνυμκίαις τὸ το γὰρ ἔτταν ὁ πῖλος.

Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Monn.* p. 226 no. 746 pl. 13, 6, cp. no. 747 (Ankyra in Galatia); *ib.* p. 226 f. nos. 748—750 pl. 13, 7—9, cp. no. 721 (Pessinusi); R. Uski *Hebräen, Arabisch und Himmelsk.* München 1910 163 f. fig. 11; E. Pernice *J. Winter Der Hebräer, 1901* pl. 5, Romach *K. d. K. d. K.* 1, 159, 2, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* II. 2741.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coin Pontus, etc.* p. 84 pl. 19, 3 f., Imhoof-Blumer *Monn.* *z.* p. 227 pl. 1, 16, Waddington—Babelon—Romach *Monn. z. d. F. Mon.* 1 136 pl. 18, 5 f., *Heid. Hist. num.* 2 p. 505 fig. 264.

<sup>3</sup> K. Humann and O. Puchstein *Reisen in Kommagene und Nordsyrien* Berlin 1890 p. 97 ff. with figs. in text and Atlas of 3 maps and 53 pls.

<sup>4</sup> O. Hamdy Bey and Osgan Effendi *Le Tumulus du Nemroud-Dagh* (Voyage, Description, Inscriptions avec Plans et Photographies), Constantinople 1883 with Frontisp., 33 pls., and 2 plans.

<sup>5</sup> Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 272 1 a 1 b (= Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. ins. v. 2* no. 383, 1 ff.), p. 325 1 ff., p. 320 f. 1 ff., p. 327 1 ff., p. 319 1 ff., p. 303 1 ff., p. 302 1 ff., p. 304 1 ff., p. 304 f. 1 ff., p. 283 1 ff., p. 306 f. 1 ff., p. 285 1 ff., p. 307 f. 1 ff., p. 287 1 ff., p. 313 1 ff., p. 311 f. 1 ff., p. 356 1 ff. (= Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. ins. v. 2* nos. 383, 1 ff., 384, 1 ff., 385, 1 ff., 386, 1 ff., 387, 1 ff., 388, 1 ff., 389, 1 ff., 390, 1 ff., 391, 1 ff., 392, 1 ff., 393, 1 ff., 394, 1 ff., 395, 1 ff., 396, 1 ff., 397, 1 ff., 401, 1 ff., 402, 1 ff.), V. W. Yorke in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 viii. 312 1 no. 14, 1 ff. Samosata (= Dittenberger *op. cit.* no. 404, 1 ff.). Βασίλεως μέγας Ἀντιόχου Θεοῦ Δίκαιου Ἐπιφανὸς Φελορωμαῖος καὶ Φελέλλην, cp. I. Elias—Waddington *Asia Minor* III no. 136 f. 1 ff. Ephesos (= Dittenberger *op. cit.* no. 405, 1 ff.) Βασίλεα Ἀντιόχου Θεοῦ Δίκαιου Ἐπιφανῆ Φελορωμαῖου καὶ Φελέλληνα, and the slight variant in Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 311 1 ff. (= Dittenberger *op. cit.* no. 400, 1 ff.) [Βασί]λεως μέ[γας] | [Ἀντιόχ]ου Θεοῦ Δ[ίκαιου] | [Ἐπιφ]αν[ῆ] Φε[λέλλη]νος | [καὶ Φελορωμαῖος].

Since a dedication Ὁμῶς Δικαίῳ Μῦθρα has come to light at *Keltes Hisarlik*, Tyana in Kappadokia (J. H. Mordmann in the *Arch. Mitth.* 1885 v. 12 citing Rizzo Καππαδοκία 113), O. Puchstein in Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 341 f. suggests that the divine titles of Antiochos were a popular designation of Mithras. But E. Cumont in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-En.* v. 564 shows that the cult epithets, Ὁσιος καὶ Δίκαιος, Ὁσιος Δίκαιος, or Ὁσιος

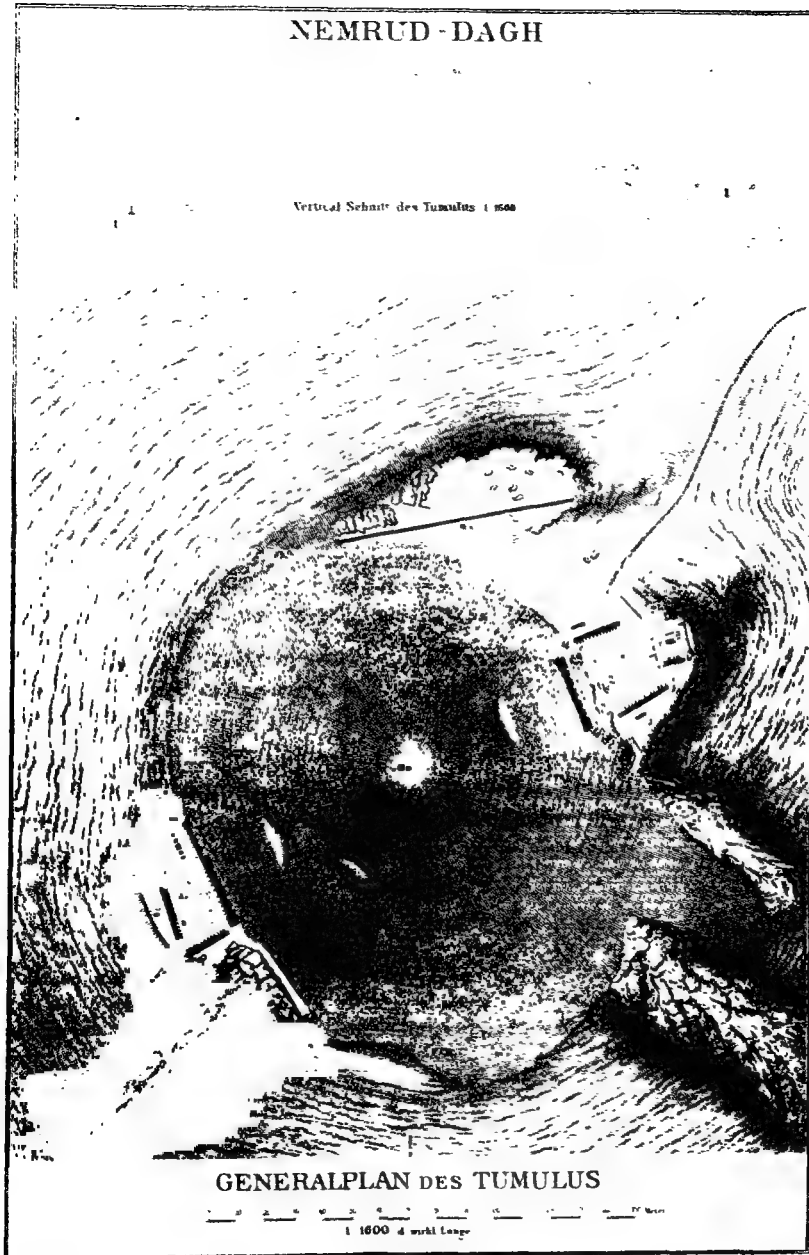


Fig. 543.

alone, were used throughout Asia Minor etc. of a variety of gods and goddesses. And, as we shall see, Antiochos claimed to be a human counterpart of Zeus *Oromásdes* rather than of Mithras.

of between 6800 and 7100 ft., a prodigious cairn of stones was piled containing c. 264,750 cubic metres of material (fig. 543). Various attempts to penetrate the vast mass and rifle the dead king's chamber have been made in modern times and have failed. Antiochos set forth his intentions in a pompous inscription:

When I had determined to construct the foundations of this sacred monument beyond the reach of time's wasting hand, hard by the heavenly throne, to the end that here the body of my outward form, having lived till old age in felicity and sent forth a soul beloved of the gods to the heavenly throne of Zeus Oromâsdes, might sleep for endless ages, then of a truth I chose to make this spot the sacred seat of all gods in common, that so not only this heroic company of mine ancestors which thou seest might be established by my care, but also the divine shapes of manifest deities sanctified on a holy summit, and that they might have this place as a witness by no means bereft of my prey. Wherefore, as thou seest, I have established these godlike effigies of Zeus Oromâsdes and Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes and Attagenes Herakles Ares and mine all-nurturing country Kommagene. Moreover, made of the self-same stone-work with gods that answer prayer and throned together with them, I have set up the fashion of mine own form, and have caused the ancient honour of great deities to become coeval with a new Tyche, thereby preserving a just representation of the immortal mind which has many a time been seen to manifest itself in my support and to lend me friendly help in the carrying out of my royal projects. Etc., etc.

The concluding sentences of this passage refer to the fact that east and west of the cairn were two terraces, each of which had a similar series of five seated statues—ungainly colossal figures, built up of limestone blocks to a height of some 26 ft. Hamdy Bey, who saw the tumulus half-covered with snow, compares its clumsy guardians with a set of snow-men. The central statue, somewhat larger than its neighbours, was that of Zeus Oromâsdes in Commagenean costume with a short bundle of rods, the Persian *baresman*

<sup>1</sup> Humann—Fuchsteim *op. cit.* p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> *Erl. Z.* p. 240 f.

<sup>3</sup> Humann—Fuchsteim *op. cit.* p. 272 f. ll. 13 ff. (= Dittenberger *Orientalia* 1901, p. 383, 36 ff.)

επει δὲ ἐνοήσωμαι τυνδὲ κοσπεῖδα σπύρθητον χρωμὶ Ἀναίης ἀργαίαις ἀγχιστα θρονῶν κατατήσασθαι προνεύθη, ἐν οὐ κακορροστον ἄχρ' ὅπως ὑπαρξαι σῶμα μορφῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς Ὠρομᾶσδην Ἡρμοῖος Ἡελίου Ζεὺς Ἄρης προπέμψω εἰς τὸν ὀπίρην αἰῶνα κοιμήσεται· τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τυνδὲ χώρην ἡμεῖς ἀπινυτων κοινῇ ἀναδείξαι θένων ἐνθρόνισμα προελάνθη, ὅπως οὐ μόνον ἐμῶν προγόνων υἱὸς ὡς ὅρις ἡρώδης Λαχὸς ἐμαῖς ἐπιμελείαις ὑπαίχῃ καθύμνηένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσων ὡν ἐπιφανῶν ἡμῶν τύπος ἐν ὀρίαις λήφας καθοσιωθῆις, υἱὸς δὲ τυνδὲ τῶν τοπων ὀργάνων ἐμῆς εἶδος φέας ἐχρ' εἰσπύρημα διῶπερ ὡς ὅρις Διὸς τε Ὠρομᾶσδην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Μιθράϊος Ἡλίου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἄρεος γόνου Πραλκίους Ἄρεως ἐμῆς τε πατρὸς παντρώου Κομμασηνῶν ἡμεῖς πεποιητὰ ἀγάλματα καθιδρύσάμεν· ἀποτελέσας ἡμῶν ἀμνηστὴν ἐπικλήναι· σφραγίσαντες ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς σφραγίσαντες καὶ Τίχης ἡμῶν ὀλίγων τῶν ἀρχαίων θένων μεγάλων τῶν ἐποικισσῶν, μνημα δίκαιον φηλασσαι ἀθανάτοις ἐργαστέος, ἡ πολλὰς ἐμῆς παρὰσταται ἐπιφανῆς εἰς τῶν ἡμεῶν βασιλευσάντων ἐμῶν τε καὶ Ἀ. J. H. Maffei *Zeus Oromâsdes* London 1913 p. 107 f. detects in the last clauses a reminiscence of the Haxashli or 'double' of Persian belief.

<sup>4</sup> Humann—Fuchsteim *op. cit.* pp. 272, 279, 291, 298 ff. 291, 301, H. v. B. v. Ogem *Handb. d. d. pp.* 17, 19 pls. 12, 13, 14, 19, 19, 20, 22.



or *barsom*<sup>1</sup>, in his left hand and a high tiara on his head: this tiara in front and behind had a vertical stripe on which round disks were worked in low relief, while about its edge was a diadem adorned with a row of upright winged thunderbolts (fig. 544)<sup>2</sup>. On the right of Zeus sat Kommagene, conceived as a Tyche with a *kálathos* and a cornwreath on her head, a horn of plenty in her left hand, and a bunch of corn-ears, grapes, pomegranates and a pear-shaped fruit in her right<sup>3</sup>. On the left of Zeus was

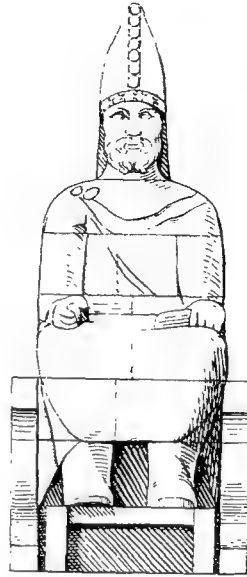


Fig. 544.

J. H. Moulton *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* (Cambridge 1911) p. 127: 'The barsom (*tree-man*) is a Magian ritual instrument, a bundle of twigs held before the face: cf. *Laekid* viii, 17'. It adapts the name of an Aryan institution of a very different kind, the Indian *vilva*, or carpet of grass on which the sacrifice was laid. *Ibid.* *Early Zoroastrianism* (London 1913) pp. 68 f., 189 ff., 198 f., 408 f. See further O. M. Dalton *The Religion of the Achaemenes* etc. (London 1905) p. 46 f. 'the *barsom* or *barsom*, a small bundle of rods supposed to be composed of branches of the date, pomegranate, and ramorsk, the gathering of which Ormuzd describes to Zarathustra in the nineteenth chapter of the Vendidad'. ([A.] Hovelacque, [*L'Avesta. Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme* (Paris 1880)] p. 425; M. Dhoulafay, [*L'Asie Mineure de l'Asie* (Paris 1893)] p. 393 n. 4; see also note to no. 48.) It was the constant accompaniment of almost every ritual act, and in his early prayers before the sacred fire, as Strabo noted of the Magi in Cappadocia, the priest always held it in his hand<sup>4</sup>. (Pá3δων μυρικήων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες, Strabo, xv, 733; [J. G.] Rhodé, [*Die Religion Sage und das gesammte Religions-System der alten Perser*, *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Frankfurt* 1820], p. 509.) The texts do not seem to imply that the rods were used for purposes of divination, but there is some authority for believing that this was at one time the case. The bundle of rods seems to be shown in the hands of the two statuettes nos. 1 and 2 [p. 75 f. pls. 2 and 12], the second of which may well represent a magus of high rank: a number of the figures upon the gold plaques (e.g. plates xiii and xvi) also hold it, and attention may be called to the fact that the object held by the deity in the Sassanian rock sculpture, fig. 42, has some resemblance to a bundle of rods. A Graeco-Persian relief of c. 425–400 B.C., found near Daskyleion, shows two priests in Persian dress with covered mouth and nose and uplifted *barsom* (?), one holding a ram's head and a bull's head on a pyre (?) of slender sticks (T. Macridy in the *Bull. Corr. H. d.* 1913 xxxvii, 348 ff. fig. 4 pl. 8).

Fig. 544 shows the seated Zeus of the east terrace (Hamann-Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 255 f. pls. 25–27 and 29, 51; Hamdy Bey-Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 15 f. pls. 12 and 13, completed with the help of the head from its counterpart of the west terrace (Hamann-Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 296 f. pl. 31, 3; Hamdy Bey-Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 16 pl. 10).

Kommagene is the one figure whose head, though not quite in the original position, still rests upon its shoulders. She, in common with many another Asiatic Tyche (*supra* p. 129 n. 6; *op. cit.* p. 597 n. 4 and p. 710), may be regarded as a late modification of a more ancient moon-mother, who after all had the longest, if not the best, claim to be called *Zeus* in such a site. Her co-Antiochos (*supra* p. 744) was careful to describe himself

a beardless effigy of Antiochos, in pose and costume closely resembling Zeus, except that the diadem round his tiara was decorated with alternate disks and lozenges in relief. Beyond Kommagene was Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes<sup>1</sup>; beyond Antiochos was Artagnes Herakles Ares<sup>2</sup>. Both these deities bore a general likeness to Zeus; but, whereas Apollon held the bundle of rods, Artagnes carried a short club leaning against his shoulder. The series was terminated at either end by statues of an eagle and a lion standing on a common base. On the backs of the thrones was the long inscription, part of which has been cited above, including a preamble to explain the purpose of the whole precinct and a law to regulate its cult.

Over against the statues of the east terrace were the remains of a large rectangular altar, once decorated with sculpture and two long bases or walls, north and south of the terrace, in which *stelai*

as the new Tyche, whose cult was therefore both to be associated with that of the older deities (see Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 339 n. 11).

<sup>1</sup> Apollon Mithras Helios is presumably a solar deity. His further identification with Hermes may be attributed to the fact that the planet Mercury was connected by the Persians with Mithras, by the Greeks either with Apollon or with Hermes (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 337 n. 4). Note also that the cult of *Σαρπηπιός* was played alike by Mithras and by Hermes (F. Cumont in Roscher *loc. cit.* n. 3075, Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. ed.* no. 383 n. 20).

<sup>2</sup> Artagnes is the Avestan *Vərəθraγna*, the genius of Victory (on whose name see J. H. Moulton *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 pp. 39 f., 146), as was observed by P. de Lagarde in the *Mon. d. épi. Gréc. & d. Hitt. orientaux*, n. Phil.-hist. Classe 1886 p. 148 ff. (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 282 n. 11). The identification with Herakles and Ares may be due to the fact that the planet Mars, which the Persians connect with the god *Bahram* (=the earlier *Vərəθraγna*), was by the Greeks assigned sometimes to Herakles, sometimes to Ares (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 337 n. 4, Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. ed.* no. 383 n. 21). Further, Artagnes was perhaps represented as Herakles in Mithraic art (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figures relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 143 and in Pauly—Wisowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. i. 144) and on coins of Hoorakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Greek and Scythic Kings p. 138 pl. 27, 15 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩ, p. 154 pl. 29, 1 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩ (2). Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 282 n. 11), and as Ares by Strabo, 727 ὄνον τε θούρα (οἱ Καρυάριοι) τῷ Ἀρεϊ, οὐτερ σεβόνται θούρ μόνον, καὶ εἰσι πολέμισσαι.

<sup>3</sup> Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 279 ff., Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 1 ff., Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. ed.* no. 383. The principal enactments are that the birthday of Antiochos, 722, the 16th of Audnaios (a Macedonian month answering to the Athenian Poseideon), and his coronation day, 723, the 10th of Lous (the Macedonian equivalent of the Athenian Hekatombaion), are to be observed throughout the kingdom as festivals in honour of his divine guardians; that the corresponding days, 722, the 16th and the 10th, of each month shall be honoured by the priests; that on all these occasions the priest of the gods and heroes is to wear Persian attire, to crown all (i.e. the gods and heroes) with golden crowns, and to offer on the altar of the latter frankincense and perfumes, while he honours the former with rich sacrifices; that, moreover, he is to furnish the holy tables with fitting viands and jars of wine, and so to entertain citizens and strangers alike, reserving a special portion for himself and allowing every guest to take his share and consume it where he will. Etc., etc.



Fig. 545

representing the ancestors of Antiochos had been set up, each with its own small altar before it.

The west terrace also had two base-walls for the erection of similar *stelai*. These were placed along its western and southern sides. The line of the seated statues was here continued northwards by means of a third base-wall, the reliefs of which were fairly preserved. They represented, from left to right, the following figures—Antiochos receiving a bunch of grapes, apples, corn etc. from Kommagene, Antiochos greeted by Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes, Antiochos greeted by Zeus *Oromásdes*, Antiochos greeted by Artagnes Herakles Ares, the horoscope of Antiochos in the form of a star-spangled lion. Of these five reliefs the first four bore dedicatory inscriptions on their backs, the last was inscribed in front. The whole series was flanked by an eagle and a lion at either end, arranged as in the case of the seated *colossi*.

The central and largest relief (fig. 545)<sup>1</sup> portrays Zeus *Oromásdes* in Commagenian dress giving the right hand of fellowship to Antiochos, who is similarly attired. The god sits on a gorgeous throne, decorated above with a pair of eagles, on either side with oak-leaves and acorns, below with Chimaira-heads and leonine claws. He holds a sceptre in his left hand. His tiara has a pearled edge and a diadem with upright winged thunderbolts on it: it is

<sup>1</sup> Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 245–250, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 11–15.

<sup>2</sup> Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 292 ff., 298 ff., Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 19 f., 24–28.

<sup>3</sup> Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 317–336, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 20–24.

<sup>4</sup> Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 324–327 pl. 39, I and 1A f., my figs. 545, 546, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 23 f., pl. 27 f., F. Cumont *Le culte monothéiste dans les mystères de Mithra* Bussels 1896 n. 187 f., fig. 11 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1054 f., fig. 2, R. Tischler *Die Künste und Handwerke* München 1910 i. 64 fig. 12, Reinach *R. P. Relig.* i. 195, 2. The slab has a maximum height of 3.04 m. and is 2.17 m. broad and 0.28 m. thick, exclusive of the relief. When first discovered by



Fig. 546

O. Puchstein, it was lying on its face with stones heaped upon it. He copied the inscription on its back and replaced the stones. Hamdy Bey dug it up again and, since it lay with the foot end still resting on the base-wall, tilted it over on its head. The result is that it now lies upside down, exposed to the weather. Worse than that, the lower part of the relief has broken off and the two parts do not accurately fit together. A fragment (fig. 546) found by a Turk in 1884 and brought by him to Leon Heilmann is now at Berlin: it shows part of the diadem together with the left bow of Zeus: height 0.22 m. The inscription, chiselled on the back of the slab is: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣ [Φεκαφανης και Φεκαφανης] ο ες βασιλευς Μιθραδατοι Καλλικλοι και βασιλευς ος Ανοικος Θεος Φεκαφανης, Δα Μιθραδα (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 325, Debevoise *op. cit.* p. 384).



oak-leaves. His diadem, the upper edge of his coat-of-mail, his shoulder-clasps, all have the same design of thunderbolts. Tiara-flaps, girdle, dagger-sheath, and shoes are embellished with oak-leaves and acorns. Lastly the short-sleeved jerkin is covered with stars set in a kind of network or trelas. Clearly the king wished to be regarded as the human embodiment of Zeus *Oromasdes*, 'the Just God Made Manifest.'

Antiochos' horoscope (fig. 547)<sup>1</sup> shows a lion with the crescent moon beneath his neck and nineteen stars so disposed about him as to correspond closely with the pseudo-Eratosthenes' account of the constellation Leo. These stars have eight rays apiece. Distinct from them are three larger stars above the lion's back, which are sixteen-rayed and inscribed 'the Fiery Star of Herakles,' 'the Gleaming Star of Apollon,' 'the Brilliant Star of Zeus.' The whole slab, therefore, indicates a conjunction of the planets Mars, Mercury, and Jupiter in the sign of the Lion. Now apart from Kommagene, who on this site probably represents the ancient mountain-mother, Zeus, Apollon, and Herakles are the only deities recognised by Antiochos. It is therefore practically certain either that the king's choice of gods was determined by his own horoscope or that the king's horoscope was cast in accordance with his choice of gods. The former hypothesis is at least as likely as the latter. Prof. Tietjen of Berlin had elaborate calculations made by P. Lehmann, which pointed to July 17, 98 B.C., as the day most in accordance with the astronomical data.<sup>2</sup> Since the king's birthday was on Audnaïos 16, i.e. in December or January, Puchstein concludes that the horoscope was cast for the conception, not for the nativity of Antiochos, whom he takes to have been a seven months' child born at the beginning of the year 97 B.C. U. Wilcken suggests that the horoscope had reference rather to the king's accession on Loios 10, which may well be equated with July 17, 98 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Humann-Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 329-336 pl. 40 (= my fig. 547). Humann-Bey-Ogan-Bleich *op. cit.* p. 211 pl. 24. Reinach *R.P. Reliefs* i. 196. The slab measures 1.75 m. height, 2.40 m. breadth, 0.47 m. thickness. It is inscribed: *Περὸς Ἡρακλέους, Σελήνης Ἀπόλλωνος, Φαέθων Διός* (Humann-Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 329).

<sup>2</sup> Pseudo-Eratosth. *catlist.* 12 *ἔχει δὲ ὀστέρις ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς γ', ἐπὶ τῷ στήθεϊ α', ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγκυλίου β', ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῷ ποδὶ λαμπρὸν α', ἐπὶ μίσης τῆς κοιλίας π, ἐπὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ δ, ἐπὶ τοῦ ισχίου ε', ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀπισθεῖν γυναικὸς α', ἐπὶ ποδὶ ἀκροῖ λαμπρὸν α, ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου β', ἐπὶ τῆς ραχίδος γ', ἐπὶ μίσης τῆς κοιλίας δ, ἐπ' ἄκρας λαμπρὸν α, [ἐπὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ ε'] - τοὺς πάντας θή'. I follow the text of A. Olivieri (1897).*

<sup>3</sup> *Sylla* p. 745 n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Humann-Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 331-333. Serious difficulties have, however, been pointed out by A. Bouche-Leclercq *L'Asie Mineure romaine* Paris 1899 pp. 373, 439 fig. 41 (Reinach *R.P. Reliefs* i. 196).

<sup>5</sup> Humann-Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 333 f.

<sup>6</sup> U. Wilcken in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2487 f.

## Zeus as god of the Starry Sky 751

In any case it is obvious that astrology played no small part in the Commagenian cult of Zeus *Oromísdes*.

### (b) Zeus as god of the Starry Sky.

Zeus is occasionally, but not often, brought into connexion with the stars in ancient literature and art.

He is more than once conceived by Euripides as dwelling in the starry sky. The Satyrs associate him with the stars and Orion<sup>1</sup>. Menoikeus swears 'by Zeus and all his stars'—a phrase that impressed Plutarch. Kreousa's handmaidens sing of the night-procession from Athens to Eleusis on Boedromion 20—

What time the star-eyed sky of Zeus himself  
Joins in the dance<sup>2</sup>.

Achaïos went one step further, perhaps we should say one step further back, and spoke of 'Zeus the starry-eyed'.<sup>3</sup> Finally, Nonnos tells how Zeus stooped from heaven to earth for the sake of Semele:

Then Zeus of the air quitted his starry home  
For Semeles' side<sup>4</sup>.

But it will be observed that these are all poetic fancies with little or no support in actual cult.

When Propertius describes the temple of Zeus at Olympia as 'imitating the sky', he is in all probability alluding to a coffered ceiling 'with gilt stars on a blue ground'—a device common to

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Supp.* 211 ff. (cf. p. 66 n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 1009 ff. τὸν ἀστέρων Ζῆν' Ἀρη τε φουριον, κ.τ.λ. The schol. cit. 2, takes Ζῆνα here to be the sun (schol. A B.M.I. τὸν ἡλιον φησι καὶ τὸν Ἀρην τὸν τοῦ εὐσφύνοιο αὐτιον, κ.τ.λ., schol. C M. τὸν ἡλιὸν φασὶ δεσποτῆν τῶν ἀστέρων, τὸν οὐρα ἐν τοῖς ἀστροῖς θεῖον, τὸν αὐτὸν τὸν εὐσφ. φουριον). But he is certainly wrong (cp. *supra* p. 187).

<sup>3</sup> Plaut. *Aul.* 117 ff. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Eur. *Aul.* 1078 ff. 4 (cp. 65 n. 4).

<sup>5</sup> Achaïos. *Ilion* 6. 25. 2 Naubol. (*supra* p. 65 n. 3).

<sup>6</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 312, ἀστέρων τότε δῶνα παρεστίχεν ἡμέριος Ζεὺς εἰς Σαμέλης υἱόεραιοι, cp. 7. 359 τί πλεον ἠθέλης ἄλλοι αὐτ' αἰθέρα καὶ πόλον ἀστέρων.

<sup>7</sup> Prop. 3. 2. 18 ff. Iovis Hec. caelum imitata domus.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Mamil. 5. 288 f. scilicet enim facit sanctis laquearia templis / condentemque novum caelum per tecta Iovantis (with 1. 532 f.), Stat. *si t.* 4. 2. 30 f. (on Domitian's palace) fessis vix cubina parietis / visibus auratique putes laquearia caeli. Mart. *ep.* 7. 56. 1 ff. astra polumque praecipui mente, Rabuli (Domitian's architect), Parhasiam mira qui stans arte domum / Phidiaeo si digna Iovi dare templa parabit, has petat a nostro Pisa Tonante manus.

With regard to the inner ceiling in the temple of Zeus at Olympia W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* II. 11 writes: 'Wie die aus Holz bestehende Decke im Einzelnen gebildet war, lässt sich nicht bestimmen; in den Ergänzungen [pls. 11, 2, 12] sind deshalb einfache Balken und eine glatte Verschalung angenommen.'

<sup>9</sup> H. Thôlenat in Dauberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* III. 903; A. Marquand *Gr. Architecture* New York 1909 p. 236 ('The recessed cofferings were ornamented in various

## 752 Zeus as god of the Starry Sky

Greek with Egyptian art<sup>1</sup>. If so, we may suppose that the decoration of the roof was deliberately chosen to mark the celestial character of the god.

A notable coin-type of imperial date shows Zeus as cosmic lord surrounded by the signs of the zodiac. Several varieties of the type are found. Thus a magnificent copper coin of Nikaia in Bithynia, struck by Antoninus Pius and now in the Paris cabinet, has (fig. 551)<sup>2</sup> Zeus enthroned with sceptre and thunderbolt between



Fig. 551.



Fig. 552.

the chariots of the Sun and of the Moon: at his feet on either side are two reclining figures, Gaia with corn-ears and a horn of plenty, Thalassa with a stern-ornament and a rudder: round the whole is the zodiac, its twelve signs all clearly expressed. Even more ambitious is a copper coin of Perinthos in Thrace, struck by Severus Alexander and now in the British Museum (fig. 552). Within a dotted circle sits Zeus with sceptre, *phiale*, and eagle. In the field above him Helios drives a team of four horses, Selene a team of two bulls, the former accompanied by the crescent of the latter, the latter by the star of the former. Beneath Zeus are Gaia

rays. The Thesbeion affords a simple example. The seats of the coffers (each pair of single stars) painted probably in gold against a blue ground, and hence called *οὐρανία* or *οὐρανισμοί*. The Parthenon and the Propylaea show doubly recessed coffers. Some of the plates of coffers from the Propylaea still show stars (cf. A. H. Smith *Arch. Anst. Mus. Cat. Suppl.* ii. 84). When faced the lower side of the Erechtheion (Mansel) was painted bright blue. Cf. *Dunn Bampton Ac. Gr.* i. p. 330 fig. 316. The coffering of the Erechtheion is restored in gold and colours by *Dunn ib. id.* p. 309 opposite p. 252 (cf. p. 311 pl. opposite p. 316 verso).

See J. Pennethorne *The Geometry and Ornaments of Ancient Architectural London*, 1878 (London) 1878 p. 173 f. pl. 5 pl. 3 (a comparative series of Egyptian tomb-coffers from Thebes and of Greek temple ceilings from the Thesbeion and Erechtheion, fully coloured and gilded).

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstgesch.* Zeus pp. 155, 1604. *Münzkal.* 2. 15. Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *Mus. de l'As. Mus.* 1. 407 pl. 68. 2. *Head Hist. num.* 1. p. 517.

*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coin. Thrace* (cf. p. 177 fig. 1, my fig. 552), J. N. Svoronos in *Rev. Num. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 104 fig. 3. *Head Hist. num.* 2. p. 271.



and Thalassa recumbent: Gaia holds a *cornu copiae*; Thalassa wears a head-dress of crab's-claws and is equipped with a rudder and a prow. The whole design is enclosed by the zodiac, as before. An autonomous bronze coin of Sardeis, described by Eckhel<sup>1</sup>, had Zeus with Nike in his hand enthroned amid the signs of the zodiac. An imperial coin of Tios or Tion in Bithynia, mentioned by B. V. Head<sup>2</sup>, again shows Zeus with the zodiac. On a bronze coin of Amastris in Paphlagonia, struck by Iulia Maesa, Zeus and Hera, both holding sceptres, stand facing each other within the same border (fig. 553)<sup>3</sup>. Two bronze coins of Alexandria, struck by Antoninus Pius in 145 A.D.<sup>4</sup>, play further variations on the same theme: one of them duplicates the zodiacal belt and places in the centre jugate busts of Sarapis wearing his *kálathos* and Isis wearing her disk and horns<sup>5</sup>; the other substitutes for the inner zodiac a circular band adorned with busts of Kronos, Helios, Selene, Ares, Hermes, Zeus, Aphrodite—the deities representing the days of the week—and gives as the central figure Sarapis wearing his *kálathos*<sup>6</sup>. It will be observed that all the coins on



Fig. 553.

<sup>1</sup> Eckhel *Doct. num. vet.* m. 115, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.*, Zeus p. 161 n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 518. Cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τίος. Δημοσθένης δ' ἐν Βιθύνιακοῖς (the fragment should be added to the *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 384 f. Muller) φησι κτιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Παταρον (Anton. *Frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* in 593 Muller) ap. Eustath. in Dionys. *Geogr.* 322), εὐοῦτα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τιον προσαγορεύσαι. The great cult of the place, to judge from its coin-types, was that of Zeus Σιργαστῆς or Σιργαστῆνος (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 203 ff. pl. 36, 5 and 10, Rasche *Lat. Num.* ix. 1367 ff., Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Munzen* p. 64 f., Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 518). The meaning of the title is unknown (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* viii. 1502 B—C and M. Schmidt on Hesych. Σιργαστῶν σοφορβός, καὶ ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν). But the cult appears to have travelled westwards; for at *Adzizlar* near Philippopolis a certain Thracian proved his gratitude to a god called Σιργεσθῆς (*Arch.-ep. Mitt.* 1895 xviii. 112 Ἀγαθὴ τύχη θ-ῶ Σιργεσθῆ ἐπηκόω Κό[ρυ]ς Ποιησέως εὐχαριστήριον cited by Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sc.* no. 4078), and at *Ravenna* on the Lacus Benacus a Greek paid a vow to Simgastus and Patrus, i.e. to the chief deity and the founder of Tios (*Corp. ins. Lat.* v no. 4206 = Orelli *Henzen Inscr. Lat. sc.* no. 5915 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sc.* no. 4078 dis paternis Simgasto magno | Patro, (Q. M. Tryphon | v. s. l. m.).

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 89 pl. 20, 13, Waddington—Babelon—Remach *Mém. Soc. d'Et. Mus.* i. 155 pl. 21, 15, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 2, 127, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 506.

<sup>4</sup> See G. Dattari in the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 1901 xiv. 157—183.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 126 no. 1078 pl. 12, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 2, 130, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 863 (who cites as another astronomical type at Alexandria, a Zodiac in circle round busts of Helios and Selene).

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 127 no. 1079 pl. 12, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 84 pl. Z, 1, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 2, 129, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 863.

## 754 Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology

which Zeus is ringed with the zodiac belong to the period 138 — 235 A.D. and to towns that fall within, or border on, the north-west corner of Asia Minor. Hence we may ascribe them to the far-reaching influence of Mithraism, which constantly employed the zodiac as the framework of its ritual reliefs<sup>1</sup>. Oromasdes, as F. Cumont points out<sup>2</sup>, travelled in connexion with the Mithraic mysteries from east to west, and is seen on Mithraic monuments as a Roman Jupiter with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle. Not improbably the coins in question intercept his progress and give us a glimpse of him as a Greek Zeus. After all, Zeus, Jupiter, and Oromasdes were essentially kindred figures, whose art-types were readily blended.

### (c) Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology.

Astrology has been defined by A. Bouché-Leclercq as a method of divination using astronomy as its means<sup>3</sup>. Accepting this definition, we may agree with E. Riess that the Greeks were first definitely influenced by Babylonian and Egyptian astrology towards the end of the fourth century B.C.<sup>4</sup>, though O. Gruppe has rightly insisted that astrological notions of a sort are to be found in Greece long before the age of Alexander the Great—astro-meteorology already bulks big in Hesiod, and even astrology in the strict sense of the term is presupposed by Greek mystic teaching of the sixth century B.C. and by sundry passages of Herakleitos, Euripides, and Herodotos<sup>5</sup>.

In the course of the third and following centuries B.C. the Greeks partly borrowed and partly developed a very complete series of constellations. Each of these had its own myth or myths and was, more often than not, said to have been placed in the sky by Zeus. Thus the *Katasterismoi* ascribed to Eratosthenes of Alexandria (c. 275—195 B.C.) enumerates some thirty-three

<sup>1</sup> F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 109 ff., *id.* *Die Mysterien des Mithra* 2<sup>nd</sup> trans. G. Gebrich Leipzig 1911 p. 110, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1952. *Supra* p. 216 fig. 389.

<sup>2</sup> F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 88 ff., 137 ff., *id.* *Die Mysterien des Mithra* 2<sup>nd</sup> trans. G. Gebrich Leipzig 1911 p. 99 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1055, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1951.

<sup>3</sup> F. Cumont in the *Festschrift für Otto Brendel* Wien 1898 p. 294 n. 5 cites for 'Jupiter=Caelus' a gem representing Jupiter with a sceptre seated to the right on an eagle, his head surrounded by a large nimbus, or [more probably an overarching] mantle, within which are seven stars (C. Lenormant *Nouvelles galeries mythologiques*, (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 86 no. 14 pl. 13).

<sup>4</sup> A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-En.* n. 1810 f.

<sup>6</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1588 ff., *id.* *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 211.

## Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology 755

constellations as the work of particular Greek deities: of this number Poseidon made one<sup>1</sup>, Apollon<sup>2</sup>, Artemis<sup>3</sup>, Dionysos<sup>4</sup> and Hermes<sup>5</sup> two apiece, Hera two<sup>6</sup> and the Milky Way<sup>7</sup>, Athena four<sup>8</sup>; but no less than seventeen are said to have been created by Zeus<sup>9</sup>, who was further intimately connected with the myths of at least seven others<sup>10</sup>.

If it be asked why Zeus rather than any other deity arranged the constellations, we must again take into account oriental leading. Babylonian astrology assigned the several planets to different divinities thus<sup>11</sup>:

<i>Planet.</i>	<i>Divinity.</i>
Jupiter.	Marduk.
Venus.	Ištar.
Mercury.	Nabu.
Saturn.	Ninib.
Mars.	Nergal.

The Greeks of the fourth century followed suit and exchanged their old descriptive names of the planets for those of various gods corresponding more or less closely with the Babylonian series.

<sup>1</sup> Delphin.

<sup>2</sup> Sagitta, Hydra with its Corvas and Crater.

<sup>3</sup> Ursa Minor (pseudo-Eratosth. *astr.* 2), Equos (*id.* p. 18, but Hyg. *astr. astro.* 2, 18 refers it to Jupiter).

<sup>4</sup> Corona, Asini.

<sup>5</sup> Delatton, Lepus.

<sup>6</sup> Serpens (pseudo-Eratosth. *astr.* 3, but Hyg. *astr. astro.* 2, 3 refers it also to Minerva), Cancer. Hyg. *astr. astro.* 2, 16 refers Aquila (=the Cean king Metops) to Juno.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 624.

<sup>8</sup> Cepheus, Andromeda, Perseus, Argo.

<sup>9</sup> Ursa Major, Ingomasm, Ophiuchus, Scorpius, Arctophylax or Bootes, Gemini, Leo, Hentochus or Auriga, Capra, Taurus, Lya (pseudo-Eratosth. *astr.* 24, but Hyg. *astr. astro.* 2, 7 says a *Minea*), Cygnus or Olor, Capricornus, Sagittarius, Orion (pseudo-Eratosth. *astr.* 32, but Hyg. *astr. astro.* 2, 34 refers to Diana), Canis, Centaurus.

<sup>10</sup> Ursa Minor (= Phœnix), a companion of Artemis loved by Zeus; or Kynosoura, an Iliac nymph, nurse of Zeus; or Helike, a Cretan nurse of Zeus; Argo (= Dike, daughter of Zeus and Themis; or Demeter, or Isis, or Atargatis, or Tyche), Delatton (= Δ the initial of Διός), Phædes (of whom Elektra, Maia, and Taygete were loved by Zeus; according to Hyg. *astr. astro.* 2, 21, Jupiter placed them all among the stars), Aquarius (= Ganymedes, the cup-bearer of Zeus), Aquila (the sacred bird of Zeus; according to Aglaosthenes *Naxosia tra.* 2 (*supra* p. 164 n. 4), Zeus placed it among the stars), Ara (the altar at which the gods took their oath, when Zeus attacked Kronos).

<sup>11</sup> P. Jensen *Die Kōsmos der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 p. 134 ff.; A. Boucher-Federov *Étude sur la géog. Paris* 1899 p. 40 ff.; M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 217 ff.; *id.* *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Gießen 1912 n. 1, 444 ff. and the literature cited *ib.* n. 1, 426 n. 2 ff., 427 n. 1 ff., especially F. X. Kugler *Sternkunde und Sternkunde in Babylonia* (Entwicklung der Babylonischen Planetenkunde von ihren Anfängen bis auf Christus) Münster in Westfalen 1907.

The earlier Babylonian order is Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mercury, Mars; the later (c. 400 B.C.) is Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars (Kugler *op. cit.* 1, 13).

## 756 Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology

Aristotle in his work *On the Universe* draws up a list, which gives both the earlier and the later names arranged in the Greek order<sup>1</sup>:

<i>Planet.</i>	<i>Earlier name.</i>	<i>Later name.</i>
Saturn.	<i>Phaënon</i> the 'Shining'.	Kronos.
Jupiter.	<i>Phaëthon</i> the 'Brilliant'.	Zeus.
Mars.	<i>Pyrroëis</i> the 'Fiery'.	Herakles or Ares.
Mercury.	<i>Stilbon</i> the 'Gleaming'.	Hermes or Apollo.
Venus.	<i>Phosphoros</i> the 'Light-bringer'.	Aphrodite or Hera.

The Babylonians assigned Jupiter to their chief deity Marduk, not because Jupiter appeared to them as the largest of the planets<sup>2</sup> (that would rather have been Saturn), but because his bright golden disk shone so steadily and was visible for so long in the sky<sup>3</sup>. The fifth tablet of the creation-epic represents Marduk, under the name of Nibiru, as exercising a control over all the stars and especially as ordering the constellations:

'He established the stations for the great gods.

The stars, their likeness, he set up as constellations<sup>4</sup>.'

Further, Marduk as the paramount god of the Babylonian pantheon had taken over from Enlil of Nippur the title *Bil* or 'Lord'. Hence the Greeks, equating him with their own supreme deity, spoke of him as *Zeus Bilos*<sup>5</sup>. And the Romans attributed the

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *de mundo* 2. 392 a 23 ff.

<sup>2</sup> M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 459.

<sup>3</sup> M. Jastrow *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Gießen 1912 II. 1. 444 after Kugler *op. cit.* 1. 8 and 14.

<sup>4</sup> M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 pp. 434, 459.

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 117 f., *id. Aspects of Religion, Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 pp. 19, 38, 100. *Id. Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Gießen 1912 II. 2. 1081 Index s.v. 'Marduk,' A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* II. 2341 f., 2372.

<sup>6</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* III no. 4482, 10 (Palmyra) τὸν ναὸν τὸν [τοῦ] Διὸς [Βῆλον + εν τῷ τῷ] . . . no. 4485, 14 II. (Palmyra) καὶ νυνεὶ λαμπρῶς συμποσάσκει τῶν τοῦ Διὸς Βῆλων, i.e. [βῶν [γενόμενον?], Dion Cass. 78. 8 ὡς περ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Βῆλος ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ ἐν τῇ ('Ἀπαρτία τῆς Συρίας τιμώμενος, Helt. 1. 181 (at Babylon) Διὸς Βῆλον ἱερὸν χαλκοκτενον κ.τ.λ., Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 1005 Βῆλος δὲ ἦν βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίως, υἱὸς Διὸς, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ πύλαι Βαβυλωνίως Βηλίδες, ἥ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς κατὰ τινας. διὸ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἱερὸν εἶναι αὐτόθι λέγει Βῆλον Διὸς, Ktestas *ap. Dioid.* 2. 8 (a bronze statue) Διὸς, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλωνίως Βῆλον, 2 ἱερὸν Διὸς, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλωνίως καθάπερ εἰρηκαμεν, Βῆλον, Berossus *Babyloniaca* 9 *Chaldaica frag.* 2 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* II. 498 Muller) *ap. Agath. hist.* 2. 24 (supra p. 10 II. 1) Βῆλον μὲν τὸν Δία, Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frags. hist. Gr.* III. 568 Muller) *ap. Euseb. *praepr.* c. 1. 10 26 Ζεὺς Βῆλος, Hesych. s.v. Βῆλος· οὐρανός, καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἡσπεύδωνος υἱός, Bekker *anecd.* 1. 225, 29 f. Βῆλος· ὁ οὐρανός, λαμπρόνως, καὶ Ζεὺς, καὶ Ἡσπεύδωνος υἱός, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 291 Ζῆνα Λιβὲν τέκε Βῆλον, 40 392 f. Βῆλος ἐπ' Εὐφρόνταο, Λίβης κεκλημένος Ἀμυων, 1 Ἄπης ἐφύε Νελεῶς, Ἀραψ Κρονος, Ασπίρος Ζεὺς. See further K. Tumpel in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enz.* III. 259 II.*

## Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology 757

invention of astrology to Iupiter *Belus*<sup>1</sup>. Late writers found it easy to drop the cult-title and to credit the Greek Zeus or the Roman Iupiter rather than their oriental counterpart with the ordering of the universe. Aristeides the rhetorician (117—c. 180 A.D.) describes the courses of moon and stars as the 'arrangement of Zeus'. And Martianus Capella (c. 400 A.D.) puts into the mouth of Harmonia the following hymn addressed to Iupiter as ruler of the starry sky:

Thee, Iupiter, in my star-sounding song,  
Thee first I name and worship. For through thee  
The sacred revolution of the sky  
Is wont to wheel again in order due  
The jewelled constellations Thou Almighty  
Beneath thy sceptred diadem dost bind  
And sway thy kingdom, Sire of every god,  
While the great universe rolls on, rolls ever.  
Thanks to the mind fed by thy starry force.  
As sparks on tinder that will burst aflame,  
The scattered stars declare thy handiwork.  
Phoebus proclaims thee, while with task divine  
His rays renew the purple dawn for men  
And give them glory to the ambrosial day.  
Cynthia, queen of night, month after month  
Waxes with horns of gold. Beneath thine eye  
Through fires that light the Wain the Serpent shines  
And drives apart the Bears of Arcady.  
So the hard Earth soft-wrapped in circling Air  
Rests on its axis, and by either pole  
Rules and is ruled; so Nereus knows the bounds  
Of ocean, so for food laps upper Fire,  
That all things thrive with no discordant strife  
And, parted, love the everlasting league,  
Fearing the chaos that might break their peace  
Thou, King of Heaven, thou, Father, Best of all,  
Who in thy love dost clasp the stars together,  
And to thy children givest perpetual life,  
All hail my lute uplifts its lay to thee  
For whom full-sounding songs sound yet again.

<sup>1</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 121 duat adhuc ibi (sc. Babylone) Iovis Beli templum: inventor hic fuit sideralis scientiae. Solin. 56. 3 Belus ibi (sc. Babylone) Iovis templum, quem inventorem caelestis disciplinae tradidit etiam ipsa religio, quae deum credit. Mart. Cap. 701 ibi (sc. Babylone) Iovis Beli templum, qui inventor fuit disciplinae sideralis. Cp. Iul. Val. *res gest. Al.* 3. 56 quod ibi factum est, Iovis quoque Babylonni simulacrum motum (mutare *corru.* *corru.* natare eod. Ambros.) coepit.

<sup>2</sup> Aristeid. *or.* 1. 7 (11. 9 Dindorf) καὶ ἡ ἡλίου τε ἀπαντος κινήσεις ἐπερ γῆς τε καὶ ἐπο γῆν Διὸς ἐστι πρόρρησις ἡλίου προσημειωμένη ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός κοσμοῦ φανουργίας, καὶ σεληνηῆς ὁρώμεν καὶ χορεύει πάντων ἀστέρων Διὸς ἐστι διακοσμος.

<sup>3</sup> Mart. Cap. 911 f.

## 758 Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology

Centuries later Ioannes Tzetzes speaks of 'Zeus the astrologer-king'<sup>1</sup> or even of 'Zeus the star-gazer', assuming in his Euhemeristic way that the sky-god must have been not only a king<sup>2</sup> but also a diviner of repute. It is curious to reflect that, just as Zeus at his first beginning appeared in the guise of a human magician, so Zeus at his latter end relapsed to the level of a human astrologer. Old age for him, as for us, meant second infancy.

For astrological purposes the planets were classified as good (Jupiter, Venus) or bad (Saturn, Mars) or both (Mercury). We hear also of stars that are diurnal (the Sun, Saturn, Jupiter) or nocturnal (the Moon, Mars, Venus) or both (Mercury). There was a distinction, too, between stars that are masculine (the Sun, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars) or feminine (the Moon, Venus) or both (Mercury). But these and other such subtleties—though for long ages they were regarded as matters of moment by a public that believed in horoscopes, and though in some cases they have left a permanent trace upon the language of modern almanacs—we need pursue no further. They belong to the history of sidereal divination in general rather than to that of a particular divinity<sup>3</sup>. I shall therefore content myself with quoting Bouché-Leclercq's summary<sup>4</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Tzetz. *chil.* 2. 159 (Herakles the reputed son of Amphitryon) τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ Διὸς, ἀνακτος, ἀστρολόγον (cp. *ib.* 168 ὁ υἱὸς βασιλεὺς ἐκείνος ἀστρολόγος). 2. 696 ff. τοῖς Πολεμέοις δ' ὁ πατήρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀστρολόγος τοῖς ἀστροῖς κατηστερίσει τοὺς παῖδας τελευτήσας· καὶ τοὺς Διόθυμους ἐκέλευεν Κάστορα, Πολυδεῖκην, ἀλλεγ. *Il.* 18. 169 f. ἡ ἀστρολόγῳ τῷ Διὶ ἐκείνῳ στεφεφόρῳ | οὐ καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ποιεῖ μεμνηταί. 18. 179 Διὶ τῷ ἀστρολόγῳ δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ μοι φίλον. 18. 400 ff. οἷδ' Ἡρακλῆς ὁ φίλος γὰρ Διὶ τῷ ἀστρολόγῳ ἡ τῷ ἡλίῳ νιν Διὶ ἡ καὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ δε' (ἐργα κλεινὰ γὰρ καὶ λαμπρὰ εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς ἐτελεί. καὶ οὐρανῷ θὲ φίλος ἦν ὡς ἀστρολόγος οἶός) τὴν κῆρα καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐξέδραμε τῇ τέχνῃ. 19. 56 (Herakles the reputed son of Amphitryon) ἐργῷ Διὸς δὲ ἀνακτος ὄντος καὶ ἀστρολόγου. 19. 62 ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκείνος βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ἀστρολόγος, ἀλλεγ. *Od.* 11. 140 f. Ζητὸς βασιλεύς, | καὶ ἀστρολόγον μαντεύς, μάγον, σοφοῦ τοῖς πάσι (cited by Buchmann *I pith. dion.* p. 126).

<sup>2</sup> Tzetz. *alleg.* *Od.* 1. 156 ὦ Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σοφὴ ἀστεροσκοπία (cited by Buchmann *Ereth. dion.* p. 135).

<sup>3</sup> See the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 409 and *J. of Phil.* 1904 xi. 303 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 11—14.

<sup>5</sup> E. Riess in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1802 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The clearest outlook over the whole subject is still that given by A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*. Paris 1879 i. 205—257, *id.* in Daremberg-Saglio *Dic. Ant.* ii. 302—305, and especially *id.* *Astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 *passim*. A great mass of fresh material is listed and in part published in the *Catalogus voluminum astrologorum Graecorum* Brussels 1898—by D. Bassi, F. Boll, F. Cumont, W. Kroll, E. Martini, and A. Olivier. This is turned to good account by F. Boll *Mythica* (Neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder) Leipzig 1903, *id.* *Die Lebensalter* (text), from the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altert., u. ch. u. deutsch. Lit.* xxvi Leipzig and Berlin 1913. On recent astrological research in general see the well-informed survey of Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 206—215.

<sup>7</sup> A. Bouché-Leclercq *Astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. 97 f.

## Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology 759

the powers ascribed by astrologers to the planet  $\Upsilon^1$ , *i.e.* the Greek *Phaëthon* or *Zeús*, the Roman *Jupiter*:—

'The brilliant planet that bears the name of Jupiter has received from astrologers as many praises—and the same—as Zeus himself, "father of gods and men," received from his worshippers. Jupiter is a star naturally benevolent and beneficent, a pleasant contrast to the Babylonian Marduk. If his influence alone were dominant, earth would be a paradise. Firmicus holds that men would be actually immortal. Ptolemy expresses this psychological character in physical terms: he emphasises the essentially temperate nature of the planet, which is at once hot and moist, the former to a greater degree than the latter, and so constitutes a just mean between the frosts of Saturn and the fires of Mars. Moreover, he attributes to Jupiter the peculiar characteristic of arousing "winds that fertilise." Whence came these vapours and moist blasts? Ptolemy does not explain: probably he did not know. It may be that Jupiter inherited these attributes from Marduk. In the fourth tablet of the Chaldean cosmogony we read how Marduk, when he went to fight with Tiamat, let loose a fearful tempest, "the four winds, the seven winds that he engenders." Further on Marduk is called "the god of the good wind<sup>4</sup>." As god of the atmosphere, of rain and storm, the Graeco-Latin Jupiter would be readily assimilated to such a deity'. In the winds "that fertilise" we have the isolated relic of a once wide-spread superstition. We shall see later that the astrologers attributed to the three superior planets and to Venus an orientation of their own corresponding with the four cardinal points. The north devolved upon Jupiter. And it was the north wind, Boreas, which was credited with such procreative virtue that female animals sometimes found themselves spontaneously impregnated by it<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This symbol is usually explained as the first letter of the name *Zeús*, or (with more probability) as a form of thunderbolt (*G.R.* v. p. xix).

<sup>2</sup> Firmic., ii, 13, 6 Kroll. Jupiter is a solar divinity, the Egyptian 'Osírhoēs áστῆρ Ach. Tat., *Leg.*, 171. Astrologers assign Cancer as his ἑστῶσα, Capricornus as his ταπεινώμα, an arrangement which would suit the Sun (see, below, ch. vii).

Διὰ δὲ τοῦ αἵθρος εἶναι θερμαντικός, γονιύων πνεύματων γίνεται ποιητικός (Ptol., *Tétrab.*, i, 41). Heat was supposed to produce by way of reaction the northern or etesian winds, which blew after the dog-days. At the time when he wrote his *Φασεῖς* (127, Wachsmuth pp. 199—276 ed. 2), and was not as yet an astrologer, Ptolemy attributed heat to Venus, moisture to Jupiter, and moist winds to Mercury (*ibid.*, p. 209). He changed his labels.

<sup>4</sup> Jensen, *K. mch.*, p. 283 and 295.

<sup>5</sup> The astrological Jupiter is γυναικῶν ἰδῶτων χορηγός (Anon., *In Ietab.*, p. 70) and lodges in Pisces.

<sup>6</sup> Boreas impregnating mares (Hom., *Iliad*, xx, 223 ff.); Zephyr fertilising Lusitanian mares—a thing reported as *res mirabilis, sed vera* by Varro (*R. rust.*, ii, 1, 19), Pliny [*nat. hist.* 8, 166] and Columella [*de re rust.* 6, 27]; the alleged non-existence of male vultures, the females being regularly fecundated ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος (Euseb., *Pr. Ev.*, iii, 12, 3) [see further the references collected by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rev.*, p. 442 n. 3 and L. S. Hatland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 pp. 22 f., 35, 149 f.], all these claimed to be facts so well attested that Lactantius, with a shocking lack of taste, used them as an argument to explain the Incarnation of Jesus Christ: *Quod si animalia quaedam tanto et aura confecti solent omnino non esse, cur aut-quam mirum putet cum Spiritu Dei, cui facile est pervenire ubi, gratiam esse incrementi diiimus* (Lactant., *Inst. Div.*, iv, 12). According to Proclus (in *Anál. Sac.*, v, 2, p. 176 Pitra), Boreas produced males, Notus

## 760 Zeus transformed into a Star

However that may be, Ptolemy assigns to Jupiter the epithet that best defines his kind of influence by describing it as "temperate" *εἰκρατον ἔχει το ποιητικὸν τῆς δυνάμεως*<sup>1</sup>.

### (d) Zeus transformed into a Star.

A tradition fathered upon Clement of Rome<sup>2</sup> and cited also by Tzetzes<sup>3</sup> says that Zeus transformed himself into a star, when he begot Kastor and Polydeukes. We are reminded of the passage in the *Iliad*, which tells how Zeus sent Athena like a meteorite from heaven to earth:

And even as crook-witted Kronos' son  
Sendeth a star—a sign to mariners  
Or some broad host of men—a brilliant star,  
Wherefrom springs many a spark, like unto that  
Pallas Athene darted down to earth<sup>4</sup>.

This may be no more than a simile. But in the *Hymn to the Pythian Apollo* we have a case of actual metamorphosis. Apollo, having reached Krisa on board a vessel manned by Cretans from Knossos, leapt ashore

Like to a star at midday, and therefrom  
Flew many a spark, and lo the light reached heaven<sup>5</sup>.

It is, then, possible that the tradition with regard to Zeus was not merely a late invention. Nevertheless it is reasonable to suppose, with O. Gruppe<sup>6</sup>, that it was motivated by the frequent association of the Dioskouroi with stars.

### (e) The Dioskouroi as Stars.

On the original significance of the Dioskouroi this is not the place to dilate<sup>7</sup>. My concern is merely with their epiphany as stars.

females. See, below (ch. vii), Jupiter's "winds that fertilise" invoked to fix his *ιζωσα* in Cancer.

<sup>1</sup> This is the traditional refrain: *Sub Jove temperata et nimiam turbanda aër* (Lucan., *Phars.*, x, 207). The meteorological influence of Jupiter tempering the cold in winter, the heat in summer—*rabidos et temperat aëtus* (Cicilian., *Arat. Progn.*, iv, 11). Before the time of Ptolemy Pliny had written of Jupiter's position between Mars and Saturn *inter utrumque ambobus ex utroque temperata forem salutaremque pectus* (Plin., ii, § 34), and Pliny was copying Cicero (above, p. 95, 2 [Cic. *de nat. deor.*, 2, 119, cp. Vitruv., 9, 1, 16]). All this seemed reasonable enough, and no further evidence was demanded!

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Rom. *hom.*, 5, 13 (n. 184 Migne) *Νεύσει τῇ τοῦ Θεστίω, τῇ καὶ Ἀηδῇ νομοθεσίῃ, κύκλος τῇ χῆν γενόμενος* (sc. ὁ Ζεὺς) *Ἐλένην τεκνώσατο, καὶ αὐτῆς, ἀπτηρ γινόμενος, Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην ἐξέφηνεν*.

<sup>3</sup> Tzet., in Lyk., *Il.* 88: *ἐν τῷ ἄλλοις δὲ τισιν εὐρον ἰστορικοῖς ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς ἀστὴρ (ἀστέρ, codicum classis n) εἰκασθεὶς καὶ μίγεις Ἀηδᾷ Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην γέννῃ, ἱστῶν ὅτι οὕτως, ὡς ἔφημεν, τὴν Ἑλένην*.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 4, 75 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* *Alf.* 441 f.

<sup>6</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 727 n. 7

<sup>7</sup> Neither am I the right man to do so. My learned and brilliant friend Dr J. Rendel



And here it will be best to quote the available evidence before considering the various interpretations that have been put upon it.

i. The dedication of Stars after the battles of Salamis and Aigos Potamos.

In the battle of Salamis (480 B.C.) the Æginetans distinguished themselves above the rest of the Greeks for their bravery<sup>1</sup>. The Delphic Apollon therefore demanded of them a special thank-offering for the victory, and they erected at the corner of his temple three golden stars on a bronze mast<sup>2</sup>. H. Pomtow in his plan of the Pythian precinct places the mast with its three stars close to the south-east angle of the temple-platform<sup>3</sup>. Herodotos, our sole informant, says nothing about the Dioskouroi; nor do we know that they were specially worshipped in Aigina. But an analogous incident, which occurred three quarters of a century later, brings them well to the fore. After the battle of Aigos Potamos (405 B.C.) the victorious Spartan general Lysandros set up at Delphoi a magnificent trophy made from the spoils of the vanquished Athenians. It included a great assemblage of bronze statues, which in time became covered with a patina of exquisite blue, and visitors commented on the appropriateness of the colour<sup>4</sup>. Pausanias gives a list of the thirty seven statues<sup>5</sup>, and important remains of the oblong chamber in which they stood, together with their inscribed bases, have been discovered by the French excavators near to the principal entrance of the sanctuary on the right hand side of the Sacred Way<sup>6</sup>. Pausanias' list of the statues in

Hartus has for years past made the subject peculiarly his own, and his contributions towards the elucidation of divine twins in general and the Dioskouroi in particular (*The Dioscuri in the Christian Legend* London 1903 pp. 1-64, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 pp. 1-160 with 7 pls., 'Sons of Thunder' in the *Expositor* 1907 pp. 146-152, 'Some Points in the Cult of the Heavenly Twins' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 II. 175 ff., 'The Cult of the Heavenly Twins' in *The Contemporary Review* 1909 xcv. 50-61, *Boomerang* Cambridge 1913 pp. 1-424) have aroused a wide-spread interest in the subject; see the comments of Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 57 ff., 314 ff., 481 f., 563 f.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 8. 93; see further G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1895 II. 2. 716 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. 8. 122.

<sup>3</sup> H. Luckenbach *Erläuterungen zur Wandtafel von Delphi* München und Berlin 1904 pp. 12 (perspective view by C. Schuster), 13 (plan by H. Pomtow).

<sup>4</sup> Plout. *de Pyth.* or. 2 ἀρεχρῶς θαλάττιους τῇ χροῇ καὶ θεοῖς ἐστῶτας.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 10. 9. 7 ff.

<sup>6</sup> T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 186, *ib.* 1897 xxi. 284-288, *ib.* 1898 xxii. 572-579, and in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscriptions et belles lettres* 1901 pp. 668-686, H. Bulle and T. Wiegand in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 332 f., H. Pomtow in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii Arch. Anz. pp. 14 ff., 80 f., and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 492-563, A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d.*

question is headed by the Dioskouroi: then follow Zeus, Apollon, Artemis, Poseidon, Lysandros crowned by Poseidon, the seer Agias, Hermon the helmsman of Lysandros; behind these is ranked a series of twenty eight captains from various states, who helped Lysandros to win the day. The artists of the statues are duly recorded, the Dioskouroi being the work of Antiphanes the Argive. Plutarch, who knew Delphoi well mentions along with these statues the 'golden stars of the Dioskouroi, which disappeared before the battle of Leuktra'.<sup>1</sup> He further states that according to some persons, when Lysandros' ship was sailing out of the harbour to attack the Athenians, the Dioskouroi were seen shining as stars on the steering paddles: and that, according to others, the meteor that fell at Aigos Potamos was a sign of this slaughter. H. Pomtow concludes that at Delphoi the 'golden stars of the Dioskouroi' were in all probability attached to the heads of the twin-deities. Cicero says that shortly before the fight at Leuktra (371 B.C.) these stars 'fell down and were not found'—an omen doubtless, of the overthrow of Sparta at the hands of Thebes. Now, in view of the express connexion between the stars dedicated by Lysandros and the appearance of the Dioskouroi on the admiral's vessel, it can hardly be questioned that the stars erected on a mast by the Æginetans were likewise symbolic of help received from the Dioskouroi at the battle of Salamis.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *var. lect.*, *Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1901 pp. 397—400. *ib.* 1904 pp. 365—368. A. Tiedelmann *Die Anfangsgründe der heiligen Strasse in Delphi* Berlin 1908. F. Poulsen 'La niche aux offrandes de Marathon' in the *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark* 1908 pp. 389—425. G. Karo in the *Arch. Corr. Mitt.* 1909 xxxiii. 219—239. *ib.* 1910 xxxiv. 201—207. and above all E. Bourguet in the *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 1. 24—41. *ib.* *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 41—46.

<sup>2</sup> Plout. v. *Lys.* 18.

<sup>3</sup> Plout. v. *Lys.* 12. So Cic. *de div.* 1. 75. On the meteor see the *metem. Pat.* c. 57 p. 17 Jacoby, *Aristot. meteor.* 1. 7. 344 b 31 ff., *Diog. Laert.* 2. 10. *Philosop. i. Arist.* 1. 2. *Tetzl. Phil.* 2. 892 ff., *Plin. nat. hist.* 2. 149. *Amm. Marc.* 22. 16. 22.

<sup>4</sup> H. Pomtow in the *Arch. Mitt.* 1906 xxxi. 563. A bronze statuette of one of the Dioskouroi, found at Parameythia and now in the British Museum, has a hole in its cap, probably for the insertion of a star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 37 no. 277 pl. 6. 3). But see *infra* p. 764 n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *de div.* 1. 75. It is noteworthy that the great inscription recording the accounts of the *ναοποιοί* at Delphoi mentions among other items of expenditure under the archonship of Peithagoras (342 B.C.) the sum paid to a certain Kephalon 'for the model of the wooden star' (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Græc.* no. 140. 111 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr.* 51. no. 591. 111 f. = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* n. 652 ff. no. 2502. 111 f. *τοῦ ξύλινου ἀστέρους τοῦ παραδείγματος στατήρης τέτοιος, ὁ[ρα]χ[μ]α*). But this may have been, as E. Bourguet and W. Dittenberger *ad loc.* suppose, a piece of architectural decoration: cp. *supra* p. 751 f.

<sup>6</sup> My friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse in his *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge 1902 p. 135 n. 1 complains that this hypothesis does not account for the fact that there were

## ii. The Dioskouroi as Stars in Hellenic Literature.

Literary allusions fully bear out this conception of the Dioskouroi as helpful deities, whose signs bring relief to the storm-tossed mariner<sup>1</sup>. The Homeric *Hymn to the Dioskouroi*, which Mr E. E. Sikes dates 'at least as early as the fourth or third century B.C.' gives a fine description of a storm at sea<sup>2</sup>—

when the winds of winter  
Hurry across the rough deep, and on ship-board  
Men cry aloud to the sons of mighty Zeus  
With white lambs, climbing up the after-deck,  
Which the great wind and wave of the sea plunge deep  
Into the brine, till on a sudden they come,  
Darting on brown wings through the upper air,  
And straightway stay the blasts of labouring winds  
And lay the white surf smooth upon the main  
Fair signs of trouble over, those that see them  
Rejoice at heart and cease from sorry toil.

The Dioskouroi here, quite exceptionally, appear as birds<sup>3</sup>, or at least as brown-winged forms. On Etruscan mirrors also they are occasionally winged<sup>4</sup>. To Euripides they were star-like deities, dwelling among the stars, and hastening thence to the rescue of the voyager. In the *Helene* (412 B.C.) Teukros says of them:

In fashion made as stars men name them Gods<sup>5</sup>.

And a chorus of Greek maidens in the same play invokes their blessing upon Helene's home-coming:

And ye, in your chariot o'er highways of sky  
O haste from the far land  
Where, Tyndareus' scions, your homes are on high  
Mid the flashings of starland:

three stars, not yet for their erection on a mast. But the third star may have been Apollon (*supra* p. 760) or, more probably, Helene (*infra* pp. 764, 769), and the mast is obviously appropriate to a memorial of a sea-fight, especially if the Dioskouroi and Helene were believed to appear as stars on the mast of the ship (*infra* p. 771 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> For a full collection of passages see K. Jaisle *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden* Tübingen 1907 pp. 1-73, reviewed by R. Wunsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 554.

<sup>2</sup> *H. Diosk.* 7 ff. The passage is imitated by Theokr. 22. 8 ff.

<sup>3</sup> I follow the emendation of Prof. J. B. Bury, who connects *ναῦταις σήματα καλὰ πορον σφίσιν* 'οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἰδοὺ σήματα καλὰ πόνων ἀπονόσφισιν' οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες (Clav. Rev. 1899 xiii. 183).

<sup>4</sup> On the contention of S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1901 ii. 35-50 = *Et. Clav.*, *Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 42-57 that 'les Dioscures, comme Apollon et Kyknos, sont des hommes-cygnés' (sons of Zeus transformed into a swan and Leda, i.e. the Phrygian *Lada*, 'a woman'; born from an egg; later conceived as *Λευκοπῶλω* with egg-shell *pilor*; etc.) see Gruppe *Myth. Mit.* 1908 p. 480. J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 17 ff. would connect the Twins with a variety of 'thunder-buds.'

<sup>5</sup> E. Bethe in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1109.

<sup>6</sup> Eur. *Hel.* 140 *ἄστροις σφ' ὁμοιωθέντε φασ' εἶναι θεῶ,* trans. A. S. Way.

Ye who dwell in the halls of the Heavenly Home,  
 Be nigh her, safe guiding  
 Helen where seas heave, surges comb.  
 As o'er waves green-glimmering, crested with foam.  
 Her galley is riding

Similarly in Euripides' *Elektra* (413 B.C.) the women of Argos salute Klytaimestra as follows:

Hail, Queen of the Argive land!  
 All hail, O Tyndareus' daughter!  
 Hail, sister of Zeus' sons, heroes' twain  
 In the glittering heavens mid stars who stand.  
 And their proud right this, to deliver from bane  
 Men tossed on the storm-vent water!

In the *Orestes* (408 B.C.) Helene shares their prerogative:

For, as Zeus' daughter, deathless must she live,  
 And shall by Kastor and Polydeukes sit  
 In folds of air, the matrons' saviour she

### iii. The Dioskouroi with Stars in Hellenistic Art.

The art-type of the Dioskouroi, with their heads surmounted by a couple of stars, though common enough in Hellenistic times (fig. 554)<sup>1</sup>, especially on coins (fig. 555)<sup>2</sup>, has not as yet been discovered on monuments of the strictly Hellenic period<sup>3</sup>. Diodoros, who drew his information from the *Argonautika* or *Argonautai* of

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Hel.* 1495 ff. trans. A. S. Way. The poet adds *ραΐταις εἰαῖς ἀνέμων* πνεύοντες Διόθεν πνοάς, which marks their connexion with Zeus.

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *El.* 988 ff. trans. A. S. Way. Cp. Eur. *id.* 1241 ff., 1347 ff., *Hel.* 1633 ff., *frags.*, 133 Bergk<sup>1</sup> (= Pind. *frags.*, 140 Schroeder) of Plout., *non po. sup. cura et. Lp.*, 23, *de def. or.* 30.

<sup>3</sup> Eur. *Or.* 1635 ff. trans. A. S. Way. Cp. Eur. *id.* 1683 ff., Isok. *Id.* 61.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 554 a, b representing a pair of bronze statuettes (heights 5½ and 5⅞ inches) at Arolsen (R. Gaedechens *Die Antiken d. Lothlich-Waldschützchen-Museums zu Arolsen* 1862 nos. 173, 174) is drawn from casts in the Cambridge collection. The lowered hands hold sheathed swords; the raised arms doubtless leant upon lances. The right foot of fig. 554 b is restored. For variations on the same theme see e.g. Reinach *Rég. Stat.* 1, 487 no. 2, n. 109 nos. 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 59 no. 5, *id.* *Rég. Rég. Stat.* 1, 344 no. 1, n. 248 no. 5. Cp. *supra* p. 35 fig. 8.

<sup>5</sup> The type dates from the third century B.C. (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1, 1176 ff.). I figure by way of example a silver coin of the Bruttii after Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 183 pl. 124, 12.

<sup>6</sup> A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* 1, 11711. This makes it doubtful whether we can admit H. Poutow's surmise that the statues on the Dioskouroi at Delphi by Antiphanes of Argos (soon after 405 B.C.) had stars on their heads (*supra* p. 762).

Polyan. 2, 31, 4 states that Aristomenes the Messenian and a friend once tricked the Lacedaemonians by appearing suddenly in the guise of the Dioskouroi, mounted on white horses and wearing golden stars on their heads (cp. 1, 41, 1, 6, 1, 3, Frontin. *Strat.* 1, 11, 8, 9, cited by K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 16 n. 6). But little confidence can be placed in the historical accuracy of this trick, and none in its details.

Dionysios Skytobrachion (s. ii B.C.)<sup>1</sup>, relates that, when the Argonauts were overtaken by a terrible storm, Orpheus prayed to the gods of Samothrace, that straightway the wind ceased, and that,

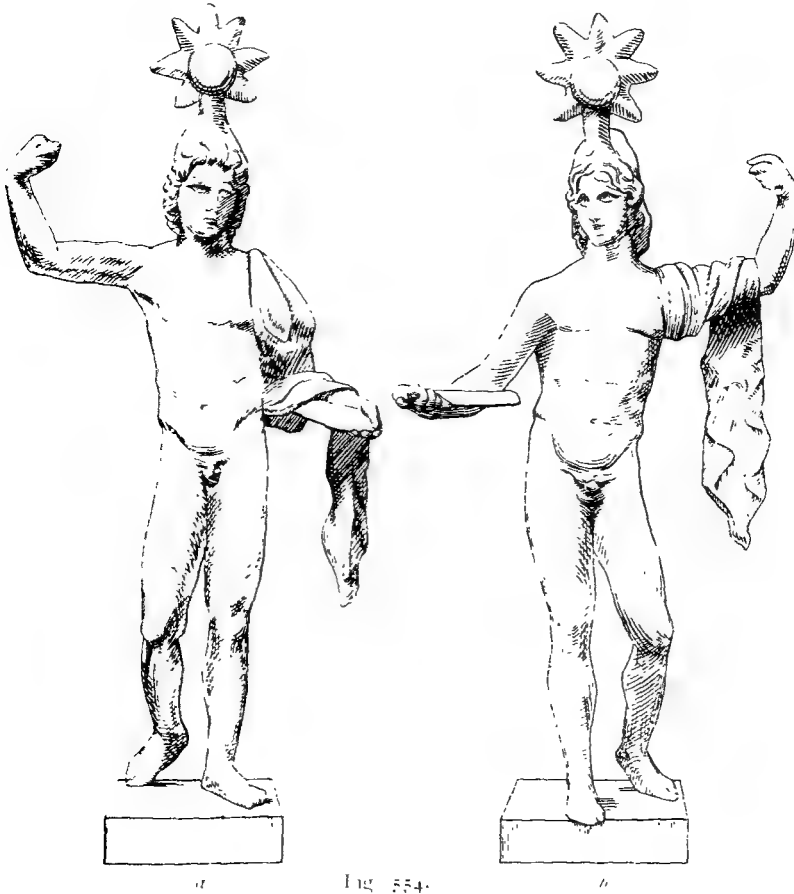


Fig. 554.

to the amazement of all, two stars fell upon the heads of the Dioskouroi; wherefore storm-tossed mariners ever afterwards prayed to the gods of Samothrace and interpreted the presence of the



Fig. 555.

<sup>1</sup> F. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 929.

stars as an epiphany of the Dioskouroi<sup>1</sup>. This late tale with its confusion of the Samothracian Kabeiroi and the Dioskouroi need not detain us. It may be pure invention on the part of Dionysios, whose credit was none of the best<sup>2</sup>. But in any case the conception of the Dioskouroi with stars hovering over their heads was a natural development from the earlier conception of the Dioskouroi as stars themselves<sup>3</sup>: the progress of anthropomorphism, everywhere dominant in Greek religion, could have led to no other issue.

In passing I would draw attention to a little-noticed series of Etruscan mirrors (s. iii—ii B.C.), on which the Dioskouroi are associated with a star or stars. The simplest variety of the type (fig. 556)<sup>4</sup> shows them as two youths facing one another with a star between them. Each is clad in Phrygian cap, short *chiton*, and belt, has one arm only visible and that resting on his hip, and stands beside his shield, which is grounded. Their attitude of arrested motion suggests an original group by Polykleitos or some other sculptor of the Argive school. Further examples unite the twins by means of one<sup>5</sup> (fig. 557)<sup>6</sup>, two (fig. 558)<sup>7</sup>, or three (fig. 559)<sup>8</sup> cross-bars, sometimes omitting star or shields or both. These designs recall the *dōkana* or 'beams' of the Dioskouroi as described by Plutarch<sup>9</sup> and figured on Spartan reliefs<sup>10</sup>. And, whatever may

<sup>1</sup> Diod. 4. 43, c p. 4. 48.

<sup>2</sup> L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* n. 2530 f. 1. Bethe in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enz.* 10. 1097 f., H. Graillot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 1. 345 ff. K. Jaisle *op. cit.* pp. 22—25.

<sup>3</sup> E. Schwartz *ib.* v. 929.

<sup>4</sup> The older notion lingers in Kallim. *Ἰστία γ. Παρ.* 24 f. οὐα παρ' Εἰρώσῳ τοῖς Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀστέρες. Πτολ. *id.* 1. 3—2 sic hiatus Helenae, lucida sidera, Iouliani. *παρ.* 9 καὶ τινα λαμπρὸν ἀστέρα. Διοσκύρων τον ἑτερον. ἐπιαισται τῷ καρχησιω κ τ λ.

<sup>5</sup> Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* m. 33 f. pl. 45, 4 (Berlin).

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* *ib.* m. 35 f. pl. 46, 2 (Bologna, two specimens). Gerhard supposes that the connexion here consists of two bars touching each other.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* *ib.* m. 35 f. pl. 46, 3 (from the Thorwaldsen collection).

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* *ib.* m. 35 f. pl. 46, 6 (Berlin).

<sup>9</sup> Plout. *de frat. am.* 1 τα παλαια τῶν Διοσκούρων ἀφιδρήματα οἱ Σπαρτιάται δόκανα καλοῦσιν· ἔστι δὲ δύο ξύλα παράλληλα διὰ πλοσίοις ἐπιεξηγμένα, καὶ δοκεῖ τῷ φιλαδέλφῳ τῶν θεῶν οἰκεῖον εἶναι τοῦ ἀναλήματος τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ αἰσάμετον, c p. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1125, 59 ff. παράγων δὲ δοκοῦ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς δόκανα, ὧν χρῆσις καὶ παρὰ Πηλοπάρχῳ (Favonin. *ib.* p. 524, 91). ἦσαν δὲ αὐτὰ Διοσκούρων ἀφιδρήματα, ὡς ἐκείνος καὶ ὑποφει καὶ ἐκφράζει, *ib.* *sup.* p. 282, 5 ff. (quoted by Zonar. *ib.* c. 7 δόκανα, καὶ ὑποφει καὶ ἐκφράζει, *ib.* p. 523, 13 f.) δόκανα τάφοι τινὲς ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ, παρὰ τὸ δέξασθαι τὰς (leg. τοῖς) Τυνδαρίδας, φαντασίαν ἔχουσας (leg. ἔχοντες) τόφων ἀνεψωμένων. ἢ παρὰ τὸ δοκεῖν, δόκανον. The curious statement that the *dōkana* looked like opened tombs perhaps refers to the juxtaposed *amphorae* of the Dioskouroi, which sometimes have snakes coiled about them and might suggest graves of the 'Dipylon' type.

<sup>10</sup> M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Spartan Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 113 f. fig. 14 and p. 193 no. 588.

For gems possibly representing the *dōkana* see (1) Fuhrwangler *Geschmitt, Steine*

be the ultimate explanation of the *dókana*<sup>1</sup>, it seems probable that we have here a humanised form of them in which the side-posts



Fig. 556

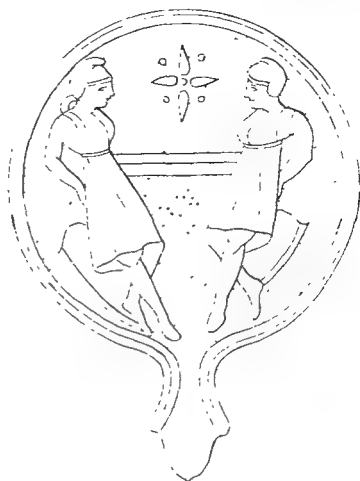


Fig. 557.

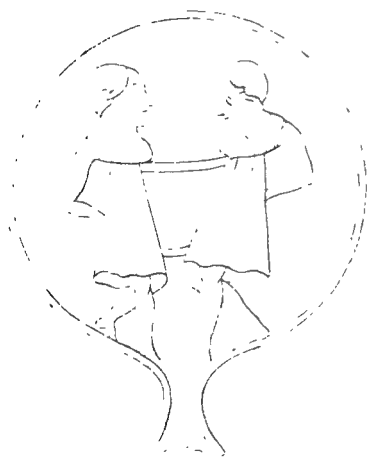


Fig. 558

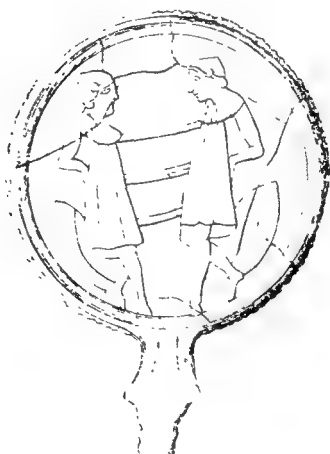


Fig. 559.

*Berlin* p. 30 no. 305 pl. 6 (1) *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 13, 29, n. 64 a chalcidony scaraboid from Melos showing two pillars linked together - good work of c. v. B.C.; (2) *id. Gemmen*, *Stein Berlin* p. 236 no. 6464 pl. 48 a black stone showing two Egyptising pillars connected by a loop; (3) *id. ib.* p. 243 no. 6617 pl. 47 a striped sardonix showing two pillars, each surmounted by a radiate globe with a star above it and equipped with a lance and a sword; between them is a tripod (?) with a crescent moon above it. This gem is published on a scale of  $\frac{1}{2}$  by its former owner E. Gerhard (*Ueber das Museum zu Athen*, etc. Berlin 1851 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1850 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 459 ft.) p. 32 no. 7 pl. 2.

<sup>1</sup> As an object of religious significance this structure of two side-posts with a connecting bar or (for stability's sake) two connecting bars, themselves sometimes connected by

have become anthropomorphic<sup>1</sup>, the connecting bar or bars being retained and perhaps accepted in lieu of the missing arms.

Another variety complicates the scene by adding a central pillar. This pillar tapers upwards (fig. 560)<sup>2</sup> or downwards (fig. 561)<sup>3</sup>, or takes the shape of a lotus-column (fig. 562)<sup>4</sup> or even of a tree topped by a bird? (fig. 563)<sup>5</sup>. The heads of the heroes may be connected by a regular pediment (figs. 561, 563); and the star between them may be accompanied by two other stars (fig. 563).

several vertical ties, is found over a wide area from west to east. It is akin to some forms of the gateway which in the wall-paintings of Pompeii turns a tree into a temple (e.g. Boetticher *Baumkultur*, pp. 177 f., 241, 243, figs. 36, 36, 38, 39, etc.; esp. Schrader *Reallex.*, pp. 855—863), to the *Prat-fang* gateway at Rome (H. Jordan 'C' Hansen *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3, 322 n. 2; O. Richter *Festschrift der Stadt Rom* München 1901 p. 311), and to the *Prat-fang* under which conquered troops were made to pass (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xiii 369). It resembles, as Miss Harrison has observed (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Spartan Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 193 n. 1), the *Prat-fang* of the temple of the Paphian Aphrodite on coins of Kypros etc. (E. A. Gardner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1888 ix, 210—215; G. E. Hill in the *Bull. Mus. Nat. Hist. Nat. Paris* 1888 viii 369). Further, it is very like a Buddhist tomb at Bangkok (J. Fergusson *Rude Stone Monuments* London 1872 p. 413 f. fig. 177) and the carved torii or portal of many an Indian temple (J. Fergusson *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* rev. by J. Burgess and R. P. Spier London 1910 i. 62 n. figs. 12 and 38). Closer still is its analogy to the *Prat-fang* or memorial gateways of China (*ibid.* i. 118 f., n. 436, 472 f. figs. 501, 502, 503) and the countless *torii* of Japan (R. A. Graham *Impressions of Japanese Architecture* London 1906 pp. 88, 109 f. pl. 18, 1; Hadland Davis *Myths & Legends of Japan* London 1912 p. 225 ff.). The possible connexion of these types is a theme deserving of serious investigation, but not one to be undertaken in a footnote.

My friend Prof. H. A. Giles has most kindly supplied me with a note (Sept. 26, 1913) on the *Prat-fang*, which may at least serve as a suggestive contribution to the subject:

*Prat-fang* and *Prat-fan* are popular names for the honorary gates put up by the Chinese in honour of chaste wives, filial children, and others. The former is simple in style, consisting of uprights and horizontals; the latter is more ornate, with a roofing turned up at the corners. Neither term is given in the Concordance to Literature (*Prat-fan yun fu*).

It seems to have been customary, since about B.C. 1000, for the sovereign in feudal times, and for the Emperor in later days, to reward distinguished men and women by the bestowal of some mark of favour, such as a banner, which would be exhibited at the gate of the town or village where the recipient was born. Stone animals are also mentioned; e.g. the horse, lion, and elephant. In every case, it was the local gateway which was embellished, the idea being that the fellow-townsmen of the distinguished person should each share in the honour accorded. I can find no record of the date at which isolated gates were first set up, nor any clue to their meaning or symbolism, but it seems very probable that the modern honorary gate is nothing more than the old village gate which was so long associated with the honour that it came eventually to stand for the honour itself.

<sup>1</sup> The resultant type of the Dioskouroi was, I suspect, not uninfluenced by that of the Kometes, who—though their origin was very different—were likewise represented as flanking-figures with shields.

<sup>2</sup> Gerhard *Etr. Skulptur*, iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 4 (Gerhard's collection).

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* iii. 37 ff. pl. 47, 6 (Naples).

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 9 (London).

<sup>5</sup> *Id. ib.* iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 8 (Paris).



Now several Spartan reliefs of the second century B.C. show the Dioskouroi standing on either side of a pillar-like female figure<sup>1</sup>, which has been interpreted as an archaic image of Helene<sup>2</sup>. It is

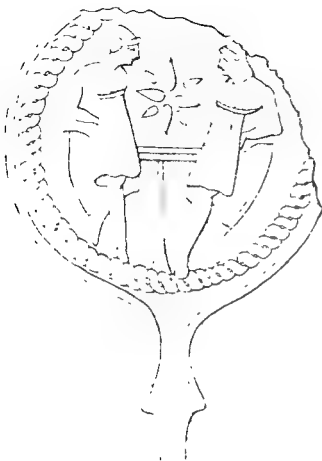


Fig. 560.

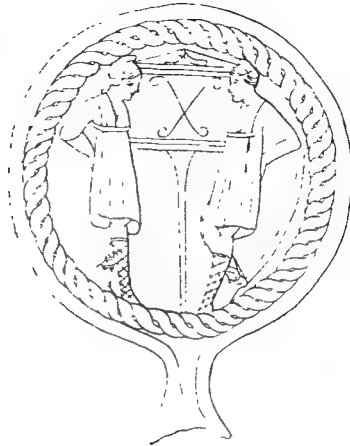


Fig. 561.

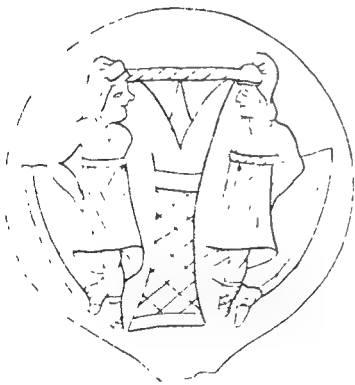


Fig. 562.

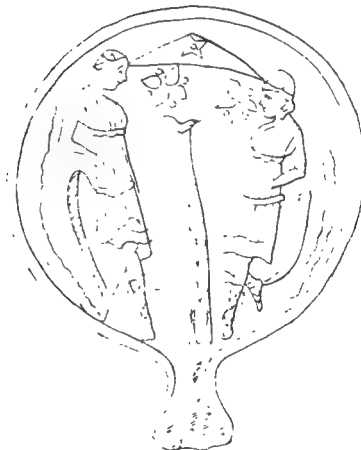


Fig. 563.

therefore probable that the pillar on our mirrors too is the aniconic form of the same goddess, whose star is here seen flanked by her brothers.

<sup>1</sup> A. Conze and A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 39 f. pl. D, 1 and 2, A. Furtwangler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1167 fig., M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 158 nos. 201—203 figs. 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> A. Conze and A. Michaelis *loc. cit.*, A. Furtwangler *loc. cit.*

The lotus<sup>1</sup> and tree not improbably point to a fertility-cult; and on an isolated mirror (fig. 564)<sup>2</sup> the twins have a thunder-bolt (?) between them, and their *amphorae* are modified into vessels from which a stream of water descends to a lotus-bloom below.



Fig. 564

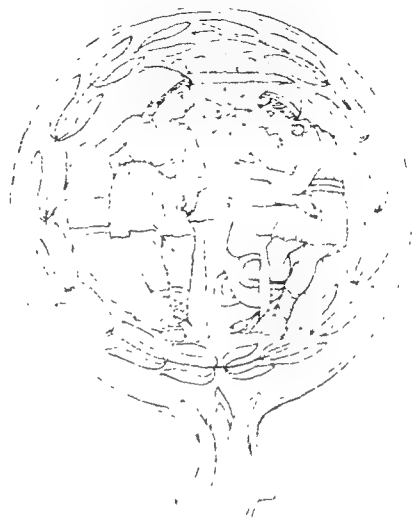


Fig. 565

Finally, another variety of type (fig. 565)<sup>3</sup> treats the whole group with much greater freedom, e.g. introducing Leda's swan, but still retains the side-posts of the *dokana* in the form of *cippi* and, grotesquely enough, joins head to head by a decorated architrave.

#### iv. The Dioskouroi identified with the Heavenly Twins in Hellenistic Literature.

But we have yet to ask, what were the stars with which the Dioskouroi are associated?

Eratostrhenes, or the pseudo-Eratostrhenes, identified them with the celestial Twins<sup>4</sup>, as did other writers of a late date<sup>5</sup>. Recently

<sup>1</sup> A lotus-bud is the central ornament of the *δῶκα* as figured on a Spartan relief in M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 193 no. 588 fig. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 7 (Gerhard's collection).

<sup>3</sup> The *Τερδάρκται* are sons of *Τερδάρκας*, the 'Shatterer' (*μυρα* p. 780 n. 5), an obvious source of thunder and lightning.

<sup>4</sup> Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 39 ff. pl. 48, 2 (Naples?), *op. cit.* pl. 48, 1 (Rome, Museo Gregoriano?).

<sup>5</sup> Pseudo-Eratosth. *cat. st.* 10.

<sup>6</sup> Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 22, *op. cit.* 5. 693 ff., Serv. *in Verg. Ion* 6. 121.

this view has been championed by O. Gruppe, who holds that the Dioskouroi were originally none other than the Heavenly Twins<sup>1</sup> and seeks support for his view in the fact that Assyrian mythology gave to the same constellation the name *tuamu rabuti* or 'the Great Twins'. But, as Dr J. Rendel Harris makes clear, many features of the Kastor and Polydeukes tradition are of vastly greater antiquity than the zodiac: 'we are at an earlier date in human history than star-gazing and star-naming'.<sup>2</sup>

v. The Dioskouroi identified with various Stars by modern writers.

F. G. Welcker, comparing the Ásvins of the *Veda* and analogous pairs of twins found in other Indo-Europæan mythologies, argued that the Dioskouroi were personifications of the morning-star and the evening-star regarded as two, not one<sup>3</sup>. A. Jeremias<sup>4</sup> and H. Winckler<sup>5</sup> would equate them with the sun and moon; O. Gilbert, with day and night<sup>6</sup>. E. Bethe holds that they were not a definite pair of stars, but any stars that shone out through a rift in the storm and seemed to promise safety to the mariners in their distress<sup>7</sup>. But these conjectures are devoid of ancient support and must therefore remain at best purely conjectural.

vi. The Dioskouroi identified with Saint Elmo's Fire in Hellenistic Literature.

In the Hellenistic age, and probably long before that, the stars of the Dioskouroi and of their sister Helene were identified with the electrical discharges ('corposants') that play about the spars of ships in stormy weather<sup>8</sup>. This phenomenon is known to have

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe *op. Myth. Rev.* pp. 164, 727, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 56 f., 480.

<sup>2</sup> P. Jensen *Die Kosmogonie der Babylonier* Strasburg 1890 pp. 64 f., 82, cp

M. Jastrow *The Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians* Giessen 1912 n. 2, 680 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Welcker *Gr. Götter!* i. 606 ff.

<sup>5</sup> A. Jeremias *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig 1906 p. 64 ff.

<sup>6</sup> H. Winckler *Die Weltanschauung des alten Orients (L'É. Orient. lux i. 1)* Leipzig 1905 p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Gilbert *Gr. Götter!* p. 201 ff.

<sup>8</sup> E. Bethe in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1096.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. the stars dedicated at Delphi after the battles of Salamis and Argos Potamos (*supra* p. 761 f.).

<sup>10</sup> I have been unable to procure an actual photograph of these electrical lights. But F. T. Bullen's article on 'St Elmo's Fires' in *Marvels of the Universe*, published by Hutchinson and Co., London, pt. 2 p. 63 f. (a reference supplied to me by my nephew Mr E. N. Cook) has an illustration by A. Twiddle showing two such lights on a mast-head

attracted the attention of the Greeks as early as the sixth century B.C.; for Xenophanes (*c.* 576—480) offered a physical explanation of it<sup>1</sup>. It is first expressly referred to the Dioskouroi by Seneca the philosopher, who says:

'In a big storm stars as it were are wont to appear sitting on the sail. Men believe that then in their peril they are being succoured by the divine power of Pollux and Castor. They therefore take heart again, for it is already clear to them that the storm is weakening and the winds dropping; otherwise the fires would be borne about and not stationary<sup>2</sup>.'

Many other authors of the imperial age mention the stars of the Dioskouroi as appearing on the rigging of ships at sea: Occasionally the apparition was ascribed to a different source: Polemon, like Diodoros<sup>3</sup>, seems to have spoken of the Kabeiroi in this connexion<sup>4</sup>, and Arrian says that off the island of Achilles in the Euxine sea Achilles was seen on the mast or on the tip of the yard in place of the Dioskouroi<sup>5</sup>.

#### vii. The Stars of the Dioskouroi and of Helene as a good or bad omen.

Different opinions were entertained with regard to the propitious or unpropitious nature of these signs. Euripides treated Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene as alike beneficent powers<sup>6</sup>. But a gradual change seems to have come over classical beliefs in this respect.

and a yard-arm. Mr Bullen says: 'St. Elmo's Fire, often covers like a halo the head of a seaman engaged in work aloft, and I myself have several times seen it streaming from my fingers when holding them up for the purpose. I cannot help confessing to a curious feeling of the uncanny on witnessing this phenomenon.... Only appearing on the blackest of nights, moving from point to point without apparently passing through the intermediate space, unaffected by fiercest wind or heaviest rain, and insusceptible of being touched or moved, St Elmo's Fires form what is probably the most mysterious and lovely of all the wonderful phenomena belonging to the ocean.' Sir J. J. Thomson informs me (Sept. 22, 1913) that one night in stormy weather he saw St Elmo's fires glimmering on the topmost points of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

<sup>1</sup> Act. 2. 18. ἡ Ζενοφάνης τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων φαινομένοις οὖν ἀστέρας, οἷς καὶ Διοσκούροις καλοῦσιν τινες, νεφέλια εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ποίαν κίνησιν παραλαμβάνοντα = Plou<sup>1</sup> *de phil. phil.* 2. 18. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sen. *nat. quest.* 1. 1. 13.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 101, Loukian. *nat.* 9. *diab. doct.* 26. 2. *Charid.* 3. *et mercede conductis* 1. Max. Tyr. 15. 7. *Isyl. de extant.* 5. To the list given by T. H. Martin 'La foudre et le feu Saint-Elme' in the *Revue archéologique* 1866 N.S. xiii. 168 ff. K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 12 adds the papyrus romance published by J. P. Mahaffy in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1897 Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche (Serie Quinta) vi. 93.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 765 f.

<sup>5</sup> Polemon *frag.* 76a (*frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 137 Muller) *ap. schol. Eur. Or.* 1637.

<sup>6</sup> Arrian. *peripl. pont. Eux.* 34 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 399 Muller).

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 763 f.

A distinction was first drawn between the Dioskouroi and Helene. According to Sosibios (c. 250 B.C.), the epiphany of Helene was an evil omen<sup>1</sup>—a view perhaps based on a real<sup>2</sup> or fancied etymology of her name<sup>3</sup>. The same thing is said by Solinus (c. 250 A.D.)<sup>4</sup>. Pliny<sup>5</sup> and the scholiast on Statius<sup>6</sup> speak of the stars of Pollux and Castor as favourable signs, but describe the star of Helena in terms which point rather—as T. H. Martin showed<sup>7</sup>—to ball-lightning. Pliny writes:

‘On mariners’ yard-arms and other parts of ships such stars settle with an audible sound, changing their position like birds from perch to perch’. When they come one at a time, they are dangerous, indeed they sink ships and, if they fall to the lower parts of the hull, they set it on fire. But twin stars are a good sign and announce a prosperous voyage. It is said that at their approach the dread and threatening star called Helena is put to flight: hence this exhibition of divine power is ascribed to Pollux and Castor, and men invoke them at sea.’

The scholiast on Statius gives much the same account of the matter, adding that the star of Helena is known as Urania, that it makes a hole in the mast, that it bores through the ship’s bottom, and that even bronze is melted by its heat. By degrees the Dioskouroi themselves took on the sinister character of their sister. Artemidoros of Ephesos (c. 160 A.D.) reflects the transition, when in his *Oneirokritika* he observes:

‘The Dioskouroi are a presage of storm to men on a voyage. To men

<sup>1</sup> Sosibios *πραξ.* 16 (*Κραξ. hist. Gr.* ii. 628 Muller) *ap. schol. Eur. Or.* 1637.

<sup>2</sup> ΕΛΕΝΗ, as was shown by F. Solmsen *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre* Strassburg 1901 pp. 196, 248 f., is probably to be connected with ελανη, ἐλένη, ‘a torch’ (Prellwitz *Ελλην. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* 2 p. 135 f., Boisacq *Diet. etym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 237).

<sup>3</sup> Aisch. *Ag.* 687 f. ΕΛΕΝΑΡ: ἐπεὶ προπόντως ἐλένας ἑλανδρος ἐλέπτολις κ.τ.λ.—Browning’s ‘Ship’s-Hell, Man’s-Hell, City’s-Hell.’

<sup>4</sup> Solin. i. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 101.

<sup>6</sup> Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 7. 792. The distinction is made by Statius himself (*Theb.* 7. 791 ff., *sup.* 3. 2. 800).

<sup>7</sup> T. H. Martin *loc. cit.* p. 173.

<sup>8</sup> *Lyd. de ostent.* 5 λεγόμεν τε σιγῆμα προσηχούντες καὶ ὀρνέων δίκην εἰς τόπον ἐκ τόπου τῆς νύκτος μετατάμενοι. This may explain the winged Dioskouroi of the Homeric hymn and of Lauscan *ant. synop.* p. 763). R. Basset in *Muséum* 1884–85 ii. 189 writes: ‘D’après Mas’oudi (*Précis d’or.* ed. Barbier de Meynard, t. 1, ch. xvi. p. 344–345), en temps d’orage, on aperçoit en haut du mat, un objet qui a la forme d’un oiseau lumineux et qui jette une clarté si vive qu’on ne peut le fixer. Dès qu’on l’aperçoit, la mer se calme, cet objet disparaît sans qu’on sache ce qu’il est devenu. Le fait fut attesté a Mas’oudi par des marchands de Basrah, de l’Oman et de Siraf. Dans la Méditerranée, on appelait cet objet *E. vari* (le voyageur de nuit), dans la mer de Chine *E. dou’i*.’ In the north-east of Scotland these electrical discharges are known as ‘Corbie’s aunt’ (the Rev. W. Gregor in the *Edinb. Journal* 1883 p. 396, cp. *The Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland* London 1881 p. 137), presumably a popular distortion of the name ‘corpulent.’

ashore they are a sign of tumult, law-suits, war, or grievous disease. But at the last they let men go scatheless from all dangers, and such as are already involved in any of these alarms they speedily deliver. For the gods are saviours, but saviours of those that have previously been in some fear or peril<sup>1</sup>.

Porphyry notes that in his day (the third century A.D.) sailors regarded the stars of Castor and Pollux as commonly hostile to ships<sup>2</sup>. Fulgentius the mythographer (c. 480—550 A.D.), after moralising in his tasteless way about Jupiter and Leda, continues:

‘But Castor and Pollux stand for petition, wherefore at sea too they spoke of the signs of the Castores, which create danger’.

In modern times the process of degradation has gone further still. Mr G. F. Abbott in his *Macedonian Folklore* remarks that the electric phenomena once ascribed to the Dioskouroi ‘are by the modern Greek mariners called [*Telonía*]<sup>3</sup> or “Devils” and treated as such: the sailors look upon them as presages of disaster and try to frighten them away by dint of exorcisms and loud noises—an instance of beneficent pagan deities degraded to the rank of malignant demons’. The name *Telonía* has had a curious history<sup>4</sup>. N. G. Polites states that it meant originally demons acting as publicans or custom-house officials and so hindering souls from a free entrance into heaven. The same authority informs us that these *Telonía* are believed to snap the mast and sink the ship: hence, directly they appear, the sailors have recourse to prayers, burn incense, recite incantations from the *Key of Solomon*, discharge fire-arms, pull the tails of pigs, in short do anything and everything calculated to scare away the dreaded powers<sup>5</sup>.

### viii. Saint Elmo's Fire.

Throughout the Mediterranean and the western coasts of Europe the same phenomenon is viewed sometimes as a good, sometimes as an evil sign<sup>6</sup>. It is commonly called the ‘fire of Saint Elmo’—a name which has many variants<sup>7</sup> and has been

<sup>1</sup> Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Porphyr. *in Hor.* *ed.* 1. 3. 2; see, however, L. Haultiut *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 16. cp. *Myth. Vat.* 3. 3. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Τελωνία

<sup>5</sup> G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge 1903 p. 241.

<sup>6</sup> B. Schmitt *Die Volk-leben der Neuzeit* à u Leipzig 1871 1. 171 n.

<sup>7</sup> N. G. Polites in *Melusine* 1884. 85 n. 117. For ancient apotropaics see Solm. 1. 54-57. cp. *Phn. nat. hist.* 28. 77.

<sup>8</sup> P. Schallot *L. Folklore de France* Paris 1904 1. 96.

<sup>9</sup> These are collected in *Melusine* 1884. 85 n. 112 f. (cp. *ib.* 112 n., 138 n., 189, 255 f., 382) e.g. Italian *fascio di Sant' Elmo*, *fuco di Santo Elmo*, *Sant' Elmo*, *Sandimon*, *Je-su de S. Elmo*, Genoese *fascio de Sant' Elmo*, French *feu Saint-Elmo*, *smilors*, French *feu Saint-Elmo*, Provençal *feu Saint-Poum*, *feu de Saint Elmo*, *lum. Saint Elmo*, *Bouche-salu-*

explained in more ways than one. Apart from the inevitable 'Semitic guess',<sup>1</sup> modern scholars have sought to derive it from *elmo*, the Italian form of the German *Helm*,<sup>2</sup> or from *Hermes*,<sup>3</sup> or even from *Helena*.<sup>4</sup> Others again advocate a connexion with Saint *Erasmus*,<sup>5</sup> a mediaeval patron of mariners, and K. Jaisle has succeeded in citing the intermediate forms *Santeramo*, *Santeremo*, *Santermo*.<sup>6</sup> Finally, Dr J. Rendel Harris argues that 'St Erasmo . . . is a modification of St Remo, i.e. of the Roman Twin'.<sup>7</sup> Probably the last word in this interesting controversy has not yet been written. Be that as it may, Saint Elmo's fire is also attributed to Saint Nicolas<sup>8</sup> Saint Clara<sup>9</sup>, etc. And, just as ancient Italian sailors referred one star to Helena, two to Castor and Pollux, so modern French sailors ascribe two to Saint Elme and Saint Nicolas, three or four to the added presence of Sainte Anne or Sainte Barbe.<sup>10</sup>

It appears, therefore, that for nearly two thousand years the stars of the Dioskouroi and of Helene have been identified with these ominous electrical phenomena. To me it seems probable that from the first they bore the same meaning. If Zeus was the god of the bright sky, such atmospheric illuminations might well be referred to his children. I am, however, very far from thinking that we have reached the ultimate significance of the Dioskouroi when we have succeeded in connecting their stars with the fire of Saint Elmo. It would be truer to say that we have been reading the last and in some respects the least interesting chapter of a lengthy story. The contents of the previous chapters must be sought in the keen-witted works of my friend Dr Rendel Harris.<sup>11</sup>

Rhone *for i Saint Elmo*, in *English Terms of Art*. See also A. Jal *Glossaire Nautique* Paris 1848 p. 692 f., and E. Kluge *Seemanns-Jargon* Halle 1911 pp. 217—220.

<sup>1</sup> E. J. *Præambles* in 131. 'In the middle ages and in modern times such lights have been known as the fire of Saint Elmo or Saint Telmo. My friend the late W. Robertson Smith informed me that the name Telmo resembles a Phoenician word meaning "twins".'

<sup>2</sup> K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 63 quotes the forms S. Erme (c. 1582), S. Heremo (1669), S. Herman (1688).

<sup>4</sup> J. K. G. Fabricius *De Imaginibus Veteribus* Berlin 1782 n. 250 f. Cp. the following variants: French *feu de Helme* (1678), *Saint Helme* (1754), English *Saint Helms fire*, German *Helmenfeuer*, *Helmenfeuer*, Flemish *Elmsfeuer*, *Helmsfeuer*, Burton *Sanctus Helms*. For the change of sex see *supra* p. 172 ff.

<sup>5</sup> So first in the *Acta Sanctorum* ed. Bolland, Junius I. 218 f. (1695). See also D. H. Keble *De Patrocinio dei Helmon* Ulm 1905 p. 330.

<sup>6</sup> K. Jaisle *op. cit.* pp. 67—72.

<sup>7</sup> J. Rendel Harris in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 n. 176. See further his *Trances* Cambridge 1913 p. 206 f.

<sup>8</sup> K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 58 f. Cp. the Italian *fuoco di San Nicola*, French *Saint Nicolas*.

<sup>9</sup> K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 59 f. In Old French the fires were ascribed to *Sainte Claire*.

<sup>10</sup> P. Schallot *op. cit.* n. 96.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 760 n. 7.

§ 9. *General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as god of the Bright Sky.*

Having advanced thus far in our main enquiry we must pause to take our bearings afresh. A brief survey of the ground already traversed will enable us to apprehend better the position that we have reached, and will fittingly close the first stage of our journey.

Zeus, whose name means 'the Bright One,' was originally conceived in zoistic fashion as the bright sky itself—a conception that has left its mark on the language and literature of ancient Greece<sup>1</sup>.

The change from the zoistic to the anthropomorphic Zeus was occasioned, not by any despair of magic, but rather by a naive attempt to express heaven in terms of earth. The divine sky, as supreme weather-maker, was represented under the guise of an ordinary human magician or weather-ruling king<sup>2</sup>. This transition, which had been accomplished well before the end of the second millenium B.C., meant that Zeus was no longer worshipped as the sky but as the sky-god. Yet his earlier character can still be surmised from the cult-titles and art-types of a more sophisticated age. Behind Zeus *Aithērios* and Zeus *Aithrios*, if not also behind Zeus *Amários*, Zeus *Díos*, and Zeus *Lýkaíos*, we detect the old-world cult of the day-light sky<sup>3</sup>. Again, when Hellenistic artists portray Zeus with a blue *nimbus* round his head<sup>4</sup>, a blue globe at his feet<sup>5</sup>, a blue mantle wrapped about his loins<sup>6</sup>, what are these attributes, taken together, but an indication that the god so portrayed was once the blue sky and the blue sky only?

As god of the bright or burning sky, Zeus dwelt in *aithēr*, the most exalted portion of the celestial vault<sup>7</sup>. And, since high mountains were supposed to rise above the lower zone of *aír* and to penetrate the upper zone of *aithēr*, mountain-tops were regarded as in a peculiar sense the abode of Zeus<sup>8</sup>. His mountain-cults can be classified in a roughly chronological series according as they involved a mere altar, or an altar with a statue of the god, or an altar with a statue enclosed in a temple<sup>9</sup>. Further, the mountain that dominated the district was often looked upon as his throne—a prerogative that he appears to have inherited from Hittite predecessors<sup>10</sup>. Mythology associated Zeus with the mountain in a variety of ways. There he had been born<sup>11</sup>. There he consorted

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 1—8.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 33—41.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 25 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* pp. 124—148.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* pp. 9—14.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* pp. 41—56.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* pp. 100—117.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 4, 14, 33, 63—99.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* pp. 56, 62.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* pp. 117—123.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* pp. 148—154.



with his partner, the mountain-goddess<sup>1</sup>. There, in one famous case, he lay buried<sup>2</sup>. And, when paganism, outwardly at least, succumbed to Christianity, Zeus the mountain-god was superseded by Elias the mountain-saint<sup>3</sup>.

Apart from the luminous dome of heaven, there are in normal circumstances three definite manifestations of the burning sky. To the mind of the Greek, sun, moon, and stars were made of the same fiery stuff as the *aithér* itself<sup>4</sup>. Zeus, therefore, must needs stand in relations of peculiar intimacy towards these special exhibitions of his own brightness. This was probably the consideration that, to the more thoughtful portion of the community, justified the *rapprochement*, which from a very early period in the history of Greece began to contaminate the pure worship of Zeus with a whole medley of solar, lunar, and stellar elements. In various districts of the Mediterranean area the sun was popularly viewed as an eye<sup>5</sup>, a wheel<sup>6</sup>, a bird<sup>7</sup>, a ram<sup>8</sup>, a bull<sup>9</sup>, a bronze man<sup>10</sup>, or what not? But each of these manifold and in part barbaric notions was sooner or later absorbed into the all-comprehensive cult of the Greek sky-god. Again, here and there the moon as Selene<sup>11</sup>, as Io<sup>12</sup>, as Pasiphae<sup>13</sup>, as Europe<sup>14</sup>, as Antiopé<sup>15</sup>, was paired with Zeus—a pairing which implies that he was credited with solar powers. For this batch of myths non-Hellenic influence is even more largely responsible. Lastly, Zeus figures on occasion as ruler of the starry sky<sup>16</sup>. The Greeks, mediately or immediately following the lead of the Babylonians, assigned to him as their foremost god an important rôle in their astronomy and astrology<sup>17</sup>. They also associated, perhaps as early as the fifth century before our era, his adoptive sons the Dioskouroi with the electric stars now known as Saint Elmo's fire<sup>18</sup>.

In short, Zeus was brought into close connexion with any and every celestial luminary. But, though this is undoubtedly the case it must be steadily borne in mind that genuine Hellenic religion never identified Zeus with sun or moon or star. If an

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 104, 106, 154-157.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* pp. 157-163.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 163-186.

<sup>4</sup> See O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Antiquar*, Leipzig 1907 p. 20. In abnormal circumstances (storms etc.) lightning is another manifestation of the *aithér* (*id. ib.* p. 20 ff. and *infra* ch. ii § 3 (a)).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 196 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* pp. 197-341.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* pp. 341-346.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* pp. 346-430.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* pp. 430-665.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* pp. 719-730.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* pp. 732 ff., 739.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* pp. 453, 457, 733, 739.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra* pp. 521 ff., 543 ff., 733, 739 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Supra* pp. 524 ff., 537 ff., 544 ff., 733 f., 739 f.

<sup>15</sup> *Supra* pp. 734-740.

<sup>16</sup> *Supra* pp. 751 ff., 757.

<sup>17</sup> *Supra* p. 754 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Supra* p. 771 ff.

inscription records the cult of Zeus Helios<sup>1</sup>, if a coin represents Zeus with the moon on his head<sup>2</sup>, if a myth tells of Zeus transforming himself into a star<sup>3</sup> we may be reasonably sure that inscription, coin, and myth alike belong to the Hellenistic age, when—as Cicero puts it<sup>4</sup>—a Greek border was woven on to the barbarian robe.

To disentangle the complex threads of syncretism is seldom an easy task; and here I cannot hope to have attained more than a limited measure of success. Still it seemed worth while to attempt the analysis of such far-reaching cults as those of Zeus *Ammon*<sup>5</sup>, Zeus *Sabazios*<sup>6</sup>, Iupiter *Helopolitanus*<sup>7</sup>, Iupiter *Dolichenus*<sup>8</sup>,—cults which swept across the ancient world from north to south, from east to west.

Zeus *Ammon* was found to be a Graeco-Libyan god, originally worshipped in the Oasis with rites similar to those of Zeus *Náios* at Dodona<sup>9</sup>, but later fused firstly with the Theban Amen-Ra and secondly with the Punic Baal-hammân<sup>10</sup>. Zeus *Sabazios* proved to be a Phrygian deity<sup>11</sup> closely resembling the Orphic Zeus, the parallelism of Phrygian and Orphic cults being explained by the fact that both alike were offshoots of the old Thraco-Phrygian religion<sup>12</sup>. Further, since the Graeco-Libyan Zeus *Ammon* and the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus *Sabazios* were ram-gods of identical character, it appeared probable that ultimately the former was akin to the latter; and it was conjectured that sundry traces of the same remote original might be seen scattered up and down in the cults and myths of classical Greece and Italy<sup>13</sup>.

Iupiter *Helopolitanus* was the Roman name of Zeus *Adados*, the great god worshipped at *Baalbek* or Heliopolis<sup>14</sup>. Zeus *Adados* in turn was essentially a Grecised (and subsequently Egyptised) form of the Syrian Adad, who both at Heliopolis and at Hierapolis had not improbably succeeded to the position once occupied by the Hittite father-god Tešub<sup>15</sup>. The cult-image of Zeus at Heliopolis stood with a bull on either hand<sup>16</sup>. That of Zeus at Hierapolis is described as 'sitting upon bulls' and figured with two bulls as

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 186–195, 361 n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 731.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 760.

<sup>4</sup> *Cic. de rep.* 2. 9 ita barbarorum agnis quasi attestata quaedam videtur ora esse Græcæ.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* pp. 346–390.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* pp. 390–403.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* pp. 549–593.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* pp. 604–633.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* pp. 361–371.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* pp. 346–353.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* pp. 353–358.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* pp. 390–398.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra* pp. 398–400.

<sup>14</sup> *Supra* pp. 401–428.

<sup>15</sup> *Supra* pp. 549–567.

<sup>16</sup> *Supra* pp. 576–589.

<sup>17</sup> *Supra* pp. 567–576.

the supporters of its throne<sup>1</sup>. Obviously the Heliopolitan and the Hierapolitan gods were near relatives; and kindred deities flanked by a pair of recumbent bulls occur on the coinage of other Syrian towns<sup>2</sup>. Again, Zeus *Dolichaíos*, better known as Iupiter *Dolichenus*, the god of Doliche in Kommagene<sup>3</sup>, appears to have borrowed the bull on which he habitually stands from Tešub, who on Hittite monuments has a bull either at his side or beneath his feet<sup>4</sup>. On this showing it is possible, and even probable, that both Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and Iupiter *Dolichenus* have preserved to us essential features of the Hittite father-god.

The discussion of the foregoing cults served to bring out a certain analogy subsisting between the ram and the bull in Levantine religion<sup>5</sup>. These two beasts had been treated from time immemorial as embodiments of procreative power, the former by a pastoral, the latter by a cattle-breeding population. As such they were associated *in primis* with the fertilising sky-god<sup>6</sup>; and I have suggested that the victims sacrificed to Zeus were commonly either oxen or rams just because these animals more than others<sup>7</sup> were charged with *Zeugungskraft* and would therefore be thought to increase the power of the god to fertilise and bless<sup>8</sup>.

Indeed, it may be claimed that throughout the present volume this conception of Zeus as a procreative god has come gradually into greater prominence. From first to last he was worshipped as a Father: and the invocation *Zeù páter*, familiar to us from the Homeric poems, became stereotyped on Italian soil as the name *Iupiter*<sup>9</sup>.

Two other results of general significance have emerged from the mass of detail considered in this book. Zeus as sky-father is in essential relation to an earth-mother. Her name varies from place to place and from time to time. Sometimes she is a mountain-goddess with little or no disguise—Mousa<sup>10</sup>, Koryphe, Aitne, Kyllene, Taygete, or the like<sup>11</sup>. Sometimes she is an earth-goddess that has developed into a vegetation-goddess—Demeter,

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 583 f., 586.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 590.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 604–606, 639–644.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 428–430, 633–635.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* pp. 604–633.

*Supra* p. 430.

<sup>6</sup> Yet in Crete (*supra* p. 401, 501) and in Karia etc. (*supra* p. 717 n. 3) Zeus was associated with the goat, as was Dionysos in Iakomike, at Metapontum, etc. (*supra* pp. 674 f., 705)—doubtless for the same reason.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 716 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 14. Geographically intermediate between the Greek *Zeùs πατήρ* and the Latin *Iovis pater* is the Stymphean *Δεπάριος* (*supra* p. 681 n. 4).

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* pp. 104–106.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* pp. 154–157.

it may be, or Persephone<sup>1</sup>, or Nemesis<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes she has lapsed from the position of an earth-goddess or a vegetation-goddess into that of a heroine—Semele<sup>3</sup>, or Europe<sup>4</sup>. But everywhere and always, either patent or latent, the earth-mother is there as the necessary correlative and consort of the sky-father.

Finally, the union of the sky-father with the earth-mother did not remain unfruitful. In the Dorian states the twin sons of *Tyndáreos*, the 'Shatterer', were aptly affiliated to Zeus, and at least as early as the seventh century B.C.<sup>5</sup> were renamed the Dioskouroi<sup>7</sup>. But in the region occupied by the ancient Thraco-Phrygian stock Zeus begat a son in his own image, Dionysos the god of animal and vegetable life<sup>8</sup>, whose worship little by little spread through the whole of Greece and everywhere inspired fresh triumphs of religion, literature, and art. Not once, nor twice, but many times in our survey of the Mediterranean lands—in the Archipelago<sup>9</sup>, at Kyrene<sup>10</sup>, in Magna Graecia<sup>11</sup>, in Crete<sup>12</sup>, at *Baalbek*<sup>1</sup>, and elsewhere—we have had occasion to notice the younger god side by side with the older god, of whom he was in a sense the second self.

The sky-god, the earth-goddess and their offspring the life of the world are thus already before us; but as yet in imperfect outline. The more definite and detailed account of their inter-relations we must reserve for another volume.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 392—399.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* pp. 272—285.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 155, 457 n. 5, 682 n. 1, 733, cp. schol. B *Il.* 24, 615.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* pp. 524—541.

<sup>5</sup> H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 lxx. 340 ff. (= *id. K. in. Schmitt* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 270 f.), L. Bethé in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-En.* v. 1088, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 642 s.v. 'tundo'.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 142 n. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Wile *Thon. Kurb.* p. 317 ff., L. Bethé *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* pp. 390—400.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 371 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* pp. 371—376.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* p. 372.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* pp. 644 ff., 708 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 564—566.

## ADDENDA

Page 10 note 1: on the Persian sky-god. Prof. J. H. Moulton pursues the topic in his recent and masterly work *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 391 n. 3. I quote the following: "There is now a full discussion of the point in Bartholomae, *Zum AivW*, 172—4, starting from a note in Hesychius, *Δῖαν· μεγάλην ἢ ἐνδοξον· τὸν οὐρανὸν ἱέροναι*. Clearly, if the old lexicographer was thinking of Herodotus he had some reason for dissociating *Δία* there (and *Δῖ*) from *Ζεὺς*, for he selects the accusative of the fem. adj. *δία*, common in Homer. Now *Δῖαν* would represent the acc. of O.P. \**Dyauš* almost exactly. May we not conjecture that Hesychius had evidence prompting him to desert the obvious *Ζεὺς* in Herodotus, even though *Δῖ* just before would not fit *δία*? We have strong reason for expecting to find *Dyauš* in Persia, since he belongs to the Vedic pantheon, though his cult is evidently dying. Bartholomae cites *Διαῖς*, the name of a Persian noble in Aeschylus, *Persae*, 977. It is either *δῖραι· χεῖς*, "ruling in the sky," or *δῖραι· γῆς*, "dwelling in the sky." (I think *δῖραι* and *δῖραι* may be alternative forms of the locative, related like *χθονί* and *χαμαί*, with Skt *divi* = *Δῖ* as a mixture.) Bartholomae suggests that the Thracian sage *Zámoλξης* had a Scythian (and so Iranian) name, *zamar·χεῖς*, "qui regnat in terra." (Since the cognate Thracian had the required λ in the name for Earth, witnessed by *Σεμέλη*, we need not perhaps make Zamolxis a foreigner in Thrace.) But what were those Persian aristocrats thinking of when they named their infant, on either etymology? Can we explain *qui regnat in caelo* by the doctrine of the Fravashi? If the heavenly counterpart had royal rank, the rank of the earthly double should correspond, and match the parents' ambition.'

Page 37 note 1: on the great altar of Zeus at Olympia. See now L. Weniger 'Der Hochaltar des Zeus in Olympia' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxi. 241—260 with 3 figs.

Page 45: on the type of Jupiter *Capitolinus* in the temple rebuilt by Titus and Domitian. Two bronze medallions of Hadrian, published by Gneecchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 20 nos. 98 f. pl. 146, 6 (=my fig. 566) and 5, have as reverse type the three Capitoline deities. Behind Jupiter is Victory, wrongly described by Gneecchi as an eagle, holding a wreath.



Fig. 566.

Page 45: on Jupiter *Capitolinus* with globe in right hand, sceptre in left. In the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1912 p. 263 f. figs. 1, 1' K. K. Phylaktou publishes a rock-crystal from Kypros engraved with a Jupiter of this type: Victory flies towards him, an eagle is perched on his footstool, and a star fills the space behind his throne. Mr Phylaktou's interpretation (Iulius Caesar as a bearded Zeus *Olympios* with the *Iulium vultus*) is improbable.

Page 48 fig. 21 sarcophagus-relief in the Capitoline Museum. See now Reinach *Reliefs* in. 206 no. 1 and the *Mus. Capit. Cat. Suppl.* p. 264 Stanza dei Filosofi no. 109 pl. 62. The latter characterises the relief as 'Rough Roman work' and, like the former, suggests Hebe as a possible name for the shield-bearing figure. I adhere to my view that she is more probably Victory.

Page 58 note 1: on Jupiter *Purpureus*. Cp. *Corp. m. i. Lat.* xiv no. 3469 (ἀντιόχου δι' Σ. Γεωργίου δι' Α. Γεωργίου, πρόσφατος ἀντικείμενος) Iovi opt. [max. Purpure] omi. Innom Mine[rae] C. Servilius etc., where *Purpureum* was a suggestion of Mommsen.

Page 80 note 4: on were-wolves. To the bibliography add now Elliott O'Donnell *Werewolves* London (1913) pp. 1—292.

Page 92 f.: on a *kîta* representing Zeus *Lycius*. My friend Mr P. N. Ure informed me some time since that the Museum at Turin possesses a 'Laconian' *Lycius* closely resembling that in the Louvre (*supra* p. 93 fig. 65). On a recent visit to Turin he kindly examined the cap on my behalf and reports (March 18, 1914) that it was found at *Baiano di Carrizze, fuori di Cortina* along with a Corinthian *akrotérion*, and that its design is practically the same as that of the Louvre one, the only noteworthy differences being (a) Zeus faces to left: the ornamentation of his clothes is simpler; his seat appears to be a chair rather than an altar; and he has no footstool. (b) The bird is somewhat larger and flies to right. (c) The field is plain without rosettes.

Page 109 on *Asiotes*, *Asioketes*, *Asioketes* = W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 397 propose a new derivation of these names: 'Ἀσιόκερος (= "snake-man": from *ασίς*, snake, and the root of *κερας*, horn) and Ἀσιερος (= "snake-sheep": from *ασίς* and the root of *εἶπος* or *φεῖρος* wool-). Their suggestion is highly precarious.

Page 147 f.: on the pillar-throne at Phalassarna. In the *Compt. rendu d'Acad. d. ins.* 1907 pp. 589—598 with 3 figs. S. Ronzevalle publishes a small limestone throne of Hellenistic date, found near Tyre. The supports of the throne are two winged sphinxes, Egyptian in character. The seat is treated as an Egyptian cornice, below which is carved a symbolic vegetable design in Egyptian-Assyrian style. Projecting from the front side of the throne-back are two round-topped *stelai*, which bear two figures facing each other in low relief, 775: a goddess and a beardless dedicant, with very similar costume (tunic, sleeved mantle?), attribute (sceptre), and gesture (benediction and greeting?). The plinth is inscribed

לרבותי לעשתרת אש בנו הכרב  
אש לי אנך עבראבסת בן ברבאל

Ronzevalle renders: '*A ma dame, Astarte, ma femme, a été élevée et m'a été offerte par mon Abdoubast, fils de Bodbaal*'. My friend Mr N. McClan would prefer to translate: 'To my lady Astarte who is within (of the throne) has been offered that which is mine — I Abdoubast son of Bodbaal.' Ronzevalle notes the obvious attempt on the part of the royal or priestly worshipper to assimilate himself as far as possible to the goddess, whose throne he shares.

Page 177 note o: on Saint George as Zeus *Graecus*. That Zeus *graecus* was superseded by Saint George at Lydda (Diospolis) is maintained also by E. Krause *Die Trojaburg in Norddeufas* Glogau 1893 p. 206 f.

Page 178 note o: on Saint George as dragon-slayer. To the bibliography add now J. B. Aufhäuser *Das Dracheneuder des heiligen Georg* (Byzantinisches Archiv v) Leipzig and Berlin 1911 pp. 1—254 with 19 figs. *Über Roheim Drachen und Drachenzämpfer* (Erweiterter Separat-Abdruck aus "Jung-Ungarn." Jahrgang 1911) Berlin 1912 pp. 1—56, N. G. Politis Τὰ δημώδη Ἑλληνικά σφραγισματα περί τῆς δρακοντοκτονίας τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου (extr. from *Διοσπολίς* iv) Athens 1913.

Page 216 fig. 159 red-figured *kîta* at Berlin. L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Lat. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 254 fig. 11 (on p. 257) publishes a photograph of this vase, but does not deal at length with its interpretation (Dionysos? Hephaistos? Triptolemos?).

Page 223: on Triptolemos with the plough. In the Roman villa at Brading, Isle of Wight, a mosaic on the floor of room no. 12 shows in one of its panels Demeter presenting corn-ears to Triptolemos: she is clad in *chiton* and *himation*, and holds sceptre in left, corn in right hand; he has a *chlamys* over his shoulders and grasps a plough with his left hand. See further *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 1880—81 p. 138 f. with pl.



*Kylix at Taranto. Zeus Iphaios.*

*S. 702, 782.*

From a photograph kindly supplied by Mr. Q. Quagliotti, Director of the Museum at Taranto.





Page 227 fig. 166 relief from Gharfin. R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1907 p. 153 f. fig. 36 regards this as a representation of Adonis-Esmun identified with Triptolemos.

Page 232 ff.: on a coin of Gaza (?). Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine* pp. lxxxvi ff. 181 pl. 19. 29 describes the series to which this coin belongs as 'Philistino-Arabian'.

Page 240 f.: on the hawk as a solar bird. A fragment of a hawk found at Apollonia (*Ussat*) with a disk round its neck inscribed ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ (C. Clermont-Ganneau *Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie* p. 134 no. 121 pl. 2. II) is taken by R. Dussaud to be an emblem of the emperor Julian as sun-god (R. Dussaud in the *Mission dans les régions d'Asie de la Syrie méridionale* p. 478 n. 1 and in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 n. 351).

Page 241: on the hawk as sacred to solar deities in Egypt. See now T. Hopfner *Die Thierwelt der alten Ägypten nach den griechisch-romischen Berichten und den griechisch-Ägyptischen Denkmälern* (Den. Schr. d. Ägypt. Wien 1913 n. Abh.) Wien 1913 pp. 107—113.

Page 259 note 3: on gyna-wheels in temples. The vase cited as illustrating the temple of Hera at Thelassio is explained by F. Hauser in the *Journal d'arch. et d. hist. nat.* 1913 xv. 169 fig. 108 as representing the Locrian maidens in the temple of Athena at Ithon.

Page 285 note 1: on the magical disk from Pergamon. R. Ganschmetz in the *Arch. et. Rev.* 1914 xvii. 346 cites parallels.

Page 296 fig. 219 a Thracio-Macedonian coin. J. N. Svoronos in the *Journal Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1913 xv. 201 ff. figs. 1—13 attributes this coin to the Patones and, like P. Gauthier, interprets its type as the sun-god carrying his disk. 'On peut donc conclure que l'explicable symbole n'est rien d'autre que le Soleil, *solis rota*, le *στροφών κύκλος*, *κωστω το περιδουρον ούκτα*, *χρυσας ημερας βλέφαρον*, *παρόπτης κύκλος Ηλίου*, *Διός ὀφθαλμος* *mundi oculus* (comparez les monnaies de Skione ou le symbole ☉ prend la forme complète d'un œil. [Babelon pl. LII. 4]) etc. et servait à indiquer au public que les pièces qui le portaient sortaient des ateliers péoniens renommés pour leur excellent métal et que leur pureté métallique était sous la garantie et surveillance du Διός ὀφθαλμός. En outre ce signe conservait son caractère sacré qui se rapportait au grand dieu de ce peuple, le Soleil. Celui-ci avait son culte central sur le sommet du Pangée même, source de la richesse des Péoniens. C'est là qu'on a frappé la pièce au type de la figure qui représente probablement le Soleil même portant son disque'.

Page 299 note 6: on ο καλωνατος αἰλός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργούντος ἀνέμου. R. Eisler *Weltanfang und Himmels an.* München 1910 n. 365 n. 2 explains this αἰλός by reference to Anaximander *frag.* 21 Diels (τὸν ἥλιον κύκλον εἶναι ἀρυσταίῳ τροχῷ παραπλήσιον, τῷ αἰλῷ ἔχοντα κύκλον, πληρὴ πύρος, κατὰ τι μέρος ἐφαίνονσαν διὰ στοιμίου τὸ πῦρ ὥσπερ ἡμὰς περιδουρον αἰλός), 11 Diels τὰ δὲ ἀστρα κύκλον πύρος, περιληφέντα δ' ἐνὸς αἰέρος, ἐπύρος δ' ὑπαρξεί ποιοῦνς τινὰς αἰωθεῖς, καθ' οὓς φαίνεται τὰ ἀστρα. Eisler takes both the so-called *Mithrasliturgie* and the teaching of Anaximander to be dependent upon Persian ideas.

Page 310 f.: on Aristophanes' speech in Platon's *Symposium*. K. Ziegler 'Menschen- und Weltenwerden' in the *Mon. Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 529—573 traces the views of the Platonic Aristophanes to a contamination of Empedoclean ideas with an Orphic, and ultimately Babylonian, anthropogony.

Page 338 note 2: on the Persian chariot of Zeus. Cp. the Zoroastrian account in Dion Chrys. or. 36 p. 92 H. *επειρος δὲ μῦθος ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τελευταῖς ὑπὸ Μαζῶν ἀνδρῶν ὀδεῖται θανατοῦμενος, οἱ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον (sc. τὸν Δία) ὑμνοῦσιν ὡς τελειὸν τε καὶ πρῶτον ἡρώχον τοῦ τελευτάτου αἰματος. τὸ γὰρ ἥλιον ἄρμα νεώτερον φασὶν εἶναι πρὸς ἐκείνῳ κρινόμενον, φανερόν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὅτε προῆλθον γιγνούσης τῆς φορᾶς. ὁδὸν κοινὴς σφίμης τιγγάνειν, ὡς εἴκεν, ὑπὸ πρῶτων σχεδὸν τι τῶν ποιητῶν, ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ἐλάστοτε λεγόντων, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα πάντων ἐξηγουμένων ζειγυριζέμενους τε τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν ἐπιβαίνοντα τὸν διφύον. τὸ δὲ ἰσχυρόν καὶ τελειὸν ἄρμα τοῦ Διὸς οὐδεὶς ἄρα ἔμνησεν ἀείων τῶν τῆδε, οὔτε Οὐρανός, οὔτε Ἡσίοδος, ἀλλὰ Ζωροαστρῆς, καὶ Μαζῶν παῖδες ἔδονσι παρ' ἑκείνων μαθόντες. δὲν Περσῶν λέγοντιν ἐρωτῇ σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀποχωρήσαντα τῶν ἄλλων καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν ὁρῇ τινι ζῆν. ἔπειτα ἀφῆναι τὸ ὄρος, πρὸς ἀνωτὴν πολλοὺ κατασκηψάντος, συνεχῶς τε καίεσθαι. τὸν οὖν βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς ἑλλογιωτάτοις Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι Πλησιον, βουλομένον εἰδᾶσθαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξελεῖν ἐκ τοῦ περὸς ἀπαθῆ, φανέντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔλεων θάρρειν κελύεσθαι καὶ θῆσαι θυσίας τινάς, ὡς ἡκοντος εἰς τὸν τοῦτον τὸν θεοῦ, πηγνέσθαι τε μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ἀπασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις πρὸς ἀληθειαν πεφίλοσι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐτιμῆναι δυνάμενοι, οὓς Περσῶν Μαζῶν ἐκάλεσαν, ἐπισταμένους θέραιεν τὸ δαίμονιον'.*

οἱ χ. ὡς Ἑλληνες, ἀγνοοῦσι τοὺς θεοὺς, οὗτος δὲ τὰς ἐκείνου δὲ τὰς ἀλλὰ ὁρατοὶ κατὰ λόγους ἑρμῆος καὶ δὲ τῶ Διὶ τρεφοῖσιν ἄρματα Νησίων ἱππῶν· οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ καλλίστοι καὶ μελίστοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν δὲ γὰρ Ἡλίων ἐκ ἱππῶν. α. γ. λ.

Page 360: on snakes in Egyptian religion. See now T. Höpner *Der Faraos der alten Ägypter nach den griechischen Quellen und den ägyptischen Denkmälern* (Düsseldorf, Düsseldorf 1913 u. A. Wien 1913) pp. 136-149.

Page 379 note 7: on recent journeys to the Oasis of Siwah. To the bibliography add now J. C. Ewald Falls *Siwa, the Oasis of Siwah, Egypt, in the light of the Mainz Kirchheim 1910* (noted by A. Wiedemann, *Zeitschr. für Ägypt. Arch.* 1914 xvii, 206 ff.) and J. C. Ewald Falls (*Kaizmann's Jahrbuch für Ägypt. Arch.* 1914 p. 262-290) Wiedemann's journey to the Oasis of Siwah, an historic progress through the desert in the sands of A. Wiedemann's *Great Lakes* figures *Der Hittit. Ummantelung*, a sculptured figure of a *Ummantelung* now in the Prussian Museum, etc.

Page 396 note 11: on the snake as phallus. See now F. K. Starck *Die Symbolik der Kobra* (Leipzig 1913) 84, 109-110, p. 149 ff.

Page 418 note 1: on the ram as figure of the Phoenician shape. See also schol. Plat. *Menex.* 243 A.

Page 430 ff.: on the bull and the snake figure. See now T. Höpner *Der Faraos der alten Ägypter nach den griechischen Quellen und den ägyptischen Denkmälern* (Düsseldorf, Düsseldorf 1913 u. A. Wien 1913) p. 68 ff. (pp. 76-86 *Der Apis*, p. 86 ff. *Der Mevis*, p. 88 *Der Buchse*, p. 88 ff. *Der Chaphse*).

Page 442: on priests and priestesses of Isis and Anubis. F. N. Schöberle *Die Isis und Anubis* (Berlin 1906): 'Theraca' exstat inscription of the XII c. 418 de qua Hiller v. Gaertingen haec adnotat: "Prope ecclesiam Xpētos (Christi) versus occidentem quinque solidae arae ex ipsa rupe excelsae sunt. Propter eas duo foramina stellas representant idonea ibi incisa sunt. Ibi inscriptiones est: ΤΩ ΔΑΜΑΡΦΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΠΑΙΣ." "Ante T nulla litterarum vestigia adeo. Quomodo in supplementum [scilicet] reponendam esse censeo." Ae profecto hic quodlibet de quo aliquid homines prava coniectura inferre volunt exhibetur: es enim ceteris ceteris non differre intelligi debet quam πῶλος Ceteris, ἀρκτοὶ Dianne, βόες Bacchi, etc. But in *Die Isis und Anubis* (suppl. no. 418 F. Hiller v. Gaertingen says: "[scilicet] reposita in 1900, die imago est photographica (S. 474 475 476 478). F. Blass in Collitz-Bechtel *Die Isis und Anubis* 2 (1906) 478 prints ΤΩ ΔΑΜΑΡΦΩΣ. K. P. and comments: "Τὸ Δαμαρφωσ (καὶ Κολέας) ἔχει, doch der Raum eigentlich zu klein. Von ΤΩ habe ich keine Spur von Schrift bemerkt", also nicht [scilicet] reposita. Doch [scilicet] reposita nach Thera 1900 (S. 474 475 476 478).

Page 482 note 1: on the ἀρπύγες *Arpēgēs* of Delos. F. Comby *L'antel de cornes à Delos* in the *Musée de l'École de Paris* 1913 pp. 49-68 would identify this altar with the apsidal monument in the western part of the precinct of Apollon (fig. 2).

Page 501 f.: on a bell-shaped representing Heracles in Olympus. This vase should have been described as Campanian, not Athenian.

Page 504: on a coin of Nysa showing a bull carried by six youths. Variants are listed by Rasche *Die Münz.* 16411, noted by K. Regling in W. v. Dries *Nysa und Mausandrium* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deut. arch. inst. in Athen* 1913) p. 86 f. nos. 152-154 pl. 13, 153, who says of the British Museum specimen: "Der Mann mit dem Strick trägt Flöte-Spieler genannt."

Page 508 ff.: on the evolution of the horned altar. My suggestion that the horned altars of the Mediterranean area presuppose bull-horns is to some extent confirmed by W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Hittite Asia* (Washington 1910) pp. 307-310. Mr Ward in a chapter of great originality and acumen shows that a series of coarsely cut haematite cylinders, probably of Syro-Hittite origin and referable to a period of c. 1500 B.C., represents an altar in the form of a bull. In some cases a flame is kindled on its back (fig. 567), in others a bird is perched upon it (fig. 568), in others again two human arms project from the quadruped's body (fig. 569). Mr Ward compares the image of Moloch, which had the arms of a man out the head of a calf (*supra* p. 723 n. 1). And it may be added that we have already seen reason to assume 'at various Hittite centres the cult of a life-sized bull, of which copies on a smaller scale were multiplied' (*supra* p. 641).

Page 585: on the snake-entwined statues at Hierapolis. P. Gauckler in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Beaux-Arts* 1909 pp. 117 ff., 424 ff., 617 ff. illustrates these statues by a remarkable statuette of gilded bronze (n. p. 425 fig. 11) found lying in the cavity of a triangular altar, which forms the centre-piece of an octagonal chapel in the fourth-century Syrian sanctuary on the Ianiculum. The statuette shows a deity (Atargatis?) cased like a mummy and encircled by the seven coils of a crested snake. Seven hen-sages deposited between the coils recall the myth of the Syrian Venus (supra p. 584 n.) and induce Gauckler to think 'que la statuette représente la Nativité d'Atargatis'.



Fig. 567.



Fig. 568.



Fig. 569.

Page 660: on coins of Trajans showing Zeus suckled by a cow. My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informs me (Jan. 5, 1914) that he has always taken the beast represented on these coins to be a sow, not a cow, and compared the story told by Agathokles (supra p. 653). It would certainly be a gain if we could regard the coins as illustrating the story in question. But fig. 567 is described by E. Babelon as 'Taureau' (sic) by J. N. Svoronos as 'Taureau' by B. V. Head as 'Cow'; and the rendering of a sow on Greek and Roman coins is very different (see Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Thier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des Hellenischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 26 pl. 4, 19, 20, *Reichsmünz-Katalog* Sicily p. 11 Abakamon, v. Italy p. 397 Tuder, Garucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 11 pl. 22, 1, p. 58 pl. 72, 16, Babelon *Monn. n. 1000* n. 471, Morell, *The Coinage of Rome* n. 298 pl. 10, 31). As to fig. 568, H. Weber says 'Cow (?) or mare', and Prof. Bosanquet admits that it looks 'more like a mare'; but B. V. Head is content to describe this too as a 'cow'.

Page 676 n. on the Orphic formula  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\varsigma\ \gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ . Dr L. R. Farnell in *The Farnell Book of Orphic Studies* p. 135 draws attention to an article by Delatte in the *Revue de Philologie* 1913 p. 125 who 'proposes a new and attractive explanation of the cryptic formula  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\varsigma\ \gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  as meaning "I entered earthly life as a Dionysos-Kubik, milk being in Orphic-Pythagorean myth the object of desire which lured souls into earth, and which was used by magicians to evoke souls" the quotes Plut. *De Gen. Socr.* c. 16, Porph. *Intro. Ar.* c. 28, *Pythag. Berlin.* t. 201'.

Page 676 n. on the ritual use of milk among the Thracio-Phrygians. C. Avezon and C. Picard in the *Bull. Coll. Fr.* 1913 xxxvii. 97 ff. publish a quadrangular altar of white marble (height 1.02 m) from the neighbourhood of Thessalonike. On the left side is carved a  $\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  on the right a  $\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ . In front, between two  $\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  is the following inscription:  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi\iota\alpha\varsigma\ [\epsilon\iota]\mu\epsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\rho\chi\iota\omega\varsigma\ \omega\sigma\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \sigma\pi\eta\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\rho\chi\iota\omega\varsigma\ \sigma\alpha\sigma\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \gamma\gamma\iota\lambda\alpha\ \kappa\tau\eta\phi\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\iota\tau\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\ \nu\ \epsilon\tau\eta\ \chi\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \beta\omega\omega\nu\ \epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\nu\ \delta\iota\omega\nu\ \alpha\rho\chi\iota\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\eta\ \chi\ \alpha\varsigma$ . The precise nature of the cult in question is doubtful.

Page 677: on the bath of boiling milk as a means of ritual rebirth. Mr L. M. Cofford in his recent book *The Orphic and Pythagorean Cults* (London 1914) a contribution of capital importance to our understanding of Greek drama discusses the examples of rejuvenation in Aristophanes' plays and notes (p. 89) 'that these stories reflect a rite of regeneration or resurrection, which has an established place in the cycle of Dionysiac ritual.' He justly observes (p. 90) that my hypothesis 'is strengthened by the instance of Demos in the *Khrysis*, who renews his youth in the Sausage-seller's cauldron and emerges as a new King and (as the parallel cases allow us to add) a new God, ready for his marriage.' Mr Cofford has also kindly brought to my notice a valuable article by E. Maass in the *Neue Jahrb. f. Klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 627 ff. on the *Trachiniae* of Aeschylus, in which Medea was represented as boiling the attendants of Dionysos, both male and female, in order to make them young again (Aesch. *Trach.* 50 Nauck *ap. schol. Eur. Med. argum.* and schol. Aristoph. *cp.* 1321). *A prophet* of Medea's rejuvenating cauldron Maass writes

(p. 633): "Das Bad in siedender Milch, das von einem Zauberpferde kuhl geblasen wird, belegt R. Koehler aus Sizilien, der Walachei und anderswoher in den Anmerkungen zu L. Gonzenbachs "Sizilianischen Mächen" Nr. 8; II 256 und in den "Kleinen Schritten" I 468 (Zigeunermächen)."

Page 681: on Dionysos as conceived at the City Dionysia and born at the Lenaia I am indebted to Mr F. M. Cornford (Dec. 3, 1913) for a possible parallel in Roman religion. *Ov. fast.* § 229 ff. tells the story of the conception of Mars under the date May 2; and March 1, ten months later, is noted as the birthday of Mars in the calendar of Philocalus. If we may assume that the Roman year originally consisted of lunar months (cp. Censorin. *de die nat.* 20. 4), the interval becomes significant. But this is a somewhat doubtful assumption. See W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals*. London 1899 p. 1 ff. and also p. 36 ff.

## APPENDIXES

### A KAIROS

### B THE MOUNTAIN-CULIS OF ZEUS

### C KORINTHOS SON OF ZEUS

### D THE WHEEL AS A COIN-TYPE

### E THE KYKLOPS IN FOLK-TALES

### F THE DIOSKOUROI AND HELIENE IN FOLK-TALES

will be printed at the end of Volume II.

# INDEX I

## PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: *Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedeure.*

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gm. = grandmother, h. = husband, w. = wife.

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

- Aalen See Aquileia in Upper Germania  
 Abantes 24<sub>1</sub>  
 Abia-ax (?) 234<sub>1</sub>  
 Abriaxas, horse of Helios 337  
 Abydos 304 415  
 Achaean League, coins of 17 f.  
 Achaeans in Ciete 15 invade Egypt 362  
 receive portent from Zeus 26  
 Achaia  
*Cults*: Zeus Ἀχαιοί 16 ff. Zeus Har-  
 όππης 461  
 Acharaka  
*Cults*: Plouton and Kore 503  
*Rite*: bull carried 504  
 Acharnai  
*Cults*: Athena Ἐγχεα 231. Dionysos  
 Κισσος 671<sub>1</sub>  
 Achelous  
*Cult*: Phaleron 112  
*Myths*: cornu copiae 502<sub>1</sub> Herakles  
 502<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Euymedousa 533<sub>1</sub>  
 Achilles  
*Myth*: Trojan leap 483<sub>1</sub>  
*Functions*: St. Elmo's fire 772  
 — hut of 259; island of 772 statue  
 of 592<sub>1</sub>  
 Aetacron, horse of Helios 337  
 Acumneum (?)  
*Cult*: Iupiter Dolichenus 611 f.  
 Adad  
*Cults*: Ashur 581 Delos 549 f. Dion  
 in Dekapolis 572<sub>1</sub> 590 Eleuthero-  
 polis 72<sub>1</sub> Gabala 590 Heliopolis  
 in Syria 550 ff. 584 635 778 Hiera-  
 polis in Syria 582 ff. 778 Iamneum  
 551 Neapolis in Samaria 572<sub>1</sub> Ni-  
 kopolis in Iudaea 572<sub>1</sub> Rhesos 590  
*Epithets*: Ἀσποκίτης 551<sub>2</sub> Βαβυλῶν 577  
 Ἀχρακίτης 551<sub>2</sub> Ramman 577  
 Adad (cont.)  
*Oracles*: 552 f.  
*Functions*: agriculture 559<sub>1</sub> βασιλεὺς  
 θεῶν 549<sub>1</sub> fertility 591 mountain  
 551 567<sub>2</sub> sky 576<sub>1</sub> sun 549 ff. 553  
 577 ff. storm 570 577 ff. 634 f.  
 thunder 553<sub>1</sub> 591  
*Etymology*: 553 553<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes*: bull 576 ff. 633 ff. two  
 bulls 567 ff. corn-ears 552 569 572  
 fir cone (?) 569<sub>1</sub> globe (?) 572 jewel-  
 (?) 569 kílathos 568 f. 571 f. 574  
 576 radiate nimbus 572<sub>1</sub> rays  
 slanting downwards 553 solar disk  
 569 (?) 571 thunderbolt 552 577  
 golden thunderbolt 581 whip 552  
 568 ff.  
*Types*: bull (?) 577 579 charioteer with  
 whip and corn-ears standing be-  
 tween two bulls 567 ff. charioteer  
 with whip, thunderbolt, and corn-  
 ears 552 Egyptising 572 ff. sitting  
 upon bulls 582 ff.  
*Identified with Helios* 550 f. 635 In-  
 piter 549 ff. Zeus 549 ff.  
*Assimilated to Helios* 550<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with Atargatis* 549 591  
 Atargatis, Asklepios 550 Atargatis,  
 Semios 553 f. Sin. Šamas, Isar  
 577  
*In relation to Ramman* 576<sub>1</sub> Šamas  
 577 ff.  
 — eye of 569; finger of 570; kidney  
 of 569<sub>1</sub>  
 See also Ramman  
 Adada 305  
 Adados See Adad  
 Adana 597<sub>1</sub>  
 Adanos  
*Genealogy*: s. of Omanos by Ge 597<sub>1</sub>

Adargatis. See Atargatis

Adatos

*Cult.* Delos 549

*Epithet* Ἰαριπός 549;

Adiommos Tamos 468 635

Adodos

*Epithet* βασιλεὺς θεῶν 237<sub>1</sub> 549.

See also Adad and Zeus Ἀδὰδ

Adonai 234

Adonia 559<sub>1</sub>

Adonis

*Cult.* Kypros 651 Syria 651

*Festival* Adonia 559<sub>1</sub>

*Rites* effigy of animal substituted for human victim 651 gardens of Adonis 559<sub>2</sub> 559<sub>1</sub> human *erectos* 675 human representatives slain periodically or occasionally 651

*Personated by* priestly kings or princes 651

*Function* autumn 234<sub>1</sub>(?)

*Associated with* Aphrodite 345; 645 646;

*Compared with* Hippolytos Perdx, Aktanon 728 Zeus, Tammuz 645

*In relation to* Zeus 157, 468, 530 645<sub>1</sub> 651 f. 663; 675

— Cretan name of (?) 468, Etruscan names of 468, gardens of. See *Rites*

Adasteia

*Cult.* Babylon 262; Kyzikos 112

*Identified with* Nemesis 269<sub>1</sub>

Adasteia, a Cretan Nymph 112

Adasteia, a Phrygian Nymph 112<sub>1</sub>

Adastos 74<sub>0</sub>

Adiatic

*Cult.* Artemis 245<sub>1</sub>

Adymnus (Atymnos?)

*Cult.* Gortyna 525<sub>1</sub>

Aer

*Genealogy* f. of Prokos (?) by Menes 732;

Aeriba

*Cult.* Zeus Ἀερίβης Ἰλῆος θεὸς Αἰῖρος 193<sub>1</sub>

Aetiope

*Genealogy* w. of Atrous 105

Aesculapius

*Cult.* Phnuz (?) 630<sub>2</sub>

*Rite* incubation 407<sub>1</sub>

See also Asklepios

Aetes, ghost of 252. See also Aietes

Aethon, horse of Helios 337.

Aethops. See Athops, horse of Helios

Africa, Central 325

Africa, North 347<sub>1</sub> 353 ff.

Africa, South 325

Africa, South-west 330

Africa, West 323<sub>1</sub>

Agallis on Triptolemos 224

Aganede 14<sub>1</sub>

Agamedes

*Cult.* Lebadeia 407<sub>1</sub>

*Myth* Delphoi 450 f. 563;

Agamemnon

*Myth* gathering of Greeks at Argion 17

Agathokles, *triskeles* as signet of 307<sub>1</sub>, *triskeles* on coins of 306 f.

Agdistis 175

Agdos, Mt

*Genealogy* m by Zeus of Agdistis 175

Aenor

*Genealogy* f. of Europa, Kadmos

538 f. of Kadmos 540

Aelica 592<sub>1</sub>

Aelophon 456

Aene 190 718<sub>1</sub>

Aeria

*Cult.* Dionysos 692

*Rites* Lesser Mysteries 219 692

Aeria. See Aeria

Aetaina

*Cult.* Zeus Ἀεταῖος Ἰλῆος θεὸς Αἰῖος 193<sub>1</sub>

Aetavlos

*Cult.* Salamis in Kypros 659<sub>1</sub>

*Rite* human sacrifice (?) 659<sub>1</sub>

Aetis

*Cult.* Amazeros 597<sub>1</sub>

Aezentum

*Cult.* Zeus Ἀεζένιος 644 Zeus Ηεζένιος 122

Aezentum, temple of Concordia at 122<sub>1</sub>

Aziop. See Agriop

Azippima (?) as Demeter 228<sub>1</sub>

Agrotos 559<sub>1</sub>

Agroueros 559<sub>1</sub>

Ahalva

*Myth* Indus 395<sub>1</sub>

Ahura Mazdah. See Auramazda

Aia 253

Aiaa 239<sub>1</sub>

Aias

*Myth* body cast up on beach 299

Aias, s. of Teukros, high priest of Zeus Οἰζέος 304<sub>1</sub>

Aietes

*Mythos* Corinth 245 f. Phryxos 417

*Genealogy* f. of Chalkiope 416 s. of

Helios 253 s. of Helios by Antiope

245 738 s. of Helios by Peaseis 416

f. of Kirke 238 f. of Kirke, Pas-

phae 416 f. of Medea 246

See also Aetes

Aigad. of Olenos 529<sub>1</sub>

Aiga. in Achaia 529<sub>1</sub>

Aiga. in Harmonia 529<sub>1</sub>

Aiga. in Achaia 529<sub>1</sub>

Aigona, coins of 710

Aiguis 467 shoes and sword of 549.

Agaleia, older name of Sikyon 737

Aigma

*Cult.* Aphaia 526<sub>1</sub> 623<sub>0</sub>

— coin of 305

Aigion

*Cults.* Aphrodite 16 f. Athena Ἀναπα

16 f. Demeter Παράγα 17 Hestia

17 Kore 17 Poseidon 17 Zeus 529<sub>1</sub>

- Aigion (*cont.*)  
 Zeus *Aa*mos 16 f Zeus *Oua*γίptos 17
- Aigisthos 39
- Aigos Potamos, met. or of 762 trophy for battle of 761 f 771.
- Aigyptos, twin brother of Danaos 341
- Aigyptos  
*Myth*: sons of Aigyptos pursue daughters of Danaos 438  
*Genealogy*: s. of Belos 439
- Ain el hammam 381 f
- Am el-Hayât 296 f
- Am Musa 382
- Amos, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus 165
- Amolos  
*Genealogy*: f. of Athanas 415
- Aion 191
- Aischylos 33
- Aison, vase-painter 474 475
- Authi  
*Myth*: makes the eye 198  
*Genealogy*: b. of Hemen 27, f. of Pan by Omeis 27, f. of Pan by Omeis 27 f. of Zeus 27  
*Identified with Zeus* 32  
*Associated with Crata* 26; Hemen 27.
- Authiopes 186 275
- Authiopes Lindon  
*Cult*: Ammon 350-
- Aithiopia 66 195 348; 350-
- Authiops, house of Helios 195 290
- Authiops, s. of Hephaistos 195
- Autho, house of Helios 337
- Authon, f. of Ixion 199 s. of Helios 328-
- Authon, name of Odysseus 328
- Authon eagle of Prometheus 328<sub>1</sub>
- Authops, house of Helios 290 337
- Aitne, nymph 106 106 106<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: w. of Zeus 106 106 106<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with Zeus* 156 779
- Aitne, Mt 156  
*Cult*: Zeus *Aera* 91 121  
*Myth*: Kyklopes 312; Thakem 105 f
- Akakallis, d. of Minos 366
- Akastos 74
- Akmonia  
*Cult*: Nemesis 278 Zeus 1514
- Akrazas. See Agriantus
- Akraia, d. of Asterion 445
- Akrios  
*Myth*: Danae 414 Kyklopes 321<sub>1</sub>
- Akrokorinthos  
*Cult*: Helios 640  
*Myth*: Alkyoneus 640
- Akraion  
*Myth*: 680<sub>1</sub>  
*Compared with Adonis, Hippolytos, Perdis* 728
- Aku 51
- Alban 417
- Albuna  
*Cult*: Titan 407;  
*Oracle*: 407<sub>1</sub>
- Aletes 525;
- Alexander the Great  
*Myths*: Nemesis 278 f guided by ravens 367<sub>1</sub> guided by two serpents 360, s. of a serpent 359,  
*Personates Zeus* 37 279  
 — known as Iskender in Oasis of Siwah 386 portrait of, by Pygoteles 357 visits Oasis 353 387
- Alexandria  
*Cults*: Apollon and the Muses 182 gods of the week (Kironos, Helios, Selene, Ares, Hermes, Zeus, Aphrodite) 753 Isis 753 Nemesis 269; Sarapis 360 f 753 (Zeus) *Auawar* 74, Zeus Helios Sarapis 189<sub>1</sub> Zeus Sarapis 188<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 753
- Alexandros  
*Myth*: Antheus 74,  
 See also Paris
- Alexarchos 51
- Alkibiades on knees of Nemea 456,
- Alkidameia  
*Associated with Hermes* 246
- Alkinoe 112<sub>1</sub>
- Alkmene  
*Genealogy*: m. of Herakles by Zeus 624  
*Associated with Zeus* 624
- Alkyoneus  
*Myths*: drives cattle of Helios from Akrokorinthos 640 from Erythra 410  
*Compared with Autolykos* 640
- Alodai  
*Myth*: bind Ares 690;
- Alobe (?) See Alybe
- Alons  
*Genealogy*: f. of Epopeus 246 737 s. of Helios 245 737 by Antiope 738
- Alope (?) See Alybe
- Althaimenes  
*Myth*: Rhodes 117 123 643;
- Altis 39
- Ali 645
- Alybe 631
- Alybes (?) See Alybe
- Amalthaea  
*Myths*: cradle of Zeus 530, ep 534 Kouretes 530, nurse of Zeus 112 501 f 717
- Amalthaea, horn of 108 502 710  
*Type*: goat suckling Zeus 529<sub>1</sub>
- Amara 18, 581
- Amurion 16 f
- Amaros (?) 18;
- Amasera  
*Cult*: Zeus *Στρατιος* 91 602<sub>1</sub>
- Amastus  
*Cults*: Apis 637 Hera 753 Zeus 753  
 — coin of 753
- Amazons Lykasia (?) 99<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: helps Dionysos 376<sub>1</sub>
- Ambrose 167

- Ambrosie 111.  
 Amen  
*Cults*: Oasis of Siwah 389 Thebes in Egypt 315 347 350 360  
*Function*: king of the gods 349  
*Attributes*: horns of Khnemu 347 ram's horns 361  
*Types*: green 349<sub>2</sub> horned 386 ram 347 ram-headed 347 362 ram-horned 347  
*Identified with* Rā 315 Zeus 361  
 Amen-hotep iv See Amenophis iv  
 Amen-Rā  
*Cults*: Oasis of El-Charge 348 Oasis of Siwah 386 f. Thebes in Egypt 358 357  
*Oracle*: 387<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: h. of Mut 387  
*Functions*: king of the gods 347 light 315 ram-god 348 ff. sun 348 ff 349<sub>2</sub>  
*Attributes*: double plumes 386 scepter 387 solar disk 386 f. symbol of life 387 *urnus* 387  
*Types*: blue 349<sub>2</sub> enthroned 386 human-headed 387  
*Identified with* Shu 348 Zeus 348 ff 363 368, 387 420, 778  
 — eye of 315 emerald obelisks of 376 f. hymn to 315  
 Amenophis iv 315 f.  
 Amara  
*Cult*: Men *Ἀμάρων* 642  
 Amisos  
*Cult*: deity wearing wolf-skin 99.  
 Ammon, king of Egypt 348<sub>1</sub>  
 Ammon  
*Cults*: Athiopes Endroi 350<sub>2</sub> Gythron 360<sub>1</sub> Kyrenake 350<sub>1</sub> Kyrene 358 f. 360 Libye 350<sub>2</sub> shores of Syrtis 365 Thebes in Boiotia 362<sub>1</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Ἀζνκος* 362<sub>1</sub> *Ἄζης* 362<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: mares Kiete 376<sub>1</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into* serpent 358 f. snake 392  
*Genealogy*: f. of Dionysos 373 s. of Zeus by Pasiphae 522 544<sub>2</sub>  
*Function*: setting sun 358  
*Attribute*: snakes 392  
*Types*: bearded 371 ff. 402<sub>1</sub> beardless 371 ff 402<sub>1</sub> four ram's heads 386<sub>1</sub> pantheistic 361 seated 386  
*Identified with* Belos, Apis, Kronos, Zeus 756<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Asklepios 360<sub>1</sub> Heakles 348<sub>1</sub>  
 — grove of 364 ff. masks of 370 seed of 623  
 Ammonion See Oasis of Siwah  
 Ammonia (?) 359<sub>1</sub>  
 Amorges  
*Cult*: Zeus Helios (?) 194 f.  
 Amorion  
*Cult*: Demeter 229.  
 Amorites 549 582  
 Amphiaraios  
*Cults*: Oropos 407<sub>1</sub> Rhamnous 275<sub>2</sub> 275.  
*Oracle*: 407<sub>1</sub>  
 Ampandamas 469  
 Amphion  
*Myth*: Dirke 736 740  
*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus by Antiope 734 ff  
*Function*: mourning-star (?) 739  
 — tomb of 736  
 Amphione  
*Cult*: Diros 729.  
 Amphipolis  
*Cults*: Artemis *Τειρενία* 538<sub>1</sub> Attis 104 f.  
 Anapithemis See Garamas  
 Amphitris 108<sub>1</sub>  
 Amphitrite  
*Associated with* Poseidon 721  
 Amphitruon  
*Myth*: Pterelios 344  
 Arrun, the god  
*Genealogy*: h. of Ashuta 582<sub>1</sub>  
*Functions*: storm and thunder-god 582<sub>1</sub>  
 Amun 549 570<sub>1</sub>  
 Amykla  
*Cult*: Apollon 713.  
 Amyklas 722  
 Amykos 169  
 Amynos 227.  
 Anaktos 599  
 Anakes 107<sub>2</sub>  
 Anakon 107<sub>2</sub>  
 Anaktos 107<sub>2</sub> ep. 407.  
 Anapos 567<sub>2</sub>  
 Anatolian cult of mother and son 645 645<sub>1</sub> 648  
 Anax, s. of Co 544.  
 Anaxazoras 33 54  
 Anaxenor 57 58.  
 Anaximander 783  
 Anaximenes 29  
 Anazabos  
*Cults*: Ares 597<sub>1</sub> *ἑκὶ Ἀγρεῖς* 597.  
*pross* *Καταγαργς* 597<sub>1</sub> Hera *Ἐαση* 597<sub>1</sub> Tyche 598<sub>1</sub> Zeus 597<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Ὀλῖβπος* or *Ὀλῖβπος* 597.  
 Anchimos, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus *Ἀγχίμοιος* 121  
 Anchira 112<sub>2</sub>  
 Anchises  
*Associated with* (Aphrodite) 646.  
 Andantoma  
*Cult*: Nemesis *Ἰαονα* 276<sub>1</sub>  
 Androgeneia 493<sub>1</sub>  
 Androgeos 319 as dance-theme 481  
 Andromache, statue of 592.  
 Andromeda 755<sub>1</sub>  
 Andron 379.  
 Angel of Jehovah  
*Identified with* Apollon 233.  
 Ankyra in Galatia  
*Cults*: Attis 742<sub>1</sub> Demeter 229<sub>1</sub> Zeus 124 Zeus Helios Sarapis 189<sub>2</sub>



## Aune, St

*Lunation*: St Elmo's 110 775

## Antenor 74

## Anthania 74.

## Anthis 74 ff.

## Anthis ( )

*Associated with* Zeus 741.

## Anthis, eponym of Antiochion in Boiotia 75

## Anthis of Anthis s. of Poseidon founds Halkathussos 74

## Antiochion 74

## Antiochion, eponym of Antiochion in Boiotia 74, 75

## Antioch 227

*Cult*: Demeter II = 15505 228.

## Antiochias 74.

*Myth* 227

*Genealogy* s. of Eumelos 227

*Compared with* Phaeathon 227 f.

## Antios 73 f.

## Antios, eponym of Antiochia 74

## Antios, eponym of Antiochion in Boiotia 75

## Anthesphoros 440

## Anthesteria 671, 683 ff. 693.

*Etymology* 687

## Antheus 73

## Antheus, s. of Antenor 74.

## Antheus, prince of Halkathussos 74.

## Antheus, eponym of Antiochion in Boiotia 75

## Anteos 74 73 ff.

*Genealogy* s. of Antenor by Hippodamia 73, 75 eponym of Antiochion 74

## Antiochia 112, 112.

## Antiochist 185

## Antikleia

*Genealogy* d. of Aetolykos 639 f. and of Mestra 628 w. of Laertes 640, m. of Odysseus by Sisyphos 639 f.

## Antilibanos, Mt 550

## Antiphantes (son) s. of Sikanos 321.

## Antiochia on the Orontes 236 f.

*Rite*: *θεοστυα* 237.

## Antiochia in Pisidia

*Cult*: Men 642

## Antiochos I of Kommagene

*Epithets*: *Θεός Δαίμων* 742 748; *Επερκατος* 742 748; *Ιεροκλής* 742 748; *Φιλοκλέους* 742 748.

*Festivals*: Birthday 746 Coronation-day 746.

*Personates* Anthias (?) 742, Tyche 744 746, Zeus *Ωκεανός* 742 748 ff.

*Attributes*: *κλάρα* 749 f. oak leaves and acorns 749 f. stars 750 thunderbolts 750

— funeral monument of 742 ff. horoscope of 748 750

## Antiochos iv Epiphanes 233

## Antiope

*Epithets*: *εὐσπείρος* 738<sub>11</sub>

*Myths*: Boiotia 735 ff. Eleutherai 737

## Antiope (cont.)

Epaphos 737, Epopeus 737 f. original form (?) 738<sub>12</sub>, Zeus 731 ff.

*Genealogy* m. of Aloeus and Aietes by Helios 738 d. of Asopos 734 737 Lykos (?) 735, Lykourgos 735, Nykteus 735<sub>2</sub> 737 w. of Phokos 736 m. of Zethos and Amphion by Zeus 734 ff.

*Functions*: *lunai* 738 f.

*Etymology* 738

*Type*: Maenad 735

*Associated with* Helios 245 Zeus 537<sub>1</sub> 734 ff. 739 777

*Compared with* Europe 736 f.

— tomb of 736 738

## Antiphantes 762 764.

## Antium

*Cult*: Fortunae 552

## Antops (?) 405.

## Anu 599

## Aones 539

## Aonia 539

## Aparanton, Mt

*Cult*: Seleae (?) 457.

## Aparantos 457.

## Aparneri in Phrygia

*Cult*: Zeus 151 f.

— coins of 483

## Aparneia in Syria

*Cult*: Zeus *Βήλος* 756.

## Apelles 279

## Apeimosyne

*Myth*: 643.

*Associated with* Hermes 643.

## Aphaia

*Cult*: Aizma 526<sub>1</sub> 623.

*Myth*: 623.

## Aphareus

*Myth*: rape of Leukippides 738<sub>12</sub>

Aphrodisias in Kibikia (?), coins of 297<sub>2</sub> 602

## Aphrodite

*Cults*: Agrion 17 Comith 292 Delos

481 550 Dreros 729, Gaza 149<sub>1</sub>

Helopolis in Syria 554 Knidos

710<sub>1</sub> Kypros 556 741 768<sub>1</sub> Leukas

345 Ouanopolis 51 291 Paphos

768<sub>1</sub> Penates 442 Thadama 522<sub>4</sub>

*Epithets*: *Άγρη* 550 *Κιθήρη* See

*Kythira* *Κερροζενία* 253 *Ούρανία*

51 291 583 *Πασίφρη* 522<sub>1</sub> *Παρία*

768<sub>1</sub> *Πελαγία* 175 176<sub>1</sub> *πορφύρεη*

176<sub>1</sub>

*Personated by* Iobakehor 679<sub>17</sub>

*Myths*: *Γάνυ* 253 *phallos* of ass 623

changes Kerastai into bullocks 75

personates Kuke 238 Leucadian

leap 347<sub>2</sub> Proitides 451 453<sub>1</sub>

*Metamorphosed into* eagle 279<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy* m. of Harmonia by Ares

540

*Functions*: Friday 753 friendship 31

*lunai* 522<sub>4</sub> planet Venus 756

*Attributes*: blue *nimbus* 40<sub>1</sub> dove 39<sub>1</sub>

## Aphrodite (cont.)

741 *ignis* 253 258 440; *hostis* 583  
partridge 727 ram 429, sceptre  
575 sceptre surmounted by eagle  
291 star 575 741

*Types* bust 575 chariot drawn by  
two Erotes 231, *cupidos* 356  
Phaon 710, seated on globe 51  
291

*Identified with* Atargatis 550 582  
Hathor 437

*Associated with* Adonis 345, 645 646  
Anchises 646, Ares 540 Eros 38 f.  
408 459, Helios 292 550, Phaon  
345 Zeus' *Ἀφροδῖος* and Athena  
*Ἀφροδίτη* 16 f.

*Compared with* Nemesis 284

*In relation to* Atargatis 583

*Survival of as* *Κίρα Φροδοῦνη* 174

*Superseded by* St Pelagia 175

— temple of, at Paphos 768

## Aphrodite, the planet

*Attributes* bronze 626, dove 625,  
626 626, pumpkin 626 ep. 625  
tin 625 f. 626,

## Aphroditopolis

*Cult.* cow 437

## Aphroditos

*Lithet.* *Τίχων* 175 f. 176

*Identified with* Tychon 176,

*Superseded by* St Tychon 175 f.

## Aphysis

*Cults.* Dionysos (?) 373 f. Zeus' *Ἀφύς*  
352 371

## Apis 431 ff. 784

*Cults.* Amastris 637 Germaikopolis  
637 Hadrianopolis 637 Memphis  
188, 433 Mytilene 637 Neolopolis  
433 Nikia in Bithynia 637 Niko-  
medeia 637

*Festivals.* Birthday 434 the 'Running  
round of Apis' 434

*Oracles.* 434

*Myths.* Argos 458, avenged by Argos  
458

*Genealogy.* f. of Argos 458,

*Functions.* lunar 431 ff. 538 solar 432  
436 635

*Identified with* Belos, Ammon, Kronos,  
Zeus 756, Horos 435, Osiris 445

*Attribute.* solar disk 435 f.

*Type.* as bull ridden by Nike 538

*In relation to* Ba-en-ptah 633, Epaphos  
438 633 Osiris 633 Ptah 435, 633

— influence of 635 ff. marks of  
432 f. 468 540, ep. 537 ff.

## Apis of Osiris

*Identified with* Sarapis 188

## Apollo

*Attribute.* hatcher 538,

*Type.* Sol with star above him 538,

*Identified with* Voltovis 711, 712

— statue of 609

## Apollon

*Cults.* Alexandreia 132 Amyklai 713,

## Apollon (cont.)

Argos 139 373, 448 461 Athens  
545 Boiotia 291 681, (?) Chios 7,  
Delos 481, (?) 513 784 Delphi 259  
296 450 f. 563 Didyma 483  
Dios 729, Gaza 149, Gythion  
351 Hermonthus 436 Hierapolis n.  
Syria (?) 585 t. Klaros 278 Kolo-  
phon 234 Kyrene 373 Lakonike  
681, Lebadeia 524 Leukas 344 ff.  
Magnesia on the Malandros 483  
Nemroud Dagh 744 ff. 748 750  
Phaleron 112 Rhodes 132 Taisos  
586 Thera 112 f. 143

*Epithets.* *αἰγίλος* *παρμενέας* 233, *Ἀγ-  
ραιος* 373, *αἰγίος* 372, *Ἀργεῖος* 372,  
*Ἀργεῖος* 51, *Δελφαιος* 729, *Ἐρωδίας*  
737, *Θουάριος* 681, *Θουάριος* 681,  
*Καρναῖος* 351 351, 372 f. 409,  
*Κλαρῖος* 234 *Λεβαδαῖος* 345 *Λεβαδαῖος*  
345, *Λυκαῖος* 64 *Λυκαῖος* 64, 139  
302 448 *Μακεδονίας* 143, *Ναυῖος* 372,  
*Οἰκεῖος* (?) 371, *παρμενέας* 503,  
*Πατρῖος* (= *Πατρῖος* 729, 730, *Πατρῖος*  
112 415 461 *Πατρῖος* (= *Πατρῖος* 730,  
*Σαλαμῖνος* 412, *Φαραῖος* 7, *Φοῖβος* 450

*Festivals.* Daphnephoria 291 Karne-  
552, Pyanopsia 439 Thargelia 439

*Oracles.* 196 f. 234 234 278 345, 376  
468 f. 470 539 f. 584 f. (?)

*Rites.* *Κοπή* 291 Leucadian bath 345 f.

*Priests.* *αρχιερεῖς* 412

*Priests.* human *ἱερεῖς* 443 f.

*Myths.* birth 649, Dardania 241 342

Daphne 522 Hydra 755 *κερατὶς*  
at Delos 482, Sagitta 755 trans-  
forms Anthos into bird 754, Tro-  
phonos and Azamedes 450 f.

*Metamorphosed into* hawk 241 star (?)  
760

*Genealogy.* f. of Gatamas by Akakallis  
366 of Korymbantes by Rhytia 106,  
by Hekleia 106

*Functions.* angel of Zeus' *ἱεὺς* 233  
begetter 681, divination 552 god  
of the chase 372, Mercury the  
planet 746, 750 756 pastoral god  
372, ram god 351 373 solar (?) 7,  
345, 483 585 746, not originally  
solar 258 absorbs solar magic  
258 ff.

*Attributes.* *αἰγίς* 585 *barson* 746 bow  
345, blue *ambros* 40, breast plate (?)  
585 cock 713, deer 512, eagle (?)  
585 flower (?) 585 goat 712, hawk  
241 626, *kalythos* (?) 585 *omphalos*  
586, quiver 345, ram 351, stag 36,  
spear (?) 585 *saustika* 481, torch  
345, two bull- 586, Victory (?) 585  
wheel 262

*Types.* clothed and bearded (?) 585  
holding two wolves 586, hawk on  
head or hand 241 Kanachos 36, 512  
with quiver, bow, and torch 345,  
standing with goat at his side 743

Apollon (*cont.*)

*Identified with* angel of Jehovah 233;  
Helios 241 Horos 241; Lycian god  
of light (?) 302 Mithras Helios  
Hermes 744 ff. 748 Zeus (?) 373 409

*Assimilated to* Ares 585

*Associated with* Akakallis 366 Artemis  
175, Kyrene (?) 95 97, Leukates  
345, Panan 243 Poseidon 74 Zeus  
73, Zeus *Avogor* 373 Zeus *Avogor*,  
Asklepios, Demeter, Poseidon  
Paeonios 371

*In relation to* Zeus 373 375, 409

— altar of 262; favourite of 351;  
messenger of (hawk) 241 statue of,  
at Delphi 762 temple of of 259 296,  
throne of, at Argos 139

## Apollonia in Illyria

*Cult* Helios 410 ff.

— sheep of Helios at 410 ff.

## Apollonios of Tyana 278

## Apollonius in Lydia

*Cult* Demeter 229.

Aps-vytos 225<sub>1</sub>

*Myth* Medea 680

## Apuhum

*Cults* Bonnis Eryutis 630, Iupiter  
*Dolichon* 630, Sarpis Iupitel Sol  
190.

Aquilarius 755<sub>1</sub>.Aquila 755, 755<sub>1</sub>.

## Aquilaia in Upper Germania

*Cult* Iupiter *Dolichon* 619 626

## Aquilaia in Venetia

*Cult* Zeus *Quax* 730.

## Aquinum

*Cults* Iupiter *Dolichon* *Holop litant*  
551, 633, Nemesis 275 f.

Ara 755<sub>1</sub>.

## Arabia

*Cults* Ares 706, Rannan (?) 576,  
Kronos 756.

## Arachnaton, Mt

*Cult* Zeus and Hera 117 Zeus super-  
seded by St Elias 177 f.

## Aratos the Achaean general 16

## Aratos of Soloi 291

## Arcadians as acronicators 77

## Archegetes

*Cult* Prometheus 736

## Archelaos of Phene 129 ff.

## Archimedes 446.

## Archonides 379.

## Archophylax 755.

## Ares

*Cults* Anazarbos 597, Bannos 623,  
Dieros 729, Kinnamon 746, Kolchou  
415 Nemour Dag 744 746 748  
Thebes in Boeotia 540

*Epithets* *Hektorios* 597, *gouios* 751.

*Festival* Hekatomphonia 623.

*Rite* sacrifice of ass 746.

*Myths* bound by Aloudai 690, golden  
ram 417<sub>1</sub>, Kalinos 540 Otos and  
Ephualtes 623.

Ares (*cont.*)

*Genealogy* f. of Harmonia by Aphro-  
dite 540 f. of snake 540

*Functions* enmity 31 Mars the planet  
746, 756 Tuesday 753

*Attributes* club 746 helmet 571 575  
lance 575 oak-tree 416 417<sub>1</sub>

*Type* helmeted bust 572(?) 575

*Identified with* Artagnes Herakles 744  
746 748

*Associated with* Aphrodite 540 Zeus  
and Hera *Γαυηλία* 597<sub>1</sub>

*In relation to* Apollon (?) 585

— grove of 416 417<sub>1</sub> spring of, at  
Thebes in Boeotia 540 temple of  
417<sub>1</sub>

## Ares, the planet

*Attributes* lion 625, 626 626, jackdaw  
626, mixed metal 626, violet 625 f.  
wolf 625, 626

Argaios, Mt 102 520, 603<sub>1</sub>

*Cult* Kaisareia in Kappadokia 102.

Arges 303, 312 314 317 f. 318<sub>1</sub> 462

## Argilopos 318

## Argiope, m. of Europe

*Function* lunar (?) 537

*Etymology* 537

## Argo 755.

## Argonauts

*Myths* Amykos 169 Argos 459 Cu-  
caean Plain 533 Kyzikos 316, Talos  
719 721

## Argos

*Cults* Apollon *Αἰγίον* 373, Apollon  
*Kapreios* as Zeus (?) 373 409;  
Apollon *Αργιος* 448 Apollon *Πηλιος*  
461 Dionysos *Κρησιος* 651, Hera  
134 f. 440, 445 ff. 467 532 624,  
Hera *Αργαία*, *Αργία* (?) 445<sub>1</sub>, Hera  
*Αργεία* 450, Hera *γαστέρα* 453,  
Hera *Ερζορ* 463 Hera *Ζερεσία*  
458, three-eyed Zeus 520 462 Zeus  
134 f. Zeus *Αγεσιος* 117 Zeus *Αγε-  
σιος* 122 f. Zeus *Νεμεσιος* 448 456  
Zeus *Ηεκαπτης* 461

*Festivals* Hekatomphalia 446 f. 447,  
451 Herana 22, 446 the Shield  
from Argos 446

*Myths* Apis 458, Cretan bull 467

Danae 414 Io 739 Kleobis and  
Biton 447 ff. Kyklopes 321<sub>1</sub>

— coms of 304 624<sub>1</sub>

## Argos, persons named 32

*Identified with* Zeus 32

## Argos, eponym of town Argos 32

## Argos, watcher of Io 32

*Epithet* *Ηεκαπτης* 320 439 459 461 f.

*Myths* avenges Apis 458 slays Ar-  
cadian bull 458 Arcadian Satyr  
458 Echidna 458 Euboea 462  
herds cattle of Hera at Nemea  
446 slain by Hermes 439 ff. 462 in-  
troduces wheat from Libya and  
Sicily 458.

*Metamorphosed into* peacock 440.

Argos, watcher of Io (*cont.*)

*Genealogy* s. of Aiestor 479 s. of Apis 458, s. of Ge 439

*Functions* : agriculture 458, divinised after death 459, fertility 478 at once human and divine 457 ff. prototype of priestly *zoukolos* 457 f. solar (?) 461

*Hyponymy* : 32 311, 458

*Attributes* : bull's hide 458 f. 479, other hide 459;

*Epithets* : three-eyed 320 462 four-eyed 311, 462 many-eyed 494 seated on mountain 459;

*Associated with* Io 459-

*Compared with* Phanes 311, Zeus 32 478

*In relation to* Io 479 Zeus 457 ff

— grave of 458 sacred wood of 478

Argos, the Kyklops 462 See also Aries

Argos, s. of Phrixos 416

Azouma 462

Amadue

*Myths* : Daidalos 481 Dionysos 480

Minotaur 24, receives crown from Dionysos 492 Theseus 480 f.

*Attribute* : crown 492 f.

*Associated with* Dionysos 375 ( ) 506

— as dance-theme 481 495 crown of 492 f. terra-cotta collar of 471

Aurea

*Cult* : Diana 282, 282,

Aries 370 373, 409 419 429,

Amma

*Cults* : sun-god 635, thunder-god 635.

Arion 170

Aristaios (?) 95,

*Cult* : Arkadia 372

*Myths* : Keos 372, 740 Kydon 372

*Functions* : shepherd-god (?) 372 372,

*Attributes* : fish 373, podium 373, ram 373, sheep 373,

*In relation to* Zeus 372

Aristobios 622

Arkadia

*Cults* : Aristaios as Zeus 372 Hermes

81 Pan 87 Zeus *Αἰθέριος* (?) 26

Zeus *Εκατονταίτης* 545 Zeus *Κισσός*

299 Zeus *Λόγιος* 63 ff. Zeus

*Παῖς* 520, Zeus *Πατρόης* 520,

Zeus *Στοργικός* 520,

*Rites* : human sacrifice 70 ff. rain-

making 11,

*Myths* : bull-slain by Argos 458 Satyr

slain by Argos 458

— were-wolves in 80 f.

Arkadia in Crete

*Cult* : Zeus *Ἀουαῖ* 102,

Arka-

*Myths* : Chrysopeleia 77, Iykaon 79

*Genealogy* : twin of Pan (?) 702, s. of

Zeus (?) 702,

Arke-sine in Amorzos

*Cults* : Demeter 669, Kore 669, Zeus

*Εἰσβαλὲς* 669, Zeus *Ἡλίας* (?)

194 f

Arkton, Mt 112 310

Airkto 28

Armenia

*Cult* : Nabat 456

Arie

*Genealogy* : m. of Eumelos by Poseidon 539

*Associated with* Poseidon 539

Arie 227

Arie 300,

Ar-aplos See Her-shai

Arano 111,

Artakios

*Cult* : Nemrud Dagh 744 746 748

*Functions* : Victory 746,

*Hyponymy* : 746,

*Attributes* : club 746

*Epithets* : as Ares (?) 746, as Herakles (?) 746,

*Identified with* Herakles Ares 744 746 748

Artemidos, paccmet ot. at Thera 117,

Artemidos, St 172

Artemis

*Cults* : Amphipolis 538, Athens 421 f.

422 Aulis 417 Antiochopolis 245

Cos 542, Delos 542, Dionys 729,

Ephesus 141 172, 443 Ikara 282,

Island in Adriatic 245, Kartham

173, Keos (?) 172 172, Phaleron

112 Sikyon 520, Tauros 417

Thasos 442 Thera 143

*Epithets* : *Αρταμένης* 545 *Βραχάρια* 421 f.

442 *Βραχάριας* 542, *Δακτύλια* 570,

See also *Δικτυαία* *Εφραία* 272, (?)

443 ep. 574 (?) *καλὴ* 542, *Κοιμή-*

*τις* 172, *Λαχία* 112 *Μαυρία* 421

*Πατρόποιος* 172, *παῖς* 542, *Πατρὶς*

520, *Πατρὸς* 442, *Πατρὸς* 442

*τῆς* *καυκάς* *ἐχέει* 542, *Ταυροπόλος*

417, 538 *Ταυρὸς* 447, *Ἰδμεν* *αὐ-*

*ταῖς* 271 *φελαιγίαις* 172, *φωσφόρος*

545 *Χερσὺς* 422

*Festivals* : Artemisia 542, Brauronian

422

*Rites* : dedication of hair 24, *αὐπο-*

*φωρὸς* 421 human *ἀγῶται* 421 f. 442

453, 784 human sacrifice 417 sacrifice

of lamb 405 of ram 408 of she-

goat dressed as maiden 711,

*Priests* : 210 *εὐπρεπὲς* 443 hereditary

711, *στρωτοίαις* 443

*Priestesses* : 244 *μακροπόροι* 443

*Myths* : birth 649 Iapetus 755 golden

lamb 405, Orion 755, shoots goats

on Mt Kythos 482, 513 Ursa

Minor 755

*Metamorphosed into* bear 422

*Genealogy* : d. of Leto 495, d. of Zeus

by Leto 726,

*Functions* : huntress 542, human 245

455 524 543

*Attributes* : bear 417 bow 408 bull 417

crescent 245 partridge (?) 727,

*phallos* 408 puppis 542, quiver 576

Artemis (*cont.*)

-snake-drawn chariot 244 245 stag 417

*Types*: archaic 409 leist 576 leg 282; pillar 520; riding bull 538

*Identified with*: Barysganris 542 Diktynna 542, Hekate 245 Nemesis 275f. Omphs 275

*Associated with*: Apollo 173

*Compared with*: Nemesis 284

*In relation to*: Atargatis 583 Britomartis 527; Diktynna 524

*Superseded by the Virgin* 172

— hollow image of 244 statue of, at Delphi 762

Artemisia 542<sub>1</sub>

Arthar 243

Asbestai

*Cults*: Zeus 363

Ascanus 483

Ashunta

*Genealogy*: w. of Anaxim 582<sub>1</sub>

*Compared with*: Astarte 582<sub>1</sub>

Ashun, city 207

*Cult*: Adad 581

Ashur 201 207

*Functions*: smp. 207

*Identified with*: Zeus 197 207

Asia, Northwest 330

Asini 755<sub>1</sub>

Askalon

*Cult*: Dorketo 583

Askapos 622

Asklepios

*Cults*: Delos 570 Gythion 351 360

Kyrene 3514 360f. Olios 729<sub>1</sub>

*Myth*: Hippolytos 680

*Attributes*: serpent-staff 361

*Associated with*: Anad and Atargatis

550 Ammon 360, Zeus 351f. Zeus

Asclepi, Apollo K. Zeus Demeter,

Poseidon Paerxes 351

*Identified with*: Zeus 361

*In relation to*: Zeus 646<sub>1</sub>

— spring of 351

See also Asclepiotris

Asoka 266

Asopos

*Genealogy*: 1. of Antrop 734 737 s. of Zeus by Eurynome 155

Aspendos 304

Assara Mazas 744<sub>1</sub> See also Amamazda

Assos 408<sub>1</sub>

Assyria

*Cults*: Salmanu 549 Zeus 207 756<sub>1</sub>

Astarte

*Cults*: Sidon 538 Syria 237<sub>1</sub> Tyre 356<sub>1</sub> (?) 782

*Epithet*: αργαργα 237<sub>1</sub>

*Rite*: annual search for Astarte 237<sub>1</sub>

*Functions*: fertility 237<sub>1</sub> mother-goddess 354

*Attributes*: bull's head 237<sub>1</sub> bovine horns 237<sub>1</sub> lunar disk 237<sub>1</sub>

*Types*: horned 445 ep. 1-5 237<sub>1</sub>

Astarte (*cont.*)

*Identified with*: Europe 538 Io 542, Selenia 538

*Associated with*: Zeus 'Αστέριος (?) 546<sub>1</sub>

*Compared with*: Ashunta 582<sub>1</sub>

Asterion, Cretan king 547<sub>2</sub>

Asterna, name of Crete 543<sub>1</sub>

Asterna, name of Delos 543<sub>1</sub> 544<sub>1</sub>

Asterna, island near Ithake 544<sub>1</sub>

Asterna, name of Rhodes 544<sub>1</sub>

Asteria, Titaness 544<sub>1</sub>

*Myths*: Poseidon 544<sub>1</sub>, Zeus 544<sub>1</sub>

*Metamorphosed into*: quail 544<sub>1</sub> star 544<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: m. of Hekate and the Phoenician Herakles by Zeus 544<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with*: Poseidon 544<sub>1</sub>, Zeus 544<sub>1</sub>

Asterie, Titaness 544<sub>1</sub>

Asterion 544<sub>1</sub>

Asterion 740<sub>1</sub>

Asterion, Cretan king 546 f. 737

*Myth*: rears Mnos, Sarpedon, Rhadamanthys 464

Asterion, river near Argos 445 624<sub>1</sub>

Asterion, the Minotaur 493 ff.

Asterion, s. of Jupiter by Idea (= Idaia) 493, 544<sub>2</sub>

Asterios 740<sub>1</sub>

Asterios, s. of Anax 544<sub>1</sub>

Asterios, Cretan king 546 f.

Asterios, s. of Mnos by Androgeneia 493<sub>1</sub>

Asterios, the Minotaur 165 493 ff.

Asterois 544<sub>1</sub>

Asterope 238

Asteros, Cretan king 546 f.

Astriae, horse of Helios 337

Astypalaia 686

Asvins

*Compared with*: Proskontoi 771

Atabyrion, Mt. in Galilee See Tabor, Mt

Atabyrion, Mt. in Rhodes

*Cult*: Zeus 'Αταβύριος 117 123 132

See also Atabyrion, Mt. in Rhodes

Atabyris See Atabyrion, Mt. in Rhodes

Atabyrion, Mt. in Rhodes

*Cult*: Zeus 'Αταβύριος 643

*Topography*: 643

— bronze cattle on 643

See also Atabyrion, Mt. in Rhodes

Atargatis

*Cults*: Delos 549 578<sub>2</sub> Hierapolis in

Syria 582 ff. Ianculum (?) 551<sub>11</sub>

785 Rome (?) 551<sub>11</sub>

*Epithets*: 'Αργα 550<sub>1</sub>, Παρμα 549<sub>2</sub>

*Locations*: Descents to the Lake 592<sub>1</sub>

Tyre or Forch 592<sub>1</sub>

*Rites*: climbing of φάλλος 591<sub>1</sub>; seawater brought to temple 592<sub>1</sub>

*Feasts*: 592<sub>1</sub>

*Functions*: earth 553 nature 591 ff.

Virgo 755<sub>1</sub>

*Associated to*: Aphrodite 583 Artemis



Athens (*cont.*)

to Dionysos 672, 686 709 f. *Bagi-*  
*Nava* administrators oath to *Pepagai*  
 684 ff. *Zeigopora* 469, 717, bull-fights  
 497 bull paraded by *Epheboi* and  
 sacrificed to Dionysos 716, bull  
 taken in procession by *Epheboi* 715,  
 Dionysiac *κείκος* 683 Dionysiac  
*πρωτη* 683 dithyrambs 682, 733  
 fertility 11, 687 hair-chipping 24,  
 human *ἐκτετα* 153, human *ἐκτετα* of  
 the *Iobakeion* 442 *κείκος* 687 Le-  
 naean ode 695 night-procession to  
 Eleusis on Boedromion 20 751  
 oxen sacrificed to Dionysos 715, *παρ-*  
*τεσσα* 687 passion-play (?) 678 ff.  
*πρωτη* 684 *πρωτη* of Dionysos  
 commemorated in Lenaean ode  
 688 torchlight procession escorting  
 Dionysos from *εργαλα* to theatre  
 686, *παλιν* 683 phalloi 682 f.  
 684 ff. *πρωτη* 684 *πρωτη* 684 687 f.

*Myths* *Patroia* 739 *Ialos* 342 ff. 724 ff.  
 --- Dionysion *κείκος* at 672, 684  
 Dipyron gate at 671 *Εκχθησιον*  
 at 473 *Iakheion* at 427 *Ioniaion*  
 at 660, 671 *pythionion* at 709  
 rock-cut seats at 145 'Theatrum' at  
 122, coins of 307 f. 534, 670

## Athos, Mt 82, 103

*Cult* Zeus *Αρειος* 121

*Myth* *Thoua* (?) 321

## Atlas 156

*Myth* supports sky 632.

*Genealogy* f. of *Pasiphae* 522 544,  
 f. of *Plouto* 156 s. of *Zeus* 156

## Atreus

*Myth* golden lamb 409 409, 412 414  
 430 720, golden or purple lamb  
 405 ff.

*Genealogy* h. of *Acrope* 405 s. of  
*Pelops* 405 407 h. of *Thyestes* 405  
 407

## Atreke

*Myth* Melanionian bull 467

## Attis

*Cults* *Amphipolis* 104 f. *Ankyra* in  
*Galatia* 742, *Bithynia* 399, *Pes-*  
*sionus* 742

*Epithet* *Hieros* 399

*Myths* towards temple of *Atargatis*  
 (Rhea) 391, mutilates himself 391, 2  
*Rites* *Amphipolis* 717, *hieroschem* 717

*Genealogy* h. of *Kybele* 104

*Function* mountain god 399

*Etymology* 399

*Attributes* ram 429, stellate tiara 742

*Identified with* Phrygian Zeus 399 717

*Assimilated to* Zeus *Σαβας* 399

*Associated with* *Kybele* 391, *Kybele*  
 717, *Metra* 742, *Rhea* 394, ep.  
 646.

*Compared with* *Komabos* 391

## Attus, Atuns See Adonis

## Atrymos 225, See also Adymus

Auanos, stone of 195.

Augustonemetum 273.

## Augustus

*Typus* as *Iupiter* 43 as Cretan Zeus  
 547 f.

*Associated with* *Iupiter* 288.

— triumphal car of 59

## Aulis

*Cults* *Artemis* 417

## Aumos

*Identified with* Zeus *Helios* 193

## Amamazda 10,

*Cults* *Issos* 208, *Kilikia* 208 *Mallos*  
 208, *Serapopolis* 208 *Solor* 208,  
*Taisos* 208.

*Functions*: moon 208, sun 208

*Etymology* 741

*Attributes*: lotus-flower 208 wreath 208

*Identified with* *Iupiter* 754 *Zeus* 208  
 741 ff. 754

*In relation to* *Mithras* 754

Aurelian, solar monotheism of 166

Aureli 629 f.

## Aureliopolis

*Cult*: *Artemis* 245

Auriga 755.

Aurora 404

## Autolykos

*Myth* steals cattle of *Sisyphos* 639 f.

*Genealogy*: f. of *Antikleia* 328, 639 f.

*Compared with* *Alkyoneus* 640

*Autonoos* 731 75

## Auxesia

*Cult*: *Sparta* 730

*Function* fertility 730

*Associated with* *Damoia* and *Zeus* 730

## Auximum

*Cult*: *Iupiter* *Sol* *Serapis* 190, *Zeus*  
*Helios* *Serapis* 190.

*Axiaros* 329.

*Etymology*: 109 782

*Axiokersa* 329.

*Etymology*: 109 782

*Axiokeros* 329.

*Etymology*: 109 782

*Axioteia*, w. of *Prometheus* 329.

## Axiros

*Cults* *Arabia* 706, *Edessa* 706, *Syria*  
 706.

*Function* morning-star (?) 706.

*Etymology* 706.

*Associated with* *Mommos* 706.

## Baal of Baalbek

*Identified with* Zeus *Βαροκακρος* or  
*Βαροκακρος* 565.

## Baal of Libanon

*Cult* *Kypros* 551.

*Baalbek* See *Heliospolis* in *Syria*

## Baal hamman

*Cults* *Caesarea* 104 (?) 354 *Carthage*  
 309 354 *Hispania* 309 *Kypros* 598,  
*Sicca Veneria* 308 *Vacca* 308

*Functions*: sky 308 sun 308

*Etymology*: 308 354 356

## Baral-hammān (cont.)

*Attributes*: cornu copiae 598<sub>1</sub> pillars 354 two ram- 354 598<sub>1</sub>

*Types*: enthroned 354 *ἀμφάνος* set with emeralds 355 ff. cp. 358; ram-horns 354 360

*Identified with Herakles* 356; Zeus 363 778

*Associated with Tanit* 354

*In relation to Zeus* 353 ff.

— emeralds of 355 ff.

## Baral-Marqod

*Cult*: Deir el-Qal'ara 571<sub>2</sub>

*Epithets*: *Γενναῖος Dominus* 571, 571<sub>2</sub>

*Κύριος Περναῖος* 571<sub>1</sub>, 571<sub>2</sub> *Μαγικός* 554<sub>1</sub> 571<sub>2</sub>

*Function*: lord of the dance 570<sub>1</sub>

## Baral-Samin 191

*Cult*: Palmyra 191<sub>1</sub>

*Functions*: Lord of Heaven 191 sun-god 191 f. cp. 337<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with Zeus* 8

See also Beel-samen

## Baral-tair

*Identified with Herakles* 598 f. *Triptolemos* 227 Zeus 595 ff.

See also Sandas

Baral Zebub 533<sub>1</sub>

## Babylon

*Cult*: Adrasteia 262; *Iupiter Belus* 757<sub>1</sub> *Sarapis* 188<sub>1</sub> *Zeus Belus* 756<sub>1</sub>

— *ignus* at 262 ff.

## Bacchantes

*Associated with Dionysos* 565 f

*Type*: dancing 565

## Bacchic rites derived from Egypt (?) 437 f

## Bacchis See Bacis

## Bacchus

*Identified with Jehovah* 234<sub>1</sub>

## Bacis, the bull of Hermonthis 436 470 f. 754

*Functions*: solar 436 470 f. 635

*Attributes*: mountains of sunrise and sunset 437 438; plumes 437 solar disk 437 *uraeus* 437 438<sub>2</sub>

Ba-en-ptah 633<sub>1</sub>

## Bahām

*Function*: Mars the planet 746<sub>1</sub>

Baio, coin of 638<sub>1</sub>

## Bantokauke

*Cults*: Zeus *ἄγιος Οὐράνιος* 565<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Βαντοκαυκός* or *Βαντοκαυκός* 565<sub>2</sub>

Bakchai 667<sub>1</sub> 670<sub>2</sub>

*Rites*: omophagy of goats 665 f. of oxen 665

*Personated at Athens* 688 at Ephesos 657<sub>1</sub>

See also Maenads

Bakehoi 667<sub>1</sub>

## Bakehos See also Dionysos

*Typology*: 438

## Bakis

*Oracles*: 736

## Balmareodes See Baral-Marqod

## Balmarkodes See Baral-Marqod

## Balmarkoth See Baral-Marqod

Balor 321<sub>2</sub>

## Baluklaou

*Cults*: *Hermes Μεγίστος* 193<sub>1</sub> *Zeus (Helios)* 193<sub>1</sub>

## Bambyke 582 See also Hierapolis in Syria

## Ba-nel-Fettu

*Cult*: Mendes 346 f.

*Identified with Kneumu* 346 f.

## Barata 136

*Cults*: Erych 136; Zeus 136<sub>1</sub>

## Barbe, St

*Function*: St Elmos inc 775

## Bazyna

*Cult*: Zeus *Κισσαῖος* 20<sub>1</sub>

Barnabas 194<sub>1</sub>

## Bastienos, St, the younger 170

Bassariis 665<sub>1</sub>

## Bast

*Function*: sun 315<sub>1</sub> 315<sub>2</sub>

*Identified with eye of Rā* 315<sub>1</sub> of Tem 315<sub>2</sub>

Battos 319<sub>1</sub>

## Bauo

*Cult*: Patos 699<sub>1</sub>

## Bedi Basim 240

## Beel-samen

*Cult*: Phoinike 191

*Identified with Zeus* 191

## Bemat See Berytos

## Bel, house of Helios 337

## Belithophon

*Superseded by St Niketas (?)* 170

## Belos

*Genealogy*: f. of Danaos and Aegyptos 439 s. of Inachos 237<sub>1</sub> s. of Libya 439 s. of Poseidon 756<sub>1</sub>

*Function*: sky 756<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with Ammon, Apis, Kronos, Zeus* 756<sub>1</sub>

## Belos, king of Babylon

*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus, if not Zeus himself 756<sub>1</sub>

## Berytos

*Cults*: *Γενναῖος* 571<sub>2</sub> *Zeus Aegaeus* 74<sub>1</sub>

— coins of 571<sub>2</sub>

## Be-

*Cult*: Gaza 235 f

*Type*: grotesque face 235 f.

## Bethel

*Cult*: golden cult 581

Biaшке 415<sub>2</sub>

## Bianna

*Cult*: Biannos 623

*With*: disappears into the ground 623<sub>1</sub>

*Function*: earth-power 623

*Attribute*: lily (?) 623

## Bianno-

*Cults*: Ares 623, Bianna 623 *Zeus Berytos* 623, *Zeus Traianos* 623, Oros and Ephaltes 623<sub>1</sub>

— coins of 623

Biennos, one of the Kometes 623<sub>1</sub>

## Biennos, town in Crete See Biannos

Biennos, town in Gaul 623<sub>1</sub>



## Biris

*Cult*: Thera 143

## Brytos

*Cult*: Kabeiroi 328

— coin of 304

Bisaltis 418<sub>n</sub>

## Bithynia

*Cults*: Attis Παπας 39<sup>1</sup>, Zeus (?) 124

Zeus Παπας 399

## Bitias 448 See Biton

## Biton

*Myths*: 447 ff. 503<sub>1</sub>

## Blaundos

*Cult*: Zeus Σααῖος 400<sub>2</sub>

## Boghaz-Keri. Hittite rock-carvings at 87

599<sub>n</sub>, 603 604 f. 634 636

## Borotia, formerly called Aonia 539

*Cults*: Apollon 291 Apollon Θορᾶιος (?)

681<sub>4</sub> Demeter 17<sub>n</sub>, Dionysos 735 f.

Kabenoι 705, Zeus Ἐλαειος 132

Zeus Παπας 123

*Festival*: Daidala 726<sub>n</sub>

*Rite*: goat-dances (?) 704<sub>1</sub>

*Myths*: Antiope 735 ff. Lykourgos

735<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology*: 539 541

## Boiotos

*Genealogy*: s. of Poseidon and Arne

539

Bokchoris 431 f. 438<sub>1</sub>Bokchos, Bocellus 438<sub>1</sub>

## Bona Spes 714

## Bonus Eventus

*Cult*: Apulum 630<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with*: Iupiter Dolichenus

630<sub>1</sub>

Bootes 755<sub>1</sub>

## Boreas

*Epithet*: Σεπτεριος (?) 169

*Myths*: impregnates maie- 759<sub>1</sub>, pro-

duces males 759<sub>1</sub>

*Function*: procreative 759

## Bosphoros

*Cult*: Hera Ἀρπια 445<sub>1</sub>

*Myth*: Io 441

## Boucheis 635 See Bacis

Boukoia as dance-theme 679<sub>1</sub>

## Bounos 246

Bomphonia See Zeus *Rites*

## Bousaris 435

## Bouzyges 469

## Bran 239

## Branchidai

*Oracle*: 369<sub>1</sub>

## Brasai

*Myth*: Ixo nurses Dionysos in cave

674<sub>n</sub>

## Branouia 422

## Braneos

*Epithet*: ἀκαταχρητος 314<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: s. of Gaia and Ouranos

314

Britamartia 542<sub>1</sub>

## Britomartis

*Cults*: Chersonesos (?) in Crete 542

## Britomartis (cont.)

Crete 542<sub>1</sub>, Delos 542<sub>1</sub>, Dreros 729<sub>2</sub>

Olous 729

*Festival*: Britamartia 542<sub>1</sub>

*Rite*: temple entered with bare feet

542<sub>n</sub>

*Myths*: disappears in grove at Aigina

623<sub>n</sub>, Minos 521 527<sub>1</sub> 623<sub>n</sub>

*Function*: moon 543

*Etymology*: 542<sub>1</sub> 543<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: bay-wreath 729 hind 542

necklace 729 quiver 729

*Types*: Daidalos 542<sub>n</sub>, enthroned with

hind erect on hand 542

*Identified with*: Artemis 542 Diana

542<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with*: Minos 524 527<sub>1</sub> 541

543

*In relation to*: Artemis 527<sub>1</sub>, Dikte

541<sub>n</sub>, Dikynna 527<sub>1</sub> 542

Bromie 111<sub>n</sub>

Bronte, horse of Helios 337<sub>1</sub>

Brontes 303<sub>2</sub> 312<sub>1</sub> 314 317 f. 318<sub>1</sub>

## Brouzos

*Cult*: Demeter 229<sub>1</sub>

Brunhild 489<sub>4</sub>

Bruttu, coin of 764<sub>1</sub>

## Byblos

*Cults*: Men (?) 227 Triptolemos 227

## Byéiskála Cave 638 f.

## Byrsa

*Etymology*: 471<sub>4</sub>

## Byzantion

*Cults*: Dioskouroi 168 Poseidon 169

Helios 92 Selene 92

## Caeus

*Myth*: steals Geryones' oxen 482<sub>1</sub>

## Caelus

*Cult*: Rome 59

*Epithets*: Aeternus 59<sub>11</sub> Optimus Maxi-

mus 59<sub>11</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Iupiter 59 gt. of

Iupiter 59

*Types*: bust (?) 573<sub>1</sub> half-length with

arched mantle 59 ff. holding circle

of sky 62 seated on eagle with

sceptre and starry mantle (?) 754<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with*: Iupiter 59

*Associated with*: Iupiter 60

## Caerleon-on-Usk

*Cults*: Iuno 611<sub>1</sub>, Iupiter Dolichenus

611<sub>2</sub>

Caesar Augusta, coins of 638<sub>1</sub>

## Caesarea Iol

*Cult*: Baral-hammān (?) 374

Callirhoe (?) 453<sub>1</sub>

Cancer 66 235<sub>2</sub> 759<sub>2</sub> 760<sub>1</sub>

Canis 755<sub>n</sub>

## Capitolias

*Cult*: Iupiter 45 f.

Capra 720<sub>1</sub> 755<sub>1</sub>

Capricornus 755<sub>1</sub> 759<sub>2</sub>

Carmel, Mt 181 f.

*Cult*: St Elias 181<sub>1</sub>

## Carnuntum

- Cults*: Jupiter *Dolichenus* 612 ff. 626  
633<sub>1</sub> Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* 551.  
633<sub>1</sub> Nemesis 276 ff. Venus *Victrix*  
551<sub>1</sub>  
— shrine of Jupiter *Dolichenus* at  
612 ff.

## Carthage

- Cults*: Bara-hamman 369 354 Jupiter  
*Hammon Barbarus Silvanus* 353<sub>1</sub>  
Jupiter *Optimus Maximus Ammon*  
353<sub>1</sub> Kronos 722 Tanit 354  
*Rite*: human sacrifice 722  
*Etymology*: 471<sub>1</sub>

## Carioian. See Magna

## Ca-cantum, coins of 637.

## Ca-tores 774

## Cathonea 212

Cautes 516<sub>1</sub>

- Attribute*: raised torch 516<sub>1</sub>

Cautopates 516<sub>1</sub>

- Attribute*: lowered torch 516<sub>1</sub>

## Celts

- Cults*: Esus 482, ep. 533 Jupiter 288<sub>1</sub>  
482<sub>2</sub> Mercurius 482, Rosmerta (?)  
482, Taranis *Triguanus* 482, Vol-  
canus 482, ram-headed serpent  
480.

- Myths*: Otherworld-visit 239 243 f.  
303 one-eyed giant 321

- See also Gauls

Centaurus 755<sub>1</sub>Centennanus 314<sub>2</sub>

## Cepheus 755.

## Cereci. See Circei

## Cereem-, Mt. See Cuccus, Mt

## Ceres

- Function*: earth 393.  
*Attributes*: corn-ears 403, snake 403,  
torch 403.  
*Type*: enthroned 403.  
— snake-drawn chariot of 229<sub>2</sub>

## Chanoneia

- Cult*: Zeus 121

- Myth*: Kronos swallows stone 154

## Chaldaei 631

## Chaldei 631

## Chalke

- Cults*: Zeus and Hekate 141 f.

## Chalkidike

- Myth*: Kyklopes (?) 321<sub>1</sub>

## Chalkiope 416

## Chalkis in Euboea

- Cult*: Hera 163

- Myths*: Kometes 24, Kyklopes (?) 321<sub>1</sub>

## Chalkis sub Libano

- Cult*: Zeus (?) 521<sub>1</sub>

## Chalybe (?) See Alybe

## Chalybes 631 f. ep. 648

## Chaonia 363 f.

## Charadra in Argos

- Cult*: Demeter *Αἰβρεσσα* 158.

## Charisia 70;

## Charisai 70;

## Charisios 70;

## Charites

- Cult*: Thera 143

- Festivals*: Charisia 70 Charistisia 70

- Genealogy*: daughters of Zeus by Eu-  
rynome 155

## Charistisia 70

## Charon 165

- cave of 503

## Chenogastores 302 309 311 314 316 f

## Chenon

- Cult*: Thera 142

## Chersonesos in Crete

- Cults*: Buitomartis 542 Zeus (?) 542  
*Rite*: temple of Buitomartis entered  
with bare feet 542.

## Chinese gateways 768, legend 304

## Chion, d. of Paphlagon 342

## Chios

- Cult*: Apollon *Χαραϊος* 7, Dionysos  
*Χαραϊος* 676 Zeus *Αχαιο* 195 289<sub>1</sub>  
330 Zeus *Χαραϊος* 289<sub>1</sub>, 330 Zeus  
*Εκατος* 290<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Μελαχαιος* 290<sub>2</sub>  
Zeus *Ποσειδης* 290<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Ηεκαταίος*  
290<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Χαραϊος* (?) 7.  
— coins of 297<sub>2</sub> Sphinx of 537

## Chipsa

- Cult*: Hittites 526<sub>2</sub> 606 644

- Attributes*: festoon or flowery kirtle  
526<sub>2</sub> 606 644 winged arch 644

- Types*: standing on bull laid by  
1c sub 644 standing on erect bull  
644 standing on recumbent bull  
526<sub>2</sub> 606 644 1c sub 644

- prototype of Europe 526<sub>2</sub> 606  
644

Christus Pateris 166<sub>1</sub>Chrochaitus 289<sub>1</sub>Chrodo 289<sub>1</sub>

- Attributes*: basket of fruit and flowers  
289<sub>1</sub> fish 289<sub>1</sub> wheel 289<sub>1</sub>

## Chronos, horse of Helios 337

## Chryse 525 527.

Chrysippos 29, 29<sub>1</sub> 30;

## Chrysis (?) 447.

## Chrysopoleia 77.

## Chytos Lamen 310.

## Cicernus 362

## Cindari

- Cult*: bronze bull 639

## Cinecan Plain

- Rites*: 533. See Kolchis *Rites*

## Cineci 244

## Cinecus, Mt 244

## Cinecus. See Talos

## Cineis (?) personified 260

City Dionysia 666 681 ff. 692<sub>1</sub> 733

## Civa

- Cult*: India 637

- Attribute*: bull 637

## Clara, St

- Function*: St Elmo's fire 775

## Claudia Selenia

- Cult*: Demeter 229.

## Clausius in guise of Triptolemos 228

## Cltor. See Kletor

- Clusium, Labyrinth at 483<sub>1,2</sub>  
 Commodus as Jupiter 276 276;  
   *Cult*: Ianiculum (?) 551<sub>11</sub>  
   *Associated with Jupiter Helopolitanus*  
     551<sub>11</sub>  
 Comma 239  
 Comphiano, gold tablets from 675 ff.  
 Corinth  
   *Cults*: Aphrodite 292 Athena ΕΝΑΩΤΙΣ  
     525 Helios 292 Hera 246 Hera  
     Aspata 445<sub>10</sub> Hera Bazaia 246<sub>1</sub>  
     Mother of the gods 14<sub>1</sub> Sisyphos  
     639 f.  
   *Festival*: Hellotia 525  
   *Myths*: Hellotis 525 Medeia 245 ff.  
     Sisyphos 246  
     — kings of, personate Zeus (?)  
     247 f. palace of Kiron at 296<sub>1</sub>  
     tomb of Laios at 429<sub>1</sub>  
 Cormac 239  
 Corona 492 755<sub>1</sub>  
 Corvus 755<sub>2</sub>  
 Crater 755<sub>2</sub>  
 Crete formerly called Astenia 543,  
   *Cults*: Artemis ΒΑΥΘΑΡΤΙΣ 542<sub>1</sub> Bel-  
     leophon (?) 170 Britomartis 542;  
     Diana 542 double ax 660 Eilei-  
     thia 175; Europa 525 525<sub>2</sub> Kory-  
     mbantes 650; Konietes 650; Orphic  
     Zeus 647 ff. 654 Rhea 148<sub>2</sub> 695  
     Zagreus 442, ep. 457 644 ff. 695  
     Zeus 58 157 ff. 181<sub>10</sub> 401 ff. 655<sub>2</sub>  
     Zeus Ἀστέριος 665<sub>10</sub> Zeus Ἰδαῖος  
     558<sub>1</sub> 663 ff. Zeus Κρηταγενής 149<sub>1</sub>  
     Zeus Ταυαῖος 728 f.  
   *Festival*: Hellotia 525  
   *Rites*: bull-fights 497 ff. bovine omo-  
     phagy 695  
   *Myths*: Amaltheia 501 f. Amaltheia  
     hangs cradle of Zeus on a tree  
     530<sub>10</sub> ep. 534 birth of Zeus 650<sub>2</sub>  
     bull 464 ff. Europa 733 Glaucos  
     469 ff. golden bound 720 Helike  
     548 Minos 464 ff. Minotaur 464 ff.  
     Pasiphae 464 ff. Talos 719 ff. Zeus  
     a prince slain by wild boar and  
     buried in Crete 645 652 663<sub>2</sub>  
     — day called Zeus in 15 dialect of  
     15 population of 15 tomb of  
     Zeus 157 ff. *tristichos* from (?) 307  
 Crumma 418<sub>10</sub>  
 Cuchulain 239  
 Cupido  
   *Metamorphosed into fish* 584<sub>10</sub>  
   *Types*: with lance and shield 628 riding  
     on goat 354 713 713<sub>2</sub> on ram 354  
 Cydonians in Crete 15  
 Cygnus 755<sub>10</sub>  
 Cynania 212  
 Cynthia 757  
 Cyprian 110  
 Cypriote word for 'time' 16  
 Daena d. of Okeanos 212  
   *Associated with Hermes* 212  
 Dagon  
   *Cult*: Philistines 238<sub>1</sub>  
   *Epithet*: Σίρων 238<sub>10</sub>  
   *Identified with Zeus Ἀπόρπιος* 238<sub>10</sub>  
 Daidalhon  
   *Myth*: 241 312 344  
   *Metamorphosed into hawk* 312 725<sub>2</sub>  
   *Genealogy*: s. of Lucifer 342<sub>1</sub>  
   *Etymology*: 342  
   *Compared with Talos* 342 f. 725<sub>2</sub>  
 Daidalos  
   *Myth*: 464 ff. buries Ikaros 727;  
     Labyrinth 343 490<sub>1</sub> 496 makes  
     dancing-ground at Knossos for  
     Anadine 481 works at Chersonesos  
     542<sub>10</sub>  
   *Genealogy*: uncle of Talos 342 f. b. of  
     Talos mother 725  
   — as dance-theme 481  
 Daimon 663<sub>2</sub> 680<sub>1</sub>  
 Daktyloi  
   *Cult*: Mt Ide in Crete 646  
 Dalmatians (?)  
   *Cult*: Sol Jupiter 191<sub>10</sub>  
 Damarchos 72 f.  
 Damianos, St 168 f.  
 Damoia  
   *Cult*: Sparta 730  
   *Function*: fertility 730  
   *Associated with Auxesia and Zeus* 730  
 Dan  
   *Cult*: golden calf 581  
 Danaans 363  
 Danae  
   *Myth*: 414  
 Danaides 200 225<sub>1</sub> 341 f. 371<sub>1</sub> 438  
 Danaos  
   *Myths*: daughters of Danaos flee from  
     sons of Aegyptos 438 founds  
     precinct of Zeus Αἰαων 371<sub>1</sub>  
   *Genealogy*: twin of Aegyptos 341 s. of  
     Belos 439  
   — throne of 139  
 Daphne 522  
   *Epithet*: Πασφάα (?) 522  
   *Myth*: Apollon 522  
   *Identified with Pasiphae (?)* 522  
 Dardanians 362  
 Daskyleion 745<sub>1</sub>  
 Daunia  
   *Cults*: Kalchas 407<sub>1</sub> Podalkinos 407<sub>1</sub>  
 David  
   *Etymology*: 553;  
 Dea Dia 4  
 Deioneus  
   *Genealogy*: f. of Kephalos 345<sub>1</sub>  
 Dematuros  
   *Cult*: Stympheai 681<sub>1</sub> 779<sub>10</sub>  
   *Etymology*: 681<sub>1</sub>  
 Demphobos 74<sub>10</sub>  
 Den-el-Leben  
   *Cult*: Zeus Ἀνίητος Ἡλῆος θεός Αἰῶος  
     193<sub>1</sub>  
 Deir el-Qalaa  
   *Cult*: Bar'ai Marqod 571<sub>2</sub>



## Deo

*Epithet* Βριου 394

*Rites*: *εὐχὴ τῶν παστῶν* *εἰσεὶν* 650.

*Prostates*: human *ἀνέστειται* 443.

*Myth*: consorts with Zeus 393 f.

*Genealogy*: m. of Kore on Pherephatta 394 w. of Zeus 393 f.

See also Demeter

## Deorgone 239

## Derkeo

*Cults*: Askalon 581. Hierapolis in Syria 582 ff.

*Etymology*: 582

*Type*: with face of woman and body of fish 583.

See also Ataratis

## Deriones 406

## Despoma

*Epithets*: *ἀντιλή* 7 650 *ἡγεμένη* 650.

*Rite*: *Δεσπόμενος* *ἑρμῆος* *ἀπὸ τῆς* *ἡγεμένης* *ἀντιλή* 650.

## Dekalion of Kroisos 653

## Dekalion

*Myths*: escape from it of 117 Hierapolis in Syria 584, 591. standard at Hierapolis in Syria 583.

## Dia, an island off N. coast of Cete 165

## Dia, w. of Ixion 198

## Dia, festival in Ege 422, 733

## Diana

*Cults*: Aeneas 282, 282. Cete 542. Nemus 273 ff. See also Dianaeus

*Epithets*: *Nemosis* *Arctura* 275 f. *Nemosis* 275 ff., 278-281 ff.

*Rites*: apple-branches 274. cakes on green hay 274. oak 274. downy-rod 282. kid 274. poppies wreathed 274. torches 274. weapons laid aside 274.

*Proct*: 282 f.

*Functions*: beasts 273 f., epithets 274. trees 273 f. woodland 273 ff.

*Attributes*: apple-branch 275. hands 274. stags 275.

*Lupae*: for 282. standing with apple-branch, bowl of apples, and stag 274.

*Identified with* *Batomartus* 542. *Nemesis* 275 f. *Polykasta* 728.

*Associated with* *Nemesis* 276 ff. *Silvanus* 275.

## Dianaeus 283

## Dias, a rock off coast of Kerkira 165

## Diasia

*Etymology*: 423, 733

## Dido

*Etymology*: 553

## Didyma

*Cult*: Apollon 483 ff.

--- Labyrinth at 483.

## Disputer 101 64; 393, 779.

## Dipoleia. See Dupoleia

## Dipolia. See Dupoleia

## Dupoleia

*Etymology*: 681 f.

## Disotena

*Etymology*: 681.

## Dike 252.

*Genealogy*: d. of Zeus by Themis 755 ff.

*Functions*: *Virgo* 755 ff.

## Dikte, Mt

*Cult*: Zeus 15, 161 652.

*Myths*: *Diktyuna* 527, ep. 541 birth of Zeus 149 653 Zeus carries off Europe to 157 Zeus reared for a year in a cave 647 Zeus slain by boar (?) 652 Zeus suckled by sow 653.

--- the Dictaeon Cave on 150, tomb of Zeus on 157 Zeus born on 151.

## Dikte, eponym of Mt Dikte

*Associated to* *Batomartus* 541.

## Diktou, Mt 541 647. See also Dikte, Mt

## Diktyuna

*Cults*: Mt *Diktyunaion* 541, Mt *Tityros* 534, 541.

*Epithets*: *Βατομαρτίς* (?) 542, *καλὴ* 542, *οὐραία* 541, 542, *παῖς* 542, *Σεβαστή* 555, 542, *τῆς ἀντιλάης* *ἐκείνη* 542.

*Myth*: *Minos* 524 527.

*Genealogy*: d. of *Leto* 542.

*Functions*: huntress 542, lunar 524 (?) 543 mountain-mother 541.

*Etymology*: 541 543.

*Attributes*: bow 542, hound 542, puppae 542.

*Lupae*: seated on rocks nursing infant Zeus 541.

*Identified with* *Artemis* 542.

*Associated to* *Artemis* 524 542.

*Associated with* *Kometes* 541 *Minos* 524 541 543.

*In relation to* *Batomartus* 527, 542.

## Diktyunaion, Mt

*Cult*: *Diktyuna* 541.

## Diktys 541.

## Diogenes of Apollonia 31

## Dioles or Diokles 211

## Diomede

*Cult*: *Salmus* in *Kypros* 659.

*Rite*: *hagan* sacrifices? 659.

## Dion, promontory in Cete 165

## Dion, town in Cete 165

## Dion in Dekalios

*Cults*: *Adad* 572, 590 *Iapetus Heliosporcius* 572, Zeus *Ἀδων* 572, Zeus (*Ἀδων*) 590.

## Dion in Eubolia 123.

## Dion in Makedonia 102

*Cult*: Zeus 102.

## Dione 670.

*Associated with* Zeus *Nesos* 370.

## Dionysia 421, 669.

See also City Dionysia, Rural Dionysia

## Dionysios, St 103 113 171 f.

## Dionysios 170

## Dionysion, a variety of 457



*Dionysos (cont.)*

*Functions* bovine 441 chthonian 398  
 647 fertility 704 f. god of animal  
 and vegetable life 780 hunter 651<sub>1</sub>  
 as rebirth of Zeus 398 f. 399 617  
 673 711 713 ff. the second self of  
 Zeus 780 vegetation 680<sub>1</sub> year (?)  
 680

*Ethnology* 400<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes* bull 457 f. 463 (?) 502 f.  
 506<sub>2</sub> 715 blue *nyctebus* 41<sub>1</sub> bunch  
 of grapes 374 502 calf 715 *cornu  
 caprae* (?) 503<sub>1</sub> cows 441 f. cup  
 375<sub>2</sub> double axe 216 flat eike 671  
 goat 502 674 ff. 705 ff. 779<sub>2</sub> horn  
 503<sub>1</sub> horns 107<sub>1</sub> ivy-puzzles 671 ivy-  
 wreath 374 *kántharos* 214 216 374  
 kid 674 ff. *kitharion* 709 lyre 375<sub>1</sub>  
*núthos* 657<sub>1</sub> panther-skin 709  
 pillar 375 (?) 671 672<sub>1</sub> ram 429<sub>1</sub>  
*thýrsos* 502 655 vine 505 709 vine-  
 branches 214 vine-wreath 374  
 wreath of vine or ivy 655

*Types* arrival in Attika 709 ff. bearded  
 mask on pillar 671 672<sub>1</sub> bovine  
 horns (?) 374 as bull (?) 549<sub>2</sub> bust  
 of child with head of calf attached  
 715 as double axe (?) 659 f. educa-  
 tion 659<sub>2</sub> effeminate (?) 599<sub>1</sub> en-  
 thronement in theatre 710 f. herm  
 374 horned 373 ff. 399<sub>1</sub> horned in-  
 fant 695 infancy 708 ff. infant  
 earned by Hermes 708 f. by  
 Maenad 671 by Semele 670 infant  
 guarded by Kouretes 709 infant  
 riding on goat 713 infant seated on  
 pantheress 566 infant seated on  
 throne with Kouretes round him  
 646 f. lead figures 770<sub>2</sub> marriage  
 with Bacchura 709 ff. ram's horns  
 373 ff. resembles Hephaistos 216<sub>1</sub>  
 resembles Triptolemos 214 ff. 231  
 suckled by Nymph 765 surrounded  
 by Kouretes 154 on wheeled seat  
 214 ff. 231 *canon* 684<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with* Hades 667<sub>1</sub> Helios 292  
 Herakles 346, Jehovah 214<sub>1</sub> Kabir-  
 ios 107 f. younger Kabirios 112  
 Osiris 376<sub>1</sub> 437 Sabazios 399<sub>2</sub> Zeus  
 112<sub>1</sub> Zeus, Hades, Helios 187<sub>1</sub> 234<sub>1</sub>  
 Zeus, Helios 187<sub>10</sub>

*Associated with* Ariadne 566 Bac-  
 chants 565 f. Demeter and Kore  
 692 Maenads 503<sub>1</sub> 565<sub>1</sub> Muses  
 111<sub>1</sub> Pan 565 Satyrs 565 Silenoi  
 503<sub>1</sub> Zeus 566 Zeus *Adaios* 564 ff.

*Compared with* Vediovis 711 ff.

*In relation to* Zeus 373 ff. 401 428  
 429 706 ff. 780

*Superseded by* St Dionysios 113 (?) 171 f.  
 --- Attic festivals of 680 ff. concep-  
 tion of 681 f. 683 f. 686 ff. 786 ep.  
 693 733 education of 659<sub>2</sub> mask of  
 671 mysteries of 441 f. 457 tending  
 of 672 688 f. survivals of, in

*Dionysos (cont.)*

northern Greece 420<sub>1</sub> 694 temple  
 of, *ér Aiovas* 684 as king of Asia  
 112<sub>1</sub> as king of Egypt 368 M.  
 Antonius greeted as, at Ephesos  
 657<sub>1</sub>

*Dio-Pan* 603

*Cult* Kaisareia Paneas 603<sub>1</sub>

*Epithet* *φαινηχος* 603<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with* Echo (?) 603<sub>1</sub>

*Dios (?)* 42

*Dios Cronai* 535<sub>1</sub>

*Dioskouroi*

*Cults* Byzantion 168 Eturia 766 ff.  
 Enxino 306<sub>1</sub> I-tios 306<sub>1</sub> Rhosos-  
 590 Sparta 766<sub>1</sub> Tarentum (?) 35<sub>1</sub>  
 Thebes in Boeotia 739

*Epithets* ἀγασθῶ 764 εἰσεῖς ἀνέμων  
 πνευμονες Διόδωρ πρὸς 764<sub>1</sub> Λακε-  
 δαιμονιοὶ ἀστερες 766<sub>1</sub> λειοσπῶν  
 763<sub>1</sub> ep. 764<sub>1</sub> lucida sidera 766<sub>1</sub>  
 οἱ φλογεῖν αἰθέρ' ἐν αστροῖς ; ραι-  
 οῖσι 764 οὐρανιοὶ 764 σωτῆρες 764  
 τινας σωτῆρας εἰσώρτες 764 Τυδαιπ-  
 δαι 763 766<sub>1</sub>

*Rite* sacrifice of white lambs 763

*Personated by* Ari-tomenes and a friend  
 764<sub>1</sub>

*Myths* accompany Iason (?) 250 birth  
 from egg 763<sub>1</sub> Leda 279<sub>1</sub> Nemesis  
 279<sub>1</sub> rape of Leukipides by sons  
 of Aphareus and Dioskouroi 738<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy* sons of Tyndareos 279 f.  
 sons of Zeus by Leda 763<sub>1</sub> by  
 Nemesis 279

*Functions* calm the sea 763 f. 772 f.  
 day and night (?) 771 morning-star  
 and evening-star (?) 771 portend  
 victory in sea-fight 761 f. presage  
 of storm, tumult, etc. 773 f. send  
 favourable wind 763 764<sub>1</sub> any stars  
 shining through rift in storm (?)  
 771 sun and moon (?) 771

*Attributes* amphora 766<sub>1</sub> ep. 770  
*bikēlon* 221 caps with stars 590  
 chariot 763 *epipi* 770 horses 392<sub>1</sub>  
 lances 35<sub>1</sub> ep. 764<sub>1</sub> *puloi* 250 763<sub>1</sub>  
 sheathed swords 764<sub>1</sub> shields 766  
 stars 221 250 762 762<sub>1</sub> (?) 764 ff.  
 thunderbolt (?) 770 white horses  
 763<sub>1</sub> 764<sub>1</sub> invincible-wreaths 221

*Types* accompanied by stars 221 250  
 766 ff. as bird (?) 763 *dikana*  
 766 ff. diving in chariot drawn  
 by horses 763 influenced by that  
 of Kouretes (?) 768<sub>1</sub> on vases 219  
 221 250 252 721 standing on  
 either side of Helene (?) 769 stars  
 760 ff. 761 ff. 766<sub>1</sub> 772<sub>1</sub> with stars  
 on their heads 35<sub>1</sub> 762 (?) 762<sub>1</sub> (?)  
 764 ff. two young male heads in  
 juxtaposition 306<sub>1</sub> (?) two youths  
 facing each other with pillar or  
 tree between, their heads connected  
 by pediment 768 ff. and united by





Egypt (*cont.*)

invaded by Mediterranean peoples  
392 f. Zeus, king of 370<sub>1</sub>

Egyptians, solar disk over sacred door-  
ways of 205 f. 293

## Ekablos 170

## Elekthya

*Cults*: Athens 175. Crete 175. Phile-  
ron 112

*Superseded by* St. Eleutheros 173 f.  
175<sub>1</sub>

## Eleonius 198 f.

## Eleos Gamoi 535.

## Elione

*Cults*: Athens 670 709<sub>1</sub>

*Epithets*: *Ζωειάδων* 670<sub>2</sub> *παιτισσά-  
τωρα* 670<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy* in or Dionysos (?) 670<sub>2</sub>

*Image* carrying infant Phantos 670

*Associated with* Hestia 709<sub>1</sub>

## E Ku 580

## El

*In relation to the Phoenician Kronos*  
722

## Elazabalos

*Cult*: Emesa 520<sub>2</sub> 604

*Priest* 607

*Functions*: solar 520<sub>2</sub> 604 607

*Identified with* Iupiter 520<sub>2</sub> Zeus 520<sub>2</sub>  
stone of 520<sub>2</sub> 604

## Elam 580

## Elai

*Associated with* Zeus 156<sub>2</sub>

## Elektra

*Myth*: Orestes and Agasthos 39

## Elektra, the Pleias

*Associated with* Zeus 755<sub>1</sub>

Elephantine 233<sub>1</sub>

*Cult*: Khroum 346 347, 387

## Eleusmia 123 ff. 127

## Eleusnius 212

## Eleusis, f. of Triptolemos 211

## Eleusis

*Cults*: Demeter 173<sub>1</sub> 229, (c) 397<sub>1</sub> 669,  
Dionysos 669 Iakchos 692 Kore  
397<sub>1</sub> 669 Phobos 669, Triptolemos  
211 ff.

*Festivals*: Dionysia 669 Haloia 693  
June 21 338

*Rites*: Corn maiden's 397<sub>1</sub> corn-  
mother's 397<sub>1</sub> *επερχο Διονυσία και  
Κορη και Ηλεκτρον* 669 *Ελευσινια  
μυστήρια* 669 Greater Mysteries 692  
Midsummer fire 338 *πληροσση* 124  
*postomata* 338 *συνωσάδα* 198.

*Myths*: imitation of Herakles 219 ff.  
125 ff. Triptolemos 211 f.

— *Anaktoron* at 260, mysteries at  
219 ff. 609 sacred drama at 218  
*Telestikon* at 218 221 wall paint-  
ing from 2.

## Eleusis, hero

*Genealogy*: s. of Hermes by Daira  
212

## Eleusius 212

## Eleutherai 67 689.

*Cult*: Dionysos 682 684<sub>1</sub>

*Myth*: Antiope 737

## Eleutheros, St 173 f.

*Supersedes* Elekthya 175<sub>1</sub>

## Eleuthropolis

*Cults*: Adad 572<sub>1</sub> 590<sub>1</sub> Iupiter *Helio-  
potation* 572<sub>1</sub> 590<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Αἰάδων*  
572<sub>1</sub> 590<sub>1</sub>

## Elias, St

*Cults*: Mt. Carmel 181, Kastellorizo  
182 f. Mt. Lykoon 81 Neokaisarea  
641 Mt. Olympus 103 Mt. Taygeton  
180

*Epithets*: Day 184 f. Wet 184 f.

*Festivals*: June 20 641 July 20 180  
185<sub>1</sub> rain-charm 182 f. summer  
solstice 641

*Functions*: celestial brightness 182  
rectitude 186 hail 186 mountain-  
power 177 ff. 777 rain 181 f. thunder  
183 ff.

*Attributes*: arrows 184 chariot 183 f.  
lance 184 raven 182<sub>2</sub> wheel 182<sub>1</sub>

*Eppe*: translation 40 179 f.

*Supersedes* Donar or Thor 185 Helios (?)  
178 ff. Odysseus 170 f. Perun or  
Perkun 185 Zeus 163 ff. 177 ff.  
777

## Elijah 181 f. See also Elias

## Elys

*Cults*: Helios 155, Hera 624 Selene  
155, Sosipolis 58

— coins of 624 *phalara* from 336

## Elil. See En-il

## Elmo, St

*Etymology* 775

— *me* of 771 f. 774 f. identified  
with *stats* of Proskouron and Helene  
771 ff. variants of 774<sub>1</sub>

## Embaios

*Myth* 711<sub>1</sub>

## Emesa

*Cult*: stone of Elazabalos 520<sub>2</sub> 604

Empedokles 31 f. 311 462 578 623 f. 687,  
783

## Enalos 170

## Euchemogastores 309 f. 319

## Engastrochones 309 f.

Engonasm 755<sub>1</sub>

## En-il

*Cult*: Nippur 580 756

*Epithets*: *El* 756 Connellon 580  
created in the mountains 580  
crouching like a bull 580 endowed  
with strength 580 rather 580 full  
of splendour 580 great creator and  
sustainer of life 580 Great Moun-  
tain 580 lord of the grain fields  
580 lord of the harvest lands 580  
powerful chief of the gods 580  
ruler of great strength 580 sturdy  
bull 580

*Functions*: fertility 580 mountain-god  
580 storm god 580 635 sun-god 580

En-lil (*cont.*)

*Etymology* 580

*Attribute* bulls 580 f. 635

*Types* crouching bull with human face (?) 580 bull with glittering horns 580

*Associated with* Nin-lil 580

*In relation to* Ninib 580

Enna 623<sub>8</sub>

Eos See Heos

Eous, horse of Helios 337

Epakria

*Cult* Zeus 'Αρδαίος 75

Epaphos

*Myth*: Antiope 737, born in Euboea 462

*Genealogy* s. of Io 462 s. of Zeus by Io 438 ff. s. of Zeus 633

*Etymology* 438<sub>10</sub>, 439

*In relation to* Apis 438 633

Epeiros, carnival-plays in 694 folk-tale from 343, 412 ff.

Epeios

*Cult*: Artemis 172, Artemis Ἐπειώ 443 Artemis Πρωτοπόρις 141 Dionysos Μεταίχιος 657<sub>1</sub> Dionysos Νεμεός 657<sub>1</sub> Kometes 649; Leto 649 Poseidon 442 Zeus 134

*Rites* human ταύροι 442 ταυροσφία 442

— coins of 134 538.

Ephialtes

*Myth* Ares 623<sub>8</sub>

Epidaurios, tholos at 476<sub>1</sub>

Epiktesis 535 ff.

*Personated by* woman of same name 537

*Type*, seated beneath tree 535 ff.

*Associated with* Euthenia and Telete 535 ff.

Epikania 669

Epimeneides on the Cretan Zeus 157, 548, (?) 663 ff.

Epimetheus 329<sub>1</sub>

Epopeus

*Personates* Zeus (?) 247 737

*Myth*: Antiope 737 f.

*Etymology* 737

*Genealogy* s. of Aloos 246 737 f. d. d. Marathon 246 247

Eqnos 755. See also Hippios

Erasmio, St

*Function* patron of manners 775

*In relation to* St Elmo (?) 775

Erato, Nymph of Dodona 111

Erechtheion (?) 324 475<sub>1</sub>

Erechtheus

*Cult*, Athens 717

*Rite* sacrifice of bulls and rams 717

Eretia

*Cult* Hera (?) 463

— coins of (?) 463

Eigotimos 481, 496

Eridanos 419

Engone 709

Eniayes 202, (?)

*Cult* Thera 143

Eniys 200 202 203, (?) 252.

*Attributes* sword 250 torch 250

*Type* numbus 250

Enepis 537

Eniphe 674<sub>8</sub>

Enipina 111.

Enis

*Function* enemy 31

Eios

*Myth* Platonic 310 f.

*Attributes* ignis 258 torch 710

*Type* s. crossing sea 200, on goat 354

Praxiteles 710 on ram 354 in quadriga 200.

*Associated with* Aphrodite 38 f. 450.

Eietes, two 354 506 547 564

*Types* fighting on goat-back 713

swain-bearing 564 vintaging 565

Eiðthera 410

Eiðthraeus, horse of Helios 347

Eiðthrai

*Cult*: Athena Εἰθρα 350, Demeter 229, Zeus Εἰθρα 350.

Eiðthros 416

Esimai

*Attributes* pillar 354 serpents 354 360

Etiis

*Cult* Celts 482

*Attribute* axe 482

Eteima 305

Eteo-Cretans in Crete 15 at Phai-stos 660

Eteima 248

*Cult*: Dionysos 107 f. Dios-kouroi 766 ff. Hades 99 Tima 53 622 f.

*Myth* Kyklops 312

— boundary-stones of 53 golden or purple ram of 401 *trachallos* of 53<sub>1</sub> grave-stone of 53

Eteimn 318

Eteimnos 260

Eteimnos 87

Eubolia

*Cult*: Hera 463 Zeus Ηερακλος 117 124

*Epithet* ἀργεός 462

*Myths* Argos and Io 462 birth of Epaphos 462 Io 739 Kyklops 310 310, 324<sub>1</sub> Phorky- 324<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology* 462

Eubolia, d. of Asteroion 447

Eubolia, Mt 447

Euboulus 212 221 (?)

*Genealogy* s. of Dysaulos 212 b. of Triptolemos 212 s. of Trochilos by an Eleusinian wife 212

See also Zeus, *Epithets* Εὐβούλιος

Euenos

*Compared with* Polyphemos 411

Euthemeros, account of Zeus given by 662 ep. 758

Eumelos, king of Patrai 74, 227

*Associated with* Triptolemos 74, 227

- Eumolpos** 211 220 f. (?)  
*Rite: cressidne* 339.
- Euphemos** 350.
- Euphrates**, egg found in 584.
- Euponia**  
*Cult: Prianeus* 442  
*Epithet: Βεῖλλα* 442
- Euripides** on Zeus 32 f. *Incubate* of, imitated in the *Coristas Patrons* 166.
- Europe**  
*Cults: Cete* 525 527. *Dodona* (?) 524. *Gortyna* 401. *Phaistos* 660 f. *Sidon* 538.  
*Epithets: ΕΛΛΩ-ς* 339. 525 614 *Φοινικώγενης* 618. *Τόρα* (?) 618.  
*Festival: Hellotia* 525.  
*Rite: big wreath* 525 614.  
*Myths: Asterion* or *Asterios* or *Asteros* 546 f. carried off to Cete by Zeus as a bull 538 f. 544 *Gortyna* 543 influenced by that of *Pasiphae* (?) 527, older form (?) 527a. *Phoinike* 538. *Falos* 719 *Thebes* in *Boetia* 740 washes in miraculous brook 545. *Zeus* 472 524 ff. 644 733 740.  
*Metamorphosed into cow* (?) 540 541 740.  
*Genealogy: d. of Agenor* 538 d. of *Argiope* 537 m. of *Dodon* or *Dodono* by Zeus 524 st. of *Kadmōs* 538 539 m. of *Karnos* by Zeus 551. m. of *Minos*, *Sarpedon*, *Rhadamanthys* by Zeus 464 m. of *Minos* by Zeus 467 d. of *Phoinix* 525 527. 539 648 d. of *Telephassa* 537.  
*Functions: earth* 401- 524 ff. *funereal* (?) 525 *huntress* 538 *lunar* 524 (?) 537 ff. 541 544 f. 733 f. 739 *vegetation* 251 ff. *willow* (?) 530.  
*Epithology: 531 537.*  
*Attribute: basket* 441 530 f.  
*Types: as the Argive Hera* 532 on bull crossing sea 471 499 547 on bull escorted by *Erios* and *Loom* 506 grasping horn of bull 526 greeting the bull 660 f. holding flower 526 riding on bull 526 531 537 644.  
*Assimilated to Astarte* 524.  
*Identified with Astarte* 533.  
*Associated with Zeus* 155 351. 401. 524 ff. 544 644 660 f. 733 f. 739 770 780.  
*Compared with Antiope* 736 f.  
 — horns of 525 garland of 525 as dance-theme 481 495.
- Europa** 531
- Euryelousa**  
*Genealogy: d. of Achelotos* 533. d. of *Kletor* 533. m. of *Myrmidon* by Zeus 533.  
*Associated with Zeus* 533.
- Eurynome**, the Bassaid 665.
- Eurynome**, the Oceanid 155  
*Associated with Zeus* 155
- Euryopa**  
*Cult: Dodona* (?) 524.
- Euryphaessa**  
*Genealogy: m. of Helios* 444. 537.  
*Etymology: 537.*
- Eurytheus** 406 f. (?)  
*Myth: Cretan bull* 467
- Eurytion** 504. (?)
- Eurytionē** 525.
- Eurytos** 117
- Euthenia** 535 ff.  
*Epithet: Σεβαστή* 535.  
*Associated with Telete and Epiktesis* 535 ff.
- Euxine**  
*Cult: Dioskouroi* 306.
- Eyak**, Hittite sculpture- at 636 639 641
- Fame** 229.
- Fata**  
*Epithet: Scribunda* 268.
- Fatum**  
*Attribute: wheel* 268.
- Fausma** the elder, consecratio of 62
- Fors Fortuna** 272  
*Cult: Rome* 285  
*Festival: June* 24 285
- Fortuna**  
*Cults: Netherby* (?) 611. *Ostia* 272. 11. *Piaceneste* 272 *Rome* 272  
*Epithets: Barbata* 272 *Mammosa* 272 *Muliebris* 272 *Primigenia* 272 *Redda* 268 *Sancta* 272. 11. *Virginialis* 272 *Virgo* 272 *Virilis* 272 *Vrsata* 272  
*Functions: destiny* 271 *earth* 271 *fertility* 272 *generation* 271 *latunes* 272 *luck* 271 *vegetation* 271  
*Etymology: 272.*  
*Attributes: corn copate* 268 268. 272 *modius* 272 *moder* 268 268. *wheat-ears* 272 *wheel* 268 268. 271  
*Types: enthroned* 268 *nanny-breasted* (?) 272. *standing* 268.  
*Associated with Mater Matuta* 272  
*In relation to Nemesis* 271.  
 — on coins 268
- Fortunae**  
*Cult: Antium* 552
- Frya** 489.
- Furina**, grove of 551
- Gabala**  
*Cults: Adad* 590 *Zeus* ( *Adados* ) 590
- Gabriel** 233
- Gaia**  
*Cult: Dodona* 524.  
*Epithet: πελαγονία* ( *χθον* ) 541  
*Rites: cow sacrificed* 541  
*Genealogy: m. of Garamas* 366 f. 370 of *Iarbas* (?) 366. of *iron* (?) 631 of *Kottos*, *Briareos*, *Gyes* 314 of *Kyklopes* 314 of *silver* (?) 631  
*Function: fertility* 524.

## Gaia (cont.)

*Attributes*: corn-ears 752 *cornu copiae*  
752 f.

*Associated with* Anthei 26; Zeus 129

*Differentiated into* Demeter and Kore  
396 f.

*In relation to* Ouranos 81 Zeus 81

See also Ge

Galathea 243

Galathea 321<sub>1</sub>

Galathea, w. of Polyphemos 321<sub>1</sub>

Galates, eponym of Galatia

*Genealogy*: s. of Kyklops and Galatia  
(Galathea) 321<sub>1</sub>

Galatia 321<sub>1</sub>

*Cults*: Zeus 124 155

Galatia, w. of Kyklops 321<sub>1</sub>

Galaxia 676 676;

Gallioi 394<sub>2</sub>

Gaunymedes

*Myths*: Minos 527<sub>1</sub> Zeus 408 527<sub>1</sub> 755<sub>10</sub>

Garamas, named Amphithemis 366

*Genealogy*: s. of Apollon by Akakallis  
366

Garamantes 366

*Cult.*: Zeus *Ἀρουων* 366<sub>1</sub>

Garatius

*Genealogy*: s. of Gaia 366 f.

Garganus 482<sub>0</sub>

Gargarus 156

Gasterochenes 309

Gauls

*Cult.*: three-horned bull 639

See also Celts

Gawan 243

Gaza

*Cults*: Aphrodite 149<sub>1</sub> Apollon 149<sub>1</sub>

Bes 235 f. Hadran (?) 232<sub>1</sub> Hekate

149<sub>1</sub> Helios 149<sub>1</sub> Heros (?) 149<sub>1</sub> Io

236 Kore 149<sub>1</sub> Mainas 149<sub>1</sub> 167,

478 Tyche 149<sub>1</sub> 236; Zeus 233 (?)

Zeus *Κρηταίος* 149<sub>1</sub> 478 478<sub>1</sub>

Zeus *Κρηταίος* 149<sub>1</sub>

*Myths*: Io (?) 236 f. Minos 235 Triptolemos (?) 236 f.

— coins of 232 ff. (?) 478

Gargarus 117

Ge

*Cults*: Dodona 370 Drieros 729<sub>2</sub> Mykonos 668<sub>1</sub> Thera 113

*Epithets*: *πύρρα* 617;

*Festivals*: Genesis 123; Nekysia 123<sub>2</sub>

*Rite*: sacrifice of black yearling  
668 f.

*Myths*: Argos 440; provides grass for  
Isis 462 saves Nyktimos by sup-  
plicating Zeus 79<sub>10</sub> ep. 79<sub>12</sub> parent  
of female rex 310

*Genealogy*: m. of Adanos by Ouranos  
597<sub>1</sub> of Anax 544<sub>0</sub> of Argos 439  
of Echidna by Tartaros 45 of  
Iapetos by Ouranos 597<sub>1</sub> of Kronos  
by Ouranos 597<sub>1</sub> of Olymbros by  
Ouranos 597<sub>1</sub> of O-tasos by Oura-  
nos 597<sub>1</sub> of Ilika by Ouranos 597<sub>1</sub>

## Ge (cont.)

of Sandes by Ouranos 597<sub>1</sub> of  
Triptolemos by Okeanos 212

*Associated with* Okeanos 212 Ouranos  
597; Tartaros 458 Zaidous 647;  
Zeus *χθονιος* 668 f.

See also Gaia

Gemini 755, 758<sub>1</sub>

Genea 191

Geneia 423<sub>2</sub>

Gennas Formarum

*Cults*: Ianiculum (?) 552, Rome 552.

*Associated with* Jupiter *Heliopolitanus*  
*Augustus* 552<sub>1</sub>

Gennaos

*Cults*: Berytos 571<sub>2</sub> Heliopolis in

Syria 571<sub>2</sub>

*Type*: lion's head 571 571 lion with  
globe on head 571<sub>2</sub> lion with

radiate head 571<sub>2</sub> lion-shaped 571<sub>2</sub>

See also Baral-Marjod, Gennas

Gennas, probably one with Malakiel 571<sub>2</sub>

*Cult*: Palmyra (?) 571<sub>2</sub>

*Epithet*: *Ἡαργός* 571<sub>2</sub>

See also Gennaos

Genos 191

George, St 176

*Cult*: Diospolis or Lydda 177<sub>0</sub> 782

*Epithet*: Green 177<sub>0</sub>

*Festival*: April 23 177<sub>0</sub>

*Functions*: agriculture 177<sub>0</sub> pastoral  
177<sub>0</sub>

*Myth*: dragon-slayer 178<sub>0</sub> 782

*Attribute*: pillar 177<sub>0</sub> 178<sub>0</sub>

*Supersedes* Zeus *Georgios* (?) 176 782

Gerani 672<sub>0</sub> 693<sub>1</sub>

Gerastai

*Cult*: Phaleron 112.

Gerastades 112;

Gerastion 154<sub>11</sub>

Gerastos, village and promontory of  
Enbora 319

Gerastor, eponym of Gerastos in En-  
bora

*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus 156 319 f.

Gerastor, the Kyklops or - of the  
Kyklops

*Myth*: 319 f.

Gerazim, Mt

*Cult*: Zeus *Γερασιος* 233 Zeus *Σερασιος*  
243

Germanicus as Triptolemos 228;

Germanikopolis

*Cult*: Apis 637

Germanos

*Myth*: one-eyed giant 321

Geryones or Geryonios

*Myths*: Herakles 410; oxen taken by  
Cacus 482.

Gigantes

*Myth*: *Gigantomachia* 119 711.

Gilgames

*Myths*: vanquishes the bull Abi 645  
vanquishes lion 645

*Type*: lifting lion above his head 645



- Hebe 259; 365, (?) 782 (?)  
*Festival* Kissotomoi 531.  
*Associated with* Herakles and Zeus 501, (?)  
 Hedderheim  
*Cult* Jupiter *Dolichenus* 619 ff. 626 ff.  
 Hekabe, statue of 592.  
 Hekate  
*Cult* Chalke 141 f. Gaza 149, Rhodes 142  
*Epithet* φιλοκύνητος 245.  
*Rite* αμφιῶρες 421  
*Priests* . δοκτοῖοι 442.  
*Myth* institutes cult of Artemis 245;  
*Genealogy* : grand-d. of Helios 245 m.  
 of Medea 245 d. of Zeus by Asteria  
 or Asterie 544.  
*Function* lunar 455  
*Attribute* snake 392.  
*Identified with* Artemis 245  
*Associated with* Pherephone 430, Zeus 141 f. ? 543.  
 — rock-cut thrones of 141 f. shrines of 421  
 Hekatomblai 146 f.  
 Hekatomphonia 623.  
 Hekatoncheires 314  
 Hektor  
*Myths* : ransomed 260, Zeus 26 117  
 — statue of 592.  
 Helen, Helena See Helene  
 Helene  
*Epithets* Κάστορι... Πολυδεύκει τ' εν αἰθέρος πτυχαῖς | ξύθακος. παντίλοισ σωτήριος 764  
*Myths* : birth 279, 760, 760; home-coming 763 f.  
*Genealogy* : d. of Tyndareos 279 f. d. of Zeus by Nemesis 279 760.  
*Functions* : ball-lightning (?) 773 calms the sea 764 772 solar (?) 489.  
*Etiology* 773  
*Attribute* star called Urania 773  
*Types* : pillar (?) 769 pillar-like female flanked by Dioskouroi (?) 769  
*In relation to* St Elmo (?) 775  
 — raiment of 31 f. star of 771 ff statue of 592.  
 Helike, in Achaia 529.  
 Helike, in Arkadia (?) 529.  
 Helike, d. of Olenos 529.  
 Helike, Nymph in Crete  
*Myths* : nursed Zeus 112; 529 548 755.  
*Etiology* 529 1.  
 Helike, the constellation 548 740  
 Helikon, Mt  
*Cults* : Muses 104, Orpheus 536 f. Tele 536 f. Zeus Ἐλικώνιος 117 132  
*Myth* : Muses 257 f.  
*Etiology* : 536 f. 537  
 — mysteries on 672  
 Heliopolis in Egypt 341, 478, (?) claims connexion with Heliopolis in Syria 550  
 Heliopolis in Egypt (*cont.*)  
*Cults* : Aten 315 Leon 571, Tem 315  
 Heliopolis in Syria  
*Cults* : Adad 550 ff. 581 Aphrodite 554 Atargatis 584 Dionysos 564 ff. 582, Gemmaios 571, Hermes 565 Jupiter *Heliopolitainus* 550 ff. 578 635 Mercurius 554 Semios (?) 553 f. Venus 554 Zeus Ἀδαδός 550 ff. 578 584 586, 778 f. Zeus Ἡλιουπόλιτης 552 635  
*Rite* : religious prostitution 554  
 — the Balanion at 555, coins of 558 561 565 566 f. description of ruins at 555 ff. divination at 552 f. history of 550 f. 550, 554 f. Trilithon at 562 f.  
 Helios  
*Cults* : Akrokorinthos 640 Alexandria 189, Ankyra in Galatia 189, Apollonia in Illyria 410 ff. Auximum 190, Byzantion 92 Corinth 292 Delos 578, Djebel-Dokhan 189, Djebel-Fateeh 189, Hieros 729 Edessa 706, Elis 455, Gaza 149, Gortyna 410 471 f. 546 635 Kypros 187 Lykia 301 Mytilene 189, Nemroud Dagh 744 ff. 748 Ostia 189, Palmyra 191, Pergamon 334, Praeneste 189, Rhodes 181, 331 f. 306, 643 Rome 189, Sidyma 189, Stratonikeia 189, Mt Taletion 180 730 Thalamai 522 Tyre 197  
*Epithets* : Ἀδωνίος ταῦρος 635 αἰθού 195, Ἀπόλλων 241 Ἀταβύριος (?) 336, γενετήρ 430, γενέτης 430, γενέτωρ 430, γεννητής 430, γεννητής θεῶν 461, γενῶν 430, γονόεις 430, εἰδός 197, 522, ὠσηγιος 430, κλιτόπωλος 196, κόσμου τὸ περιδρόμον ὄμμα 522, Μεγας Κίριος Σεβασίος Ἁγίος 190, ep. 429, παρ γενέτωρ 187, 430, πανόπτης 461 πανταῖος 187, παντόπτης 461 πασιφαις 197, 522, πατήρ 430, προπατωρ 430, σωτήρ 361, τελεοποιός 430, τοκείς 430, τιμῶν 430, τροφεύς 430, φρεσβίος 430, χριστοφύτης 187.  
*Rites* : ἐν σάμῃ 341 sacrifice of horses on Mt Taletion 730  
*Prussians* 241 738  
*Myths* : Demeter 231 lends solar cup to Herakles 225 358 Mithras 516 ff parent of male sex 310 Pikoios 241.  
*Genealogy* : l. of Aetes 245 253 by Perses 416 of Arthon 328, of Aloos 245 737 and of Aetes by Antiope 738 s. of Euryphaessa 444, 537, l. of Kuke 238 of Korymbantes by Athena 106, ep. 107, gf. of Hekate 245 t. of Lampetie 410 gf. of Medea 244 245 245 119 h. of Neuma 410 t. of Pasiphae

Helios (*cont.*)

by Perses 464 of Phaethon-a 410  
s. of Zeus 27

*Functions* παρ- παρ- 491; summer  
234 Sunday 753

*Attributes* amber 626; barrow 746  
blue nimbus (?) 41; chariot on globe  
45 f. crescent 752 cap 358 gold  
625 f. 626; 1 eye 626; lion 625;  
626 *quadriga* 752 rays 336 455;  
576 rose 625 f. 625 snake 392;  
snake-drawn chariot 248 thunder-  
bolt 337

*Types* bull 468; east 573 575; east  
with *nimbus* 574; chariot 335 ff.  
disk on pole 291 drawn by four  
horses 752; on his chariot up sky  
179 f. Javak 249 ff. local names (?)  
570; lion 249; on 240; in *quad-  
riga* 200; *quadriga* in boat 358  
radiate 455; radiate head 336  
rayed east 576; 1 eye on horse-back  
333; serpent 240; swift limbs 311  
two young mare heads in juxtapo-  
sition 306; wheel 342

*Identified with* Apollo 501; 635 Apollo  
241 Apollo M. 100 Hermes 744 ff.  
748 Demeter 292 Iov 243 ff. Sa-  
rapis 361 435 Zeus 181 186 ff.  
194 ff. 361 400 429; Zeus Aunios  
193; Zeus; Javak 187; Zeus;  
Hades, Dionysos 187; 244; Zeus;  
Hades Sarapis 187; Zeus, Mithras;  
Sarapis 190; Zeus, Sarapis 189 f.  
Zeus Sarapis 190

*Associated with* Apollo later 457 550;  
Antiope 245 78; Apollo 292 Atar-  
gates 578; Demeter 241; Pasiphae  
522; Sciron 378 455; 522 Zeus 187

*Superseded by* St. L. s. 178 ff.

— animals described to 330 ff. boat  
of 358; cart of 409 ff. 471 f. 516  
635 690; chariot of 180 200; (?)  
248 250 455 358 392; 752 783  
chariot of, wheel of 248; chariot of,  
drawn by horses 231; chariot of,  
drawn by wheel horses 226 f.  
chariot of, drawn by snakes 231;  
248 chariot of, enclosed in solar  
disk 336 f. 455 ff. of 368 369  
381; horses of 195 337 338; 784  
horses of, on vases 226 f. *quadriga*  
of 243 293; vase of, on vases  
226 f. sheep of 409 ff. ep. 404  
throne of 585

Hella See Dodona

Helle

*Myth*, golden ram 121 444 ff

*Associated with* Poseidon 418

*Compared with* Phaethon 419

Hellas 415 f.

Hellotia 525

Hellotis 525 644

*Myth*, 525;

See also Europe

## Hemera

*Genealogy* st. of Aither 27;

*Associated with* Aither 27;

Hemochus 755;

Heos 242.

*Epithets* ἡπαρεια 239;

*Type* in *quadriga* 200;

## Hephaistos

*Cults* Memphis 433 Methana 328

*Myths* Delphi 258 makes crown of

Attaine 492 makes sceptre of Zeus

406 Prometheus 324 Talos 719 721

*Genealogy* f. of Aithiops 195 s. of

Talos 330; f. of Iliadamanthys

330;

*Attributes* anvil 202 double axe (?)

216; hammer 200 ff. 204 pincers

202

*Types* resembles Dionysos 216; re-

sembles Triptolemos 216; (?) 328

*Identified with* Ptah 433

*Associated with* Athena 324

*In relation to* Prometheus 324 328

— smithy of 302

## Hera

*Cults*, Anastris 753 Anazarbos 597;

Mt. Arachmon 117 Argos 22;

440; 445 f. 445 ff. 453, 455 ff. 458,

463 467 532 624; Bosporos 445;

chalkis 463 Corinth 246 246; 447;

Ebs 624 Eretia (?) 463 Euboea

463 Kaistos (?) 463 Knossos 522 f.

Kos 446; 447 Lebaleia 525 Myke-

na 446 Olympia 370 Panamara

20 ff. Pafos 669; Mt. Pion 134 f.

Presynna 445; Samos 440; 444 f.

Stratonikeia 20 ff. Thebes in Boe-

otia (?) 259; Thebes in Egypt 370;

Thyns (?) 453;

*Epithets* Ἀρπία 246; 445 445 ff.

Assaria 370 Ἀργία 447 453, 456;

Ἀργόλις 453; Ἀσπίδα 582 βασίλεια

153; Boiraia 246; βοεπία 444 446

151 455 537; Γαυθία 597; γλαυ-

κωπία (?) 455; Εὐβοία (?) 445 f. 451

463 Εὐβοπία 532 Ηραρχή 525 Ζευ-

ςεία 458; Καλλιθέσσα (?) 459 Ηο-

λιώχος 597; πορνα 444 456 Ηραρνα

445 Ηραρναία 445; 454; ταιρπία

(?) 455; Τηναί 20 σαρπείας 31

*Festivals* Anthesphoroi 440; Heka-

tombana 446 f. 447; 451 Herata

20 ff. 446 περταρπύς 21 the Shield

from Argos 446

*Rites* distribution of money 22 or

wine 22 games 21 marriage 21 f.

with Zeus 522 f. mysteries 21 sacri-

fice of cows 446 f. 451 votive cows

446 451

*Priests* human βόες (?) 451; Kleobis

and Biton (?) 451;

*Priestesses* human βόες (?) 441 451

453 453; Io Καλλιθέσσα 453; Ky-

dippe or Theano 447 ff. 451 Proitides

452 f.

## Hera (cont.)

*Personated by* Medeia (?) 248 priestess 22

*Myths*· Aquila 755<sub>n</sub>, gives Argos an extra eye 462 Argos herds cattle of Hera at Nemea 446 Athamas 416 Cancer 755 Cretan bull 467 Dionysos 671 suckles Herakles 624 Io 438 ff. 441 451 Ixion 198 transforms Iynx 257 440; Kombabos 391; Melepos 755<sub>n</sub> Milky Way 624 755 rears Nemean lion 456 Palikoi 106<sub>1</sub> Proitides 451 ff. Serpens 755 rouses Titans to attack Zagreus 398 attacked by Typhoeus takes refuge in Egypt 445 hung up by Zeus 25 f.

*Metamorphosed into* cow 445 451 675<sub>1</sub>

*Functions*· air 31 lunar 449 f. 453 ff. 522 f. earth 623 f. mountains 246<sub>1</sub> nature 391 ff. patron of women, marriage, child-birth, etc. 455 the planet Venus 756

*Attributes*· cow 444 ff. 451 cuckoo-sceptre 134 532 July 623 f. ox-head (?) 463 peacock 440; pear-tree 453; the plant *ασπερίων* 624<sub>1</sub> sceptre 134 532 753 snake (?) 445; *στέφην* 532 624

*Types*· carried by lions 582 ff. cow (?) 446 cow-eyed, cow-faced 441 451 double busts of Zeus 'Αρσων and Hera 'Αρσωνία (?) 370<sub>1</sub> enthroned with *στέφην* and cuckoo-sceptre 532 handles her veil 279 head on Ionic column 463 heads of Zeus 'Αρσων and Hera 'Αρσωνία jugate 370 influences that of Europe 532 pillar 453; dressed up post with cow's horns (?) attached to it 444 f. 451 Polykleitos 134 f. in quadriga 231; seated on conical stone with *phiale* and sceptre 463 *acmon* 451 f.

*Identified with* Atargatis 582 591 Isis 445 454

*Associated with* Hestia, Zeus, etc. 149; Jason 248 Isis 454 Zeus 117 133<sub>1</sub> 134 f. 154 f. 345<sub>1</sub> 348; 370; 459; 501<sub>n</sub> 522 f. 591 753 Zeus' *Αρσων* 370 Zeus and Arctus 597<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Νεφεως* 456

*In relation to* Atargatis 583 Herakles 457; 667 Io 453 ff. Zeus 678

— anger of 106<sub>1</sub> 156 218 438 ff. 452 649; 674 cattle of 446 flowers of (= corn) 158; head-gear of 445<sub>n</sub> milk of 624 nurses of 445 temple of 259; cp. 783

Herakleumion 348<sub>1</sub>

Heraia 446

Herakleidae 351;

*Myth*· three-eyed guide 320

Herakleitos, the Ionian 28 ff. 358, 667; 754

Herakleitos, the Stoic 30; 31.

Herakleoupolis

*Cults*· Her-shef 346 Khnemu 346

## Herakles, the Idaean Daktylos

*Cult*· Megalopolis 112<sub>2</sub>

## Herakles

*Cults*· Kappa-Iokia 603; Nemroud Dagh 744 746 748 750 Phoinike 544<sub>n</sub>, 603; Phrygia 399; Tarentum 36 Tarsos 535<sub>n</sub> 598 ff. Tyre 356

*Epithets*· 'Ανικητος 399; *Πεσανυς* (?) 603;

*Festival*· Ortygotheia (?) 545.

*Rite*· *οὐρανίη* 24<sub>n</sub>

*Personated by* Ptolemy Philomator Soter ii (?) 709<sub>1</sub>

*Myths*· Acheloiros 502; Cretan bull 467 crosses sea in solar cup 225 Eurystheus (?) 406 f. founds Olympic games 39 Geryoneus 410; Hydra 724<sub>1</sub> imports sheep 347<sub>1</sub> initiation at Eleusis 219 ff. 125 ff. on Mt Kenaon 117 leaves Kos 447 Prometheus 329; rescues Athanas 415 sees Zeus in ram-skin 347 f. solar cup 458; suckled by Hera 624

*Genealogy*· seven Herakles 27, s. of Zeus 27; by Astenia or Astene 544<sub>1</sub>

*Function*· Mars the planet 746; 750 756

*Attributes*· *bakkhos* 220 club 576 746 corn *caput* 502<sub>n</sub> lion-skin 576 myrtle-wreath 220

*Types*· bearded bust 571 (?) bust 571<sub>n</sub> (?) 576 capturing Cretan bull 499 feasting in Olympus 501 f. 784 Lansdowne 204 Lykippus 36 204

*Identified with* Artagnes Arts 744 746 748 Baral-hammam 356; Melquith 356 Sandas 535<sub>n</sub> 598 f. Shu 348 387 Zeus 356<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with* Ammon 348; Plouton (?) 502; Zeus 399 502<sub>n</sub> Zeus and Hekab (?) 501<sub>n</sub>

*In relation to* Hera 457 467

— emerald stole of 556 grid of 521 initiation of 219 ff. pyre of 600 f.

## Herakles

*Attribute*· club 616

*Type*· bust 616

## Hermes

*Cults*· Arkadia 84; Diros 729 Heliospolis in Syria 565 Mt Ibe in Creta 729 f. Mt Kyllene 104 Kulehon 415 Mt Lykaion 84 Nemroud Dagh 744 ff. 748 Phaistos 661 Samos (?) 172 Thera 443

*Epithet*· Τίξερ 175 f

*Myths*· Apemosyne 643 *cadmeus* 398 Deltoton 755 Dionysos 674 Lepus 755 golden lamb 405; golden ram 417<sub>1</sub> kills (Argos) *Ηαιωνος* 462 hits cattle of Helios 446 sent to Arcus 405 sent by Zeus to Apes 417 slays Argos 439 ff

*Genealogy*· f. of Bouma 246 f. of Eleusis by Daena 212 f. of Euandros 87 f. of Mytilos 405, s. of Zeus Ηεως 237<sub>1</sub>





Hittites (*cont.*)

599<sub>1</sub>, 604 631 f. sun-god 635 Tešub  
526<sub>2</sub>, 604 f. 639 ff. 644 thunder-god  
655<sub>1</sub>

— fight Rameses II 362 rock-carv-  
ings of, at Boghaz-Kem 87 rock-cut  
thrones of 135 ff. 776 sculpture-  
of, at Fraktin and Yarie 587<sub>1</sub>

See also Amma, Boghaz-Kem, Eyuk,  
Hatti, Ivriž, Chipa, Sandas, Tešub

Homer, apotheosis of 129 ff.

## Homogyo-

*Myths*, first yokes oxen to plough  
459<sub>1</sub> 469, struck by lightning 459<sub>1</sub>

## Horai 242, 688

*Etymology* 341

*Types*, four 517<sub>1</sub>, two 112<sub>2</sub> 222

Horeb, Mt 181 f.

## Horo-

*Cult* Edm 206 341

*Functions*, face of heaven 315 moon  
315 sky 341 sun 315

*Genealogy*, s. of O-ini 223, s. of Ra  
206

*Attributes*, falcon 341 hawk 241  
pschent 574 sparrow-hawk 341

*Type*, head of sparrow-hawk 387

*Identified with* Apis 435<sub>1</sub> Apollon 241;  
Ra 315 341

— eyes of 315

Hyades 111<sub>1</sub>

Hyakynthos, daughters of 319

## Hybris 252

Hydra-pes, *lychnis* found in 583,

## Hydra

*Myth*, slain by Herakles and Iolaos  
724<sub>1</sub>

Hydra, the constellation 755<sub>2</sub>

Hydrous. See Hydrantum

Hydrantum 623<sub>1</sub>

## Hygieia

*Cult* Priamos (?) 402

*Identified with* Nemesis (?) 270<sub>1</sub>

## Hymettos, Mt

*Cult* Zeus *Ταῦρριος* 121

— convent on 233<sub>1</sub>, spring on 429<sub>1</sub>

Hypatos, Mt 123

Hyperborei 214

Hyperus 71<sub>1</sub>

Hyperion 238

Hypnos 26

*Attribute*, blue nimbus 11<sub>1</sub>

Hypseus 416

Hyria 735<sub>2</sub>

Hyrkams

*Cult*, Demeter 229<sub>1</sub>

Hysia 735<sub>2</sub>

Iarta 307

## Iakchos

*Cults*, Athens 669 f. 695 Eleusis 692  
*Epithets*, ἀγρός (?) 234<sub>1</sub> παντοδύτης  
504<sub>1</sub> 670<sub>1</sub> Σεμέλιος 504<sub>1</sub> 670<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*, s. of Semele 670 f. s. of  
Zeus by Semele 693

Iakchos (*cont.*)

*Attributes*, *iakchos* 425 *akros* 425

*Type*, *Praxiteles* 427

*Associated with* Demeter and Kore 425

— evocation of 669 f. 672

Iambe 425, 681<sub>1</sub>

## Iamculum

*Cults*, Adad 551 Atargatis (?) 551<sub>1</sub> 785

Commodus (?) 551<sub>1</sub> Genius Formi-

anum (?) 552<sub>1</sub> Jupiter *Heliopolita-*

nus (?) 551<sub>1</sub> Iupator *Heliopolita-*

nus (?) 552<sub>1</sub> Iupator *Heliopolita-*

nus *Conservator Imperii* (?) 551<sub>1</sub>

## Iann-

*Type*, dragon devouring its own tail  
192<sub>1</sub> (?)

Iao 188<sub>1</sub> 232<sub>1</sub> 233 ff.

*Epithets*, αἰσός 234<sub>1</sub> *Sabaoties* 235  
φωσφορος 234<sub>1</sub>

*Functions*, autumn 234 light 234<sub>1</sub>  
sun (?) 236 cp. 337<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology* 188<sub>1</sub> 233<sub>1</sub> 234<sub>1</sub>

*Type*, golden calf 236

*Identified with* Hades 234 Helios 233 ff.  
Zeus 233 ff.

Iao, horse of Helios 337<sub>1</sub>

Iacouee 234

## Iapetos

*Genealogy*, s. of Ouranos by Ge  
597<sub>1</sub> f. of Prometheus 324 325

Iarbas 360<sub>7</sub> (?)

Iasily Kaya. See Boghaz-Kem

## Iasion

*Genealogy*, f. of Korymbos by Kybele  
106

Iason 417

*Myth*, at Corinth 246 ff. *pasias Me-*  
*don* from Corinth 249 ff

*Personates* Zeus (?) 248

*Type*, grappling Colchian bull 499

*Associated with* Hera 248

See also Argonauts

Iasos 470

Idaeon Cave, bronze 'shell' from 645  
651 rock crystal from 649

## Idaea

*Genealogy*, w. of Minos 493 544<sub>1</sub>

Ida, Nymph 112<sub>1</sub>

Ida, a Cretan Nymph 112

Ida, a Phrygian Nymph 112<sub>1</sub>

Ida, Mt. in Crete 112 647

*Cults*, Daktylia 646 Hermes 729 f. Kou-

retos 645 Zeus 161 529 645 652

Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* 118 648 ff. Zeus

*Ἰδαῖος* (?) 729 f. Zeus and Hera

708 Zeus nursed by Hera 529 f.

— Idaean Cave on 145 150 150  
529 tomb of Zeus on 157 Zeus  
born on 151

Ida, Mt. in Phrygia 100 116

*Cults*, Zeus 102 102 154 348<sub>1</sub> 520 Zeus  
*Ἰδαῖος* 117 126 Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* 116

*Myths*, judgment of Paris 125 Zeus  
married to Hera 154 nursed by  
nymphs 112

Idea. See Idaea

Idomeneus

*Myths* colony of Salentum 181, return from Troan War 652 f.

*Genealogy* s. of Perikles of Knossos 654

*Connected with* Aepithia 654

Idithia 112

Ie

*Epithet* Saboth 235

*Function* light 235

Icaria in Attika, now called *Dionysos* 1714

*Rite* dance round the goat 678 705 711

Ikaria, the island near Samos 344

*Cult* Artemis 282

Ikaros 214 f. 345 709

*Myth* slow he-goat inflated its skin, and instituted dance round it 678, 689

Ikaros, otherwise called Ikaros 345

Ikaros

*Myth* 344 ff. Lured by Daedalus 727 Labyrinth 343

*Functions* mourning-speech 343; Orion 343; sun 343 346

— tomb of 344 as dance-theme 481

Ikonion, rock-cut throne near 186

Lion

*Cult* Athena 533 783

*Rites* bull hung on olive-tree 533; Loerian maidens 783

*Myth* Hes 468 f.

— Athena's olive at 533

Ilyria or Illyrium

*Cults* Kronos (?) 181, Poseidon 181,

*Rite* horse flung into water 181,

*Myth* Io 441

Illyria 321

Illyria 321

Ilios

*Myth* 468 f.

*Etymology* 468

Inachos

*Myth* 237, 237

India

*Cults* Civa 637 Dionysos 667, Sarapis 637,

Indians

*Myth* fight with the gods 318

Indra 190 744

*Epithet* bull 748

*Myth* Ahalya 395

*Function* thunder 341; 718

*Attribute* eagle 341

*In relation to* rain 395

Indulgentia Augusti

*Attributes* cornucopia, red wheel 268

*Image* stands leaning on column 268

Ino

*Oracle* 522

*Myths* Athamas 674 674, becomes Leukothea 674 Brasias 674, Dionysos 674 674, Melikertes 416 674 Phrixos 415 f. 418

Ino (cont.)

*Genealogy* d. of Kadmos and Harmonia 415

*Identified with* Pasiphae (?) 522

See also Leukothea

Io

*Cults* Egypt 237, Gaza 236 Nineveh 237 (?) Syria 237

*Epithets* *joēpis* 454 *Kallaithea* 454, *Kallaitheia* 236 454, *Kallaitheia* 153, *Kallaitheia* 453 459 *Kallaitheia* (?) 454, *Kallaitheia* 453, *Λαοπαθήσασα* 237, *ακακία* 237, *ταρπώσις* 454,

*Oracle* 522 (?)

*Rite* knocking on doors 237

*Myths* Argos 739 Epaphos 438 ff. Enboia 462 739 gad-fly 532 532, Hera 438 ff. lynx 257 wandering-236 f. Zeus 257 438 ff. 457 ff.

*Metamorphosed into* a cow 438 ff. 441 451 453 462 470 532 549, 739 f.

*Genealogy* m. of Dionysos by Zeus 457 f. of Epaphos 462

*Functions* hypostasis or by-form of Hera (?) 453 lunar 236 237, 454 ff. 470 733 f. (?) 739 priestess of Hera 438 441 453

*Etymology* 454 f.

*Attribute* cow 236

*Types* with bull or cow 236, with cow's horn and cow's ear 459, horned 237

*Identified with* Astarte 454, Isis 237, 441 453 Pasiphae 522 (?)

*Associated with* Argos 459, Zeus 438 ff. 457 684, 733, 739 777 Zeus *Ηλιος* 237

*In relation to* Argos 459 Hera 458 ff. — marriage of (scene in mysteries?) 535, See also Eious Gamoi

Iobakecheia 686

Iobakechei 457 f. 686

*Rites* Aphrodite 679, Dionysos 679, Kore 679, Palamon 679, Ptolemythimos 679

*Priests* *αρχιερείς* 679, *ἀρχιερείς* 679, *δοιοκόμος* 679, *ιερείς* 679, *σπου* 442 *ταύρις* 679

Iobakechos

*Cult* Athens 457 f.

*Epithet* *χουμαανός* 457

*Priest* *δοιοκόμος* 457 f.

*Etymology* 458

*Attribute* bull 458

Iolaos

*Myth* Hydra 724

Iole 117

Iolkos 244 246

Ione

*Cults* Zeus *Ἐπιλαπίος* 236, Zeus *Νεμεός* 236

— foundation of 236 ep. 237

Ionia

*Rites* dances of *Τῆρες*, *Κορυβαίτες*, *Σατιοί*, *Δοιοκόμοι* 679

- Ionian Gulf  
*Myth*: Io 441  
 Ionian League  
*Cult*: Demeter 229.  
 Ionians(?) 362  
 Iopolis, foundation of 236 cp. 237.  
 Iphianassa 452  
 Iphigeneia  
*Myth*: sacrifice to Artemis 417  
 Iris 200 ff.  
*Myth*: binds lion with her girdle 457.  
*Type*: with nimbus 203.  
 Isis  
*Cults*: Alexandria 753 Egypt 237.  
*Epithets*: *Népeia* 271; *Τέχη* 271.  
*Rite*: gilded cow wrapped in black mantle 581.  
*Myth*: Osiris 435  
*Metamorphosed into* cow 462  
*Functions*: cow-goddess 237<sub>1</sub> lunar 237<sub>1</sub> 454 Virgo 755.  
*Attributed*: busts of Sun and Moon 271 corn-ears 271 cow 454 disk and horns 753 double *cornu copios* 271 fruit 271 head-dress of solar disk and feathers 427; 620 (?) pins 271 ram with disk on its head 346 rudder 271 sceptre 620 *sistrum* 620 snake 271 wheel 271  
*Types*: cow 581<sub>1</sub> serpent 460 standing on hind (?) 620  
*Identified with* Demeter(?) 427: Hera 445 454 Io 237<sub>1</sub> 441 454 Nemesis 271; Selene 454; Tyche 271.  
*Associated with* Sarapis 360 Triptolemos 222 f. Zeus 346; 457; Zeus Helios Sarapis 454  
 — head-dress of 271 wor-shipped by Commodus 607  
 Isityche 271.  
 Isso  
*Cult*: Auramazda 208.  
 Istar  
*Genealogy*: d. of Sin 237.  
*Function*: planet Venus 577 755  
*Associated with* Ramman 577. S-n. Samaš, and Adad 577 Tammuz 645 646.  
*Attribute*: dove 584.  
*In relation to* Semiramis 584.  
 — descent of 237.  
 Istros, the river 245  
 Istros, the town  
*Cults*: Dioskouroi(?) 306, Helios 306.  
 Itabyrion See Tabor, Mt  
 Italia  
*Type*: seated on globe 52  
 Italians, golden or purple ram of 403 ff.  
 Italy  
*Myths*: Kyklopes 312 Libia 693.  
 Ithake 328 328; 544.  
*Cult*: Odysseus(?) 328  
 Ithakos, eponym of Ithake 328, 328.  
 Ithas or Ithax 327 f.  
*Epithet*: *Ηρσωνύς* 327  
 Ithome, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus 154 Zeus *Ίθωμάρης* 121  
*Myth*: Zeus nursed by Nymphs 154  
 Iulus 488  
 Iuno  
*Cults*: Caerleon-on-U-k 611<sub>1</sub> Netherby 611; Rome 59<sub>11</sub> 611<sub>1</sub> Syene 353.  
*Epithets*: *Ηΐα* 609, *Lavinia* 82<sub>1</sub> *Re-ana* 59<sub>11</sub> 353<sub>1</sub> 611<sub>1</sub> 611<sub>1</sub> (?) *Sancta* 609, 610; *Saturua* 445.  
*Functions*: lunar 455 mountain 353.  
*Feast*: Nonae Caprotinae 694.  
*Attributed*: cow 619 *patera* 289<sub>1</sub> peacock 289<sub>1</sub>  
*Type*: on cow 619  
*Assimilated to* Venus 617 f. (?)  
*Associated with* Iupiter *Dolichenus* 610<sub>1</sub> 611 619 Iupiter and Minerva 60  
 — anger of 661  
 Iuno, queen of Crete 661 f.  
 Iupiter  
*Cults*: Acuminum(?) 611 f. Apulum 190. 630. Aquileia in Upper Germania 619 626 Aquinum 551; 633.  
 Athens 551<sub>1</sub> 554<sub>1</sub> Auximum 190.  
 Babylon 757 Caerleon-on-U-k 611<sub>1</sub> Capotrias 15 f. Carmentum 353<sub>1</sub> 551, 612 ff. 626 633<sub>1</sub> Carthage 353.  
 Celts 288 f. 482, Citta 41; Dalmatia(?) 191, Dion in Dekapolis 572 Doliche 606 Do-stadt 191.  
 Eleutheropolis 572 Heddenheim 619 ff. 626 ff. Helopolis in Syria 550 ff. 578 635 Imiculum(?) 551<sub>11</sub>  
 Kommagene 612 Lambasa 188.  
 Latovic 551 551, 633<sub>1</sub> Lissoum 615 ff. 620 ff. 626 Lutu 189<sub>1</sub> Magna 552, Mas-sila 552<sub>1</sub> 611 Mauretania Caesariensis 554 Neapolis in Samaria 45 572<sub>1</sub> Nemausus 552.  
 Netherby 611 Nikopolis in Judaea 572<sub>1</sub> Plunz 630, Pontus Romanus 551<sub>10</sub> 567, Putoli 551, Rome 42 ff. 53 f. 58 189<sub>1</sub> 190, 191, 194 351<sub>1</sub>, 353<sub>1</sub> 608 ff. 630, Salentinum 180, Sas-siferati 190, Siscia 551; Syene 353<sub>1</sub> Triganum 617 ff.  
*Epithets*: *Internus* 59<sub>11</sub> 191, 608; 609, *athenus* 26 cp. 27 162 *Iunon* 365<sub>2</sub> (See also *Hammou*) *Augulus* 551<sub>10</sub> 567, *Augustus* 552, 609, *Ital-marcodeis* 571<sub>6</sub> *Barbatus* 353<sub>1</sub> *Pebus* 757<sub>1</sub> *Capitolinus* 34 42 ff 53 ff 194<sub>1</sub> 234<sub>1</sub> 781 *Chnubis* 353<sub>1</sub> *Conseruator* 276; *Conseruator Imperii* 551<sub>11</sub> *Conseruator Lotus* Pol 608; 633 *conuget* 365<sub>1</sub> *Crescens* 714 *Detensor* 276, *deus Dolichenus* 611<sub>6</sub> (See also *Dolichenus*) *Deus Paternus Commagenus* 612<sub>2</sub> *Domus* (?) 609, cp. 609, *Doliceus* 615<sub>6</sub> (See also *Dolichenus*) *Dolichenus* 25; 194<sub>1</sub> 520; 551, 604 ff. 634 778 ff. *Dolichennus* 611<sub>2</sub> (See also *Dolichenus*) *Dolichennus*

## Jupiter (cont.)

610; (See *Dolichenus*) *Dulcenus* 551;  
616; *Dulcenus* 630; (See also *Dolichenus*) *Echou* *Iuventus* 608;  
633 *Lronatus* 714 *Isuperantissimus*  
276; 598 *Huonon* 353 ff.  
353; 419; (See also *Ammon*) *Il-*  
*liopolitannus* 194 549 ff. 617 632 ff.  
778 f. *Iuventus* 276 *Libertas* 194;  
*Manzana* 180 717 *Molossus* 366;  
*natus ubi terrae caput* 630; (See  
also *ubi terrae caput*) *Namen*  
*Prasstantissimus* 608 *Optimus* 609;  
*Optimus* *Mercator* 191 (?) 288 353;  
551; 551 551 551 551 551 551;  
551; 552 552 552 552 551 558;  
561; 571 598 608 609 609 611;  
611 611 612 614 614 614 627;  
627 628 628 630 630; 633; 633;  
715 782 *Optimus* *Mercator* 59; *pater*  
*optimus* 757 *Pater* *assidus* 609;  
ep. 609; *Pater* *caput* 552; *Pho-*  
*pitrus* (?) 522 *Pater* 58 782 *rector*  
*supremum* 757 *Sacer* 234; *Sacrus*  
1; 609 *Sacer* 457; *Schazius*  
303; *Serapis* 37; *Sol* 609; *Suonius*  
598; *Ternus* 53 720 *Ternus* 751;  
*ubi terrae caput* 627 630 630 ff.  
(See also *natus ubi terrae caput*)  
*Uterius* 395 1; 41

## Festival - Solibus 493

## Oracles 5524.

## Rites - games 717

*Parents* *Amelia* 630 *apud* *Dialis*  
717 *Antidotes* 608 610 *Antidotes*  
609; *Antidotes* 609; *Antidotes* 609;  
609 *Antidotes* 610

*Personated by* *Augustus* 43 *Commo-*  
*dius* 276 *Domitian* 751; an emperor  
of the first cent. v. 43 *Nerva*  
43 *Roman* emperor 46 *Scipio*  
581

*Myths* *Pisces* 581 suckled by goat  
711; swallowed by *Sarapis* 53 f.

*Genealogy* 1 of *Asterion* by *Idea*  
(*Idea*) 493 *Antis* of *Caelus* 59  
5 of *Caelus* 59 1 of *Thebe* 365

*Functions* atmosphere rain and  
storm 759 the daylight 41 fertility  
609 622 633 the daylight 330 giver  
of life 757 god dwelling in *ather*  
26 god of precious metals 629  
mountain 181 (?) 353; 621 oak 1;  
rain 393; ruler of starry sky 757  
the sky 3 6 101 609 *Solu* 288 f.  
552 578 609 632 714 (?) storm 570  
thunder 632 f. and lightning 621

## Etymology: 14 759

*Attributes* bull 576 ff. 611 631 633 ff.  
butterfly 598; club 289; coat of  
mail 628 corn-ears 552 569 572  
617 (?) corn *caput* 598; crown  
289; double axe 631 eagle 62 eagle  
on globe with wreath in his beak  
628 fir-cone (?) 569; flower-shaped

## Jupiter (cont.)

disk 617 globe 41; 43 ff. 572 ff. (?)  
grape-bunch (?) 617 helmet 289;  
jewels (?) 569 *Kalathos* 568 f. 571 f.  
571 576 598; hly 616 621 ff. mine  
S-shaped pendants 289; oak-crown  
41; *patera* 598; pillar 624 611 (?)  
purple cloak 58 radiate *nimbus*  
572; ram's head 612 seven stars  
276; shield 289; silver 626 ff. -snake  
issuing from tree-trunk 289; solar  
disk 569 (?) 571 spear 41; 276;  
star 616 620 (?) starry robes 59  
*tona picta* 59 tree with leaves and  
fruit 619 *tauca palmata* 59 two  
bulls 567 ff. Victory 41; 616 617 (?)  
620 (?) 628 wheel 288 f. whip 552  
568 ff. wreath 43;

## Types - advancing towards Giant (?)

514. *Apollonios* 42 f. archaistic  
598; with arched mantle 59 f. as-  
beardless charioteer with whip.  
thunderbolt, and corn-ears 552 as-  
charioteer with whip and corn-ears  
standing between two bulls 567 ff.  
delegating globe to emperor 46  
Egyptising 572 ff. holding wheel  
288 f. infant riding on goat 713 f.  
protecting emperor 276; pyramid  
520; radiate 194; in Roman military  
costume 289; 289; as Roman soldier  
with Phrygian cap holding double  
axe and thunderbolt and standing  
on back of bull 611 ff. seated with  
globe and sceptre 45 f. 781 seated on  
pillar 62; 521; seated with sceptre  
(?). thunderbolt (?), globe (?) 42 f.  
seated with sceptre on eagle, his  
head surrounded by starry mantle  
754; seated with thunderbolt and  
sceptre, left foot on globe 47 ff.  
standing behind foreparts of two  
bulls 617 619 (?) standing on bull  
with double axe and thunderbolt  
606 youthful 289; (?) youthful head  
712 f.

*Associated with* *Augustus* 288; *Bon-*  
*Eventus* 630; *Caelus* 60 *Commodus*  
551; *Genius* *Formarum* 552; *Iuno*  
611 *Iuno* and *Minerva* 45 60 781 f.  
*Iuno Sancta* 610; *Iuno Sancta* *Ilia*  
609; 610 (*Jupiter*) *Deus Paternus*  
*Commodus* 612; *Jupiter Dolichenus*  
with *Jupiter Helopolitannus* 551;  
633; ep. 551; 552; *Libertas* 194;  
*Nemansus* 552; 569 *Silvanus* 353;  
*Sol* 609; *Tam* 355;

*Introduced with* *Adad* 549 ff. *Auramazda*  
754 *Caelus* 59 *Dis* (i.e. *Sarapis*)  
188. *Elagabalos* 520; *Jupiter Dol-*  
*ichenus* with *Jupiter Helopolitannus*  
551; 552; 633; ep. 551; 633; *Jehovah*  
234; *Libertas* 194; *Marduk* 755 f.  
*Pluto* *Serapis* 188; *Sarapis* *Sol* 190;  
191; 609;

Iupiter (*cont.*)

*Associated with Venus Felix* and *Mercurius Augustus* 554<sub>1</sub> *Venus Helio-politana* and *Mercurius Heliopolitani* 554<sub>1</sub> *Venus* and *Mercurius* 554<sub>1</sub> *Venus Victrix* 554<sub>6</sub> 554<sub>1</sub> *Vesta* 330

*Supercedes* Hittite father-god 604 631  
Hittite son-god 604 631 f.

— spring of 419<sub>9</sub>

Iupiter, king of Crete 661 f.

Iupiter, the planet 545; 616 (?) 731 741  
750 755 f. 758 ff.

*Epithet*: temperate 760

*Functions*: fertilising winds 759  
moisture 759<sub>3</sub> cp. 759<sub>1</sub> solar 759<sub>2</sub>

## Ivriz

*Cult*: Sandas 598<sub>2</sub>

— Hittite rock-carvings at 594 f. 603

## Ixion 198 ff. 254 288

*Genealogy*: s. of Aithon 199 s. of Phlegyas 199 199<sub>1</sub>

*Function*: sun 199 ff. 254

*Compared with* German elves 199<sub>2</sub>

— on a gem 199 on a mirror 204  
on a sarcophagus 204 f. on vases  
199 ff. on a wall-painting 202 ff.  
wheel of 198 ff.

## Iynx 253 ff.

*Myths*: Hera 257 inspires Zeus with love for Io 440;

*Metamorphosed into* stone 440<sub>1</sub> wry-neck 440<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy*: d. of Echo 257 440<sub>2</sub> d. of Peitho 440<sub>2</sub>

*Identified with* Mintha 257

## Jehovah

*Attributes*: eagle 232 hawk (?) 232  
winged wheel 232 f.

*Type*: as a solar Zeus 232 f. seated  
on winged wheel 232 f.

*Identified with* Bacchus 234<sub>1</sub> Dionysos 234<sub>1</sub> Iupiter *Capitolinus* 234<sub>1</sub> Iupiter *Subazius* 234<sub>1</sub> Liber pater 234<sub>1</sub> Zeus 233<sub>7</sub>

— name of, trilateral 232 f. under the name Iao 233 ff.

## Jephthah

*Compared with* Idomeneus 653<sub>1</sub>

## Jerusalem

*Cults*: Moloch 723<sub>1</sub> Zeus 'Ολυμπος 233

## John the Baptist, St

*Festivals*: June 21 286 ff. 338 f.

## Juktas, Mt

*Cult*: (Rhea) 645

— tomb of Zeus on 158 ff. 645 f. 646<sub>6</sub>

## Julian 187 637 783

## Justinian 167

## Kabemon, vases from Theban 654

## Kabeiroi

*Cults*: Etruria 107 f. Hierapolis in Phrygia 109 f. Magnesia on the

Kabeiroi (*cont.*)

Maandros 110 Mt Olympos 107 ff.  
Pergamon 110 120 (?) Phrygia 108<sub>1</sub>  
Samothrace 109 120 Syros 715<sub>2</sub>

*Epithet*: Σέβροι 715<sub>2</sub>

*Personated by* Commodus and Venus 715<sub>2</sub>

*Myths*: two brothers slay third 107 f.  
witnessed birth of Zeus 110 120

*Function*: St Elmo's fire 772 cp. 765 f.

*Attribute*: rings 329<sub>6</sub>

*Identified with* Korybantes 106 107  
Zeus and Dionysos 112

*Associated with* Zeus 120

*In relation to* Dioskouroi 765 f. 772  
Prometheus 328

See also Kabeiros

## Kabeiros

*Cults*: Birytos 328 Boiotia 705<sub>6</sub> Thebes 112, 328, Thessalonike 108 ff. 513

*Rite*: omophagy 108 f.

*Personated by* Nero 108<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Dionysos 112<sub>6</sub>

*Attributes*: double axe 108 ff. 329<sub>6</sub>  
horn or horns 108 f. 513 *phobos*  
108 ring 108 ff.

*Type*: 328

*Compared with* Kyklops and Prometheus 328<sub>9</sub>

*Identified with* Dionysos 107 f. 112  
Zeus 112

See also Kabeiroi

## Kadmos

*Myths*: drives cow (Europe?) 539 ff.  
founds Thebes 469 539 f. kills  
snake at Thebes 540 sacrifices to  
Zeus and the Hadryades 511<sub>1</sub>  
servitude of eight years 540<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: s. of Aeneas 538 540 b.  
of Europe 538 539 s. of Phoenix 539

Kairos 25<sub>6</sub>

## Kaisaria in Kappadokia

*Cult*: Mt Argaios 102<sub>2</sub> 603<sub>2</sub>

## Kaisaria Paneas

*Cults*: Dio-Pan 603<sub>6</sub> Echo (?) 603<sub>6</sub>

Kaisaruni 233<sub>7</sub>

## Kakus 721

## Kalamis 352 362

Kalameia 74<sub>6</sub>

## Kalchas

*Cult*: Mt Dion in Daunia 107<sub>1</sub>

*Oracle*: 407<sub>1</sub>

## Kalchedon 254

## Kallithya See Io

## Kalliope 105 f.

*Genealogy*: m. of the Korybantes by  
Zeus 105 f.

## Kalliope

*Cult*: Phaleron 112<sub>2</sub>

## Kallisto

*Associated with* Zeus 155

## Kallistratos, St 170

## Kallithea See Io

- Kallithor. See Io  
 Kallithye. See Io  
 Kallithyessa. See Io  
 Kallithyna. See Io  
 Kalos. See Talos  
 Kalypso  
   *Lophots* δεινὴ θεὸς αἰθήρσσαν 241  
   — doublet of Enke 241<sub>14</sub>  
 Kamaitai 667<sub>1</sub>  
 Kamenos, votive bronzes from 330 ft.  
 Kanachos 36<sub>1</sub> 512<sub>1</sub> 622 (?)  
 Kanobos  
   *Myth* · Io 438 f.  
 Kapanus 318  
 Kappadokia  
   *Cults* · Herakles Δισανδᾶς (?), Desand-  
   das (?), Desamais (?) 603.  
 Karchedon  
   *Cult* · Kronos 76.  
 Karia  
   *Cult* · Zeus Παυαυαπος 18-25  
 Karmanion  
   *Cult* · Ares 746<sub>2</sub>  
   *Rit.* · sacrifice of ass 746<sub>2</sub>  
 Karmen 352<sub>1</sub>  
 Karneios  
   *Epithet* · Οικέρας 351;  
 Karnos 351;  
   *Genealogy* · s. of Zeus by Europe  
   351;  
 Karpethos 323<sub>1</sub>  
 Kartemnia (?) 471<sub>1</sub>  
 Karteminides. See Gortyna  
 Karthana  
   *Cult* · Artemis Ἐφεστῆα 173<sub>1</sub>  
 Kartys (?) 471<sub>1</sub>  
 Karystos  
   *Cult* · Hera (?) 463  
   — coins of 463  
 Kasandra  
   *Epithet* · Πασυφία 522  
   *Genealogy* · d of Priam 522  
   *Identified with* Pasiphae 522  
 Kasion, Mt  
   *Cult* · Zeus Κασιος 123  
 Kasiope  
   *Cult* · Zeus Κασιος 123  
 Kasos, the hero 237<sub>1</sub>  
 Kasos, the island 729  
 Kassandros 51  
 Kastellorizo  
   *Cult* · St Elias 182 f  
 Kastor  
   *Cult* · Byzantion 168  
   *Myths* · Prometheus 329<sub>1</sub> Talos 721  
   *Genealogy* · s. of Zeus by Leda 760.  
 Katabates  
   *Cult* · Anazarbos 597<sub>1</sub>. See also Zeus  
   Καραϊβάρις  
   *Associated with* Persephone 597<sub>1</sub>  
 Katakekaumene, Zeus born in 152  
 Kateus  
   *Myth* · 117 643.  
 Kaukasos, Mt  
   *Myth* · Prometheus 329.  
 Kaulonia 305  
   *Cult* · Zeus Ἀυάπιος 17  
 Kaunos 237;  
 Kefr-Nebo  
   *Cults* · Leon 571<sub>2</sub> Seimios 571<sub>2</sub> Sym-  
   betylos 571<sub>2</sub>  
 Kekrops 77  
   *Myth* · sends Argos to Libya and  
   Sicily 458.  
 Keleai, Ἀνῶκτορον at 260<sub>1</sub>  
 Kelenderis  
   *Cult* · Demeter 229.  
 Keleos 17<sub>1</sub>  
   *Genealogy* · f. of Demophon by Meta-  
   neira 211 f. of Triptolemos 175<sub>1</sub> 218  
   226  
   *Etymology* · 226  
 Keltai 321<sub>1</sub>  
 Kenaion, Mt  
   *Cults* · Zeus Πατρῶος 117 123 St Elias  
   177 f  
 Kentauron 198  
   *Type* · confused with Silenoi (?) 696.  
 Keos  
   *Cults* · Artemis 172 (?) 172<sub>1</sub> St Arrem-  
   idos 172 Seirios 740 Zeus Ἰκαῖος  
   740  
   *Myths* · Aristaios 372<sub>2</sub> 740  
 Kephallenia 163 328<sub>1</sub>  
 Kephalos  
   *Genealogy* · s. of Deioneus 345<sub>1</sub>  
 Kephisodotos 670  
 Kephisos  
   *Cult* · Phaleron 112.  
 Kerastai 75  
 Keiata, rock-cut throne on 145  
 Keten  
   *Identified with* Proteus 496  
 Khnemu  
   *Cults* · Elephantine 346 347<sub>1</sub> 387  
   Herakleopolis 246 Mendes 346 f  
   S Egypt 346  
   *Functions* · Nile 349<sub>2</sub> phallic 429<sub>1</sub>  
   water 349<sub>2</sub>  
   *Attributes* · horns of Amen 347 ram  
   429<sub>1</sub> ram's horns 361 serpent 357<sub>1</sub>  
   solar disk 347;  
   *Types* · blue 347<sub>2</sub> 349<sub>2</sub> horned 386  
   pantheistic 429<sub>1</sub> as ram 346 ram-  
   headed 346 387  
   *Identified with* Ba-neb-Tattu 346 f.  
   Her-shaf 346 Ra 346 Zeus 361  
 Khnemu-Ra  
   *Attribute* · solar disk 346  
   *Types* · as ram 346<sub>1</sub> ram-headed 346  
 Khut-Aten 315  
 Khut-en-Aten 315 f.  
 Kibya, in Phrygia, coins of 530<sub>2</sub>  
 Kulikia  
   *Cults* · Anamazda 208 Baral-taz 227  
   Triptolemos 227 Zeus Βόρειος 142<sub>1</sub>  
   Zeus Οὐβριος 125  
 Killas 225<sub>1</sub>  
 Kimmeneia  
   *Myth* · Io 441

- Kinke 71 238 ff.  
*Cult.* Italy 243 f.  
*Epithets.* *Αἰαή* 242, *θεωὶ θεὸς αἰ-  
 ῶν* 241  
*Myths.* carried off from Kolchis 238  
 influenced by that of Medea (?)  
 238; 238<sub>1</sub> love for Pien 241 f.  
 Pikelos 241<sub>17</sub>  
*Genealogy.* st. of Aietes and Pasiphae  
 416 d. of Helios 248 st. of Medea  
 244 aunt of Medea 244  
*Functions.* lunar (?) 242 solar 238 ff.  
 241  
*Etymology.* 240 ff. 342  
*Attributes.* blue nimbus 41, 238 halo  
 238 lion 242, rayed crown 238 f.  
 solar chariot 238 swine 242, wolf  
 242.  
*Zeus.* 238 f.  
 --- doublet of Kalypso 241<sub>14</sub> as a  
 hawk 241 ff. mortal of 244. *con-  
 son* of 244;  
 Kisses 111,  
 Kissotomoi 584,  
 Kithanon, Mt  
*Cults.* *Ἡδὴ* 511<sub>1</sub> Zeus 511<sub>1</sub> Zeus  
*Καθαρώ* 117 f.  
*Rites.* mysteries 672  
*Myths.* Zeus married to Hera 155  
 Zeus consorts with Leto 155  
 Klaros  
*Cult.* Apollon 278  
 Klazomenai 51  
 Kleantes 29; hymn of 665,  
 Kleobis and Biton  
*Myth.* 447 ff.  
*Identified with the Dioskouroi (?)* 449  
 --- as human βῆες (?) 451,  
 Kleobea 74,  
 Kleomenes 74,  
 Kleop 448 See Kleobis  
 Kletor  
*Genealogy.* f. of Eumymedousa 733,  
 Klitias 481, 696  
 Klymene, m. of Prometheus 321 444,  
 Klymenos 669  
 Klytaimnestra  
*Genealogy.* d. of Tyndareos 761  
 Kneph  
*Attribute.* hawk 241,  
 Knidos  
*Cult.* Aphrodite 710,  
 Knossos 729 760  
*Cults.* Hera 522 f. Minotaur 297 Ikhea  
 649, serpent 402 508<sub>1</sub> Zeus 522 f.  
 Zeus *Αἰγυῖα* 402,  
*Rites.* crown-prince masquerades as  
 solar bull 490 ff. 496 marriage of  
 Zeus and Hera 522 f. queen in  
 wooden cow married to bull 522 f.  
 youths and maidens devoured by  
 Minotaur 491  
*Myths.* Pandalos 481 Idomeneus 652,  
 Meriones 652, Pasiphae 543 739  
 Titans 649;  
 Knossos (cont.)  
 --- *coins* of 472; 476 f. 478 488 494  
 495, 720 1. Labyrinth at 472 ff.  
 tomb of Zeus at 157  
 Konanos, i. of Polyidos 470  
 Konanos, rider on dolphin 170  
 Kopki, tradition 397,  
 Kokkasion, Mt  
*Cult.* Zeus 134 f.  
*Myth.* Zeus married to Hera 155  
 Kolchis  
*Cults.* *γῆ* 534<sub>1</sub>, *οἰκάνος* 534<sub>1</sub>,  
*Rites.* dead men wrapped in ox-hides  
 and hung on trees, dead women  
 buried in ground 533  
*Myths.* Aietes 246 Kirke 238 Medea 244  
 Kolchoi  
*Cults.* Arcs 415 Hermes 415  
*Myth.* Phrixos 415  
 Kolophon  
*Cult.* Apollon *Κλαριος* 234  
 Kom el Chougata 540,  
 Komaithe 344  
 Kombabos  
*Myth.* 591,  
*Types.* in feminine attire 591, femi-  
 nine form in masculine attire 591,  
*Compared with Attis* 591,  
 --- statues of 591, 592,  
 Komis  
*Genealogy.* m. of Korybantēs by Sokos  
 106,  
 Kombed See Lussonium  
 Kommagene, the country  
*Cult.* (Jupiter) *Ιεὺς Πατρῆος* *Κομ-  
 μαγην* 612,  
 Kommagene, the goddess  
*Cult.* Nemroud Dagh 744 f. 748 750  
*Epithets.* *Ἡαυτογῶς* 744  
*Attributes.* corn-ears, grapes, pome-  
 granates, etc. 745 *corn* *caput*  
 745 *kalathos* 745 wreath of corn 745  
*Identified with Tyche* 745  
 Konavion 20 f. 23  
 Koprea  
*Cult.* Mithras 443,  
 Konstantinos, St 123,  
 Korakion  
*Cult.* Demeter 229,  
 Korax, king of Argaleia 737  
 Korai  
*Cults.* Acharaka 503 Argon 17 Ar-  
 keime in Amorgos 669 Delos 669  
 Eleusis 397, 669 Gaza 149<sub>1</sub> La-  
 komke (?) 442 Messene (?) 442  
 Mykonos 668<sub>1</sub> Paros 669, Thera  
 143 Thracio-Phrygians 695  
*Epithet.* *αὐχρῶδης* 443,  
*Rites.* Corn-maiden (?) 397, sacrifice  
 of ungilded boat 668  
*Priestesses.* human *πῶλος* 442 human  
 (?) 784  
*Personated by* Iobakehoi 679<sub>17</sub>  
*Genealogy.* m. of Dionysos by Zeus  
 695 offshoot of Gaia 396 f. 401 m.



## Kore (cont.)

of Korymbos without a father 106,  
d. of Zeus by Deo 394 w. of Zeus  
394 cp. 396

*Attribute* snake 392;

*Type* Praxiteles 427

*Associated with* Demeter 142 784  
Demeter and Dionysos 692 Demeter  
and Lakchos 425 Demeter and  
Plouton 669 Demeter and Zeus  
Boiōtēs 666 f. Demeter and Zeus  
Euboīotēs 669 Plouton 503 Zeus  
394 398 f. 695

See also Persephone, Pherephatta,  
Pherephatta, Perserphone, Proser-  
pina

## Korossos Mt

*Cult.* Zeus 134

— rock-cut throne on 140 f.

## Koria 155

Korinthos, personification of Corinth 247

Korinthos, s. of Marathon 246 247

Korinthos, s. of Zeus 1, 247

## Korkyra

*Cult.* Zeus Κάρως 123 Zeus Μηλώ-  
σιος 164, 520;

## Koronis 111,

Korymbantes 106 f. 150 ff.

*Cult.* Crete 650, Erinia 107 f. Mt  
Olympos 107 ff.

*Myths.* birth 664; two brothers slay  
third 107 f. sprung from ground  
as trees 106 f.

*Epithet* τρυκωπιδες 650;

*Rites* mysteries 107

*Priests.* Ἀνακτορέεσσαι 107

*Genealogy* sons of Apollon by Rhytia  
106, sons of Apollon by Thaleia 106  
sons of Hekhos by Athena 106, cp.  
107; sons of Kronos and Rhea 106,  
cp. 107; sons of Sokos by Kombe  
106, sons of Zeus by Kallippe 105 f.

*Etymology* 107 107, 115,

*Identified with* Kabirei 106 107  
as dance-theme 679;

## Korymbos

*Myth.* skinon springs from his blood  
107

*Metamorphosed into* snake 113

*Genealogy* s. of Iasion by Kybele 106  
s. of Kore without a father 106,

Korymbos, Mt. Zeus born in Corycian Cave  
on 152 f.

## Korymbos, near Moppe

*Cult.* Selamianos 519 Zeus Μαδβαχος  
519

## Korymbos, the mountain-goddess

*Associated with* Zeus 155 779

## Korymbos

*Cult.* Dionysos Μέρτης 673;

## Kos

*Cult.* Hera Ἀργεία 146; 147 Hera  
Βασίλεια 146; Hera Ἐνεια 146; Zeus  
Μαχάρεος 717; Zeus Ηοῖατος 717;

*Rite.* Coan women wear helmets 447

## Kos (cont.)

*Myth.* Herakles 447

— statue of Alexander the Great  
in 624,

Kosmas, St 168 f.

Kosti 216;

Kottoi 311

## Kotys

*Rite.* thunder-making 650;

## Kotyto

*Cult.* Corinth (?) 525;

*Function.* a Thracian Artemis- 526,

See also Kotys

## Koures

*Cult.* Thera 142 144

*Epithet* Δερρεπος (?) 142 144;

*Associated with* Zeus 142 144

Kouretes 109 150 ff. 358; 376; 623; 649,  
710 f.

*Cult.* Chalkis 24, Crete 650, Ephesos  
649, Hagia Barbara 471, Mt Ide  
in Crete 645 Pluti 471, Mt Sol-  
misisos 649;

*Epithet* Δακταῖοι 647,

*Oracle* 469 f.

*Priests.* χορηγοὶ 442,

*Myths.* birth 664; clash shields and  
spears round tree on which cradle  
of Zeus was hung 530, clash weapons  
round tree on which cradle of Zeus  
was hung 534 deceive Kronos 647,  
Leto 649, reigning in Crete 376;

*Genealogy* sons of Rhea 650;

*Etymology* 23,

*Functions.* akin to Satyrs 534 guar-  
dians of knee 471;

*Attributes.* shields 709 spears 530,  
sword 558,

*Types.* clashing weapons 150 ff. 358;  
649 659 709 f. escort Eupoe (?) 506  
guard infant Dionysos 709 in-  
fluence that of Dioskouroi (?) 768;  
round infant Zeus or Dionysos  
enthroned 150 ff. 646 f.

*Associated with* Diktynna 511 Zeus  
Κορυμβεύς 149; infant Zeus 150 ff.  
646 f. 710 f.

— bridal chamber of the 650, 650;

Kouretis (= Euboiā) 310, 321;

## Kiammon

*Rite.* τρυκωπιδεῖα (?) 497;

— coins of 497;

## Krates 294,

Kriemna (?) 471;

Kreon 251 290;

*Myth.* banishes Medea 248

Kriemna 251

Kreousa 251

Kres, t. of Falos 330,

Krete, d. of one of the Kouretes 376;

Krete, the nymph 721

Kretema 117

Kriethous 415;

Kietra-Flaviopolis

*Cult.* Demeter 229,

- Krios**, a *paidagōgos* 418<sub>1</sub>  
**Krios**, s. of Theokles 351;  
**Krisa** 760  
**Kritias** 165  
**Kronos**  
*Cults*: Arabia 756<sub>1</sub>, Carthage 722 Il-  
 lyricum (?) 181<sub>1</sub>, Karchedon 76,  
 Lebadeia 524 Phoinike 722 Sar-  
 dinia 722 Mt Silpiōn 237<sub>1</sub>  
*Epithets*: ἀγρολόγης 14<sub>1</sub> 760  
*Rite*: human sacrifice 76 722  
*Myths*: attacks Aminon 376<sub>1</sub> attacked  
 by Zeus 755<sub>10</sub>, deceived by Kouretes  
 647, dethroned by Zeus 329, de-  
 vour's horse instead of Poseidon  
 181, swallows stone in place of  
 Zeus 154 299 520.  
*Genealogy*: f. of Korymbantes 106, s. of  
 Ouranos by Ge 597<sub>1</sub> f. of Pan 702,  
 f. of Pluto 156<sub>1</sub> f. of Zeus 732  
*Functions*: the planet Saturn 756  
 rain 398 Saturday 753 solar (?) 298  
*Attributes*: bull-hook 575 bull's head  
 298 disk 298  
*Types*: bust 573 575 Janiform 297 f.  
 winged 297 f.  
*Identified with*: Belos, Ammon, Apis,  
 Zeus 756<sub>1</sub>, Talos 722  
*Associated with*: Rhea 376<sub>1</sub>  
*Compared with*: Minotaur 722 f.  
*In relation to*: Minotaur 298 the  
 Semitic El 722 Talos 298  
*Supersedes*: Ophion 155  
 — stone of 154 299 520<sub>1</sub>  
**Kronos**, the planet  
*Attributes*: ass 625<sub>1</sub>, 626 bronze 626<sub>1</sub>  
 crow 626<sub>1</sub>, hyacinth 625 f. lead  
 625 f. 626<sub>1</sub>  
**Kroton**  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἀγᾶπιος 17  
**Kybebe**  
*Associated with*: Attis 591.  
*Compared with*: Atargatis 591.  
**Kybele**  
*Rites*: criobolium 717, taurobolium 717.  
*Priestess*: human πελοῖσα 144  
*Genealogy*: m. of Korymbas by Iasion  
 106 w. of Attis 104  
*Associated with*: Attis 646<sub>1</sub> 717.  
 — rock-cut altars of 136 f.  
**Kydippe** 447 ff. 449 f.  
**Kydonia** 534.  
**Kyklopes**, three kinds of 302 ff. of East-  
 and West 309 ff. 313 f. 317 721  
*Epithets*: Γαστερόχειρες 309 Ἐργονέες  
 309; Ἐγγαστρούχειρες 309 f. Ἐγγε-  
 πογάστρος 309 f. 317 Ἐκατόχειρες  
 (?) 314 Χειρογάστρος 302 309 311  
 314 316 f.  
*Myths*: Mt Aitne 312, Argos 321<sub>1</sub>  
 Chalkidike (?) 321<sub>1</sub> Chalkis (?) 321<sub>1</sub>  
 Etruria 312, Euboea 310 310<sub>1</sub> 321<sub>1</sub>  
 Italy 312 Kyzikos 310 310<sub>1</sub>, Leon-  
 tinai 321, Lipara 312<sub>1</sub> Lykia 303  
 309 Mykenai 309; 310 310<sub>1</sub>, Nauplia
- Kyklopes** (cont.)  
 443<sub>12</sub> Naxos in Sicily 321, *Odyssey*  
 302 Sicily 312 320 321<sub>1</sub> Thessaly  
 309; 310 Thrace 310 310<sub>1</sub>, 321<sub>1</sub>  
 Tivyns 303 309 321<sub>1</sub> make thunder-  
 bolt of Zeus 310, 314 317 318 wield  
 the thunder and lightning of Zeus  
 318 318<sub>1</sub>  
*Functions*: builders 303 lightning (?)  
 313, lunar (?) 313 sky 313 302 f.  
 solar (?) 310 313 throwing stones,  
 i.e. suns or stars (?) 721 under-  
 ground smiths 302 volcanos (?) 313.  
*Genealogy*: off-spring of Nemcan Lion  
 310, sons of Gaia and Ouranos 314  
*Types*: one eye 312 two eyes 312  
 three eyes 312 320 462  
*In relation to*: Zeus 317 ff.  
 — Labyrinth of the 483<sub>12</sub>  
 See also *Kyklops*  
**Kyklops**  
*Cult*: Lykia (?) 302 ff.  
*Myth*: blinding 321 ff. 327  
*Functions*: sky 320 sun (?) 320 323  
 462  
*Genealogy*: f. of Galates 321<sub>1</sub> h. of  
 Galateia 321<sub>1</sub> s. of Ouranos 302  
 313 s. of Sikanos 321<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 309  
*Attributes*: pointed cap (?) 318 f.  
 thunderbolts (?) 318 f. 320  
*Type*: grotesque bearded head (?) 318 f.  
*Compared with*: Prometheus and the  
 Kabeiroi 328<sub>1</sub>  
 See also *Kyklopes*  
**Kyklops**, king of the Thracian tribe  
 Kyklopes 310, 321<sub>1</sub>  
**Kyllene**, Mt 82<sub>1</sub> 103  
*Cult*: Hermes 103<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with*: Zeus 779  
**Kyllon Pera** 429<sub>1</sub>  
**Kynados**, Mt  
*Cults*: Zeus superseded by St Elias  
 177 f.  
**Kynautha**  
*Cults*: Dionysos 503 Zeus 299.  
*Rite*: bull carried 503  
**Kynosoma**, a Cretan Nymph 112, 155<sub>1</sub>  
**Kyno-oma**, a Cyzicene goddess 112;  
 — Bakhori of 112;  
**Kynthos**, Mt  
*Cults*: Athena Κυβία 123 Zeus Κύρ-  
 thos 123  
*Myth*: Artemis 482<sub>1</sub> 513  
**Kypria**  
*Function*: friendship 31  
**Kypros**  
*Cults*: Adonis 651 Aphrodite 356 741  
 Aphrodite Παφία 768, Barai-ham-  
 man 598<sub>1</sub> Baal of Lebanon 551<sub>1</sub>  
 Helos and Zeus 187 Zeus 741  
 Zeus Εὐαπειναστής 651<sub>1</sub> Zeus Εὐαπ-  
 τος 527<sub>1</sub> Zeus Εὐαπτος 527<sub>1</sub> Zeus  
 Ζέρως (?) 75 Zeus Σπαραγχοτόμος  
 654<sub>1</sub>

Kyprios (*cont.*)

- coins of 741 768, fennel-stalk used in 323<sub>1</sub> folk-tale from 543<sub>1</sub> gold plate from 297<sub>2</sub> male figure with head and tail of wolf from 93<sub>1</sub>

## Kyrenaike

- Cult.*: Ammon 350<sub>1</sub>

## Kyrene

- Cult.*: Ammon 358<sub>1</sub>, 360<sub>1</sub> Apollon *Kapreios* 373 Asklepios 360<sub>1</sub> Zeus (?) 350 Zeus *Alouos* 350, 371 373 376 Zeus *Elytrauros* 92 350, Zeus *Erothos* (?) 350, Zeus *Axaios* 89 ff. 350, Zeus *Soteros* 350.

- Myth.*: Aristaios 372

- In relation to Arkadia* 89

Kyrene, the Hesperid (?) 95 95<sub>1</sub>

## Kynos, town in Kana 237

Kynos, hero 237<sub>1</sub>

## Kyrrios

- Cult.*: Zeus *Ka-ai-za-ros* 124

## Kythera

- Epithet.*: *Πασφαστος* 522<sub>1</sub>

## Kytisoros 416

## Kyzikos

- Cults.*: *Adiastoria* 112; *Demeter* 229, *Rhea* 169

- Myths.*: *Argonauts* 310, *Kyklopes* 310 310, names of Zeus 112,

- *Bombastion* at 649,

## Lab 240

Labrandos, one of the Carian Kouretes 18<sub>1</sub>Labyrinth at Chisium 483<sub>1</sub> at Dilyma

- 483<sub>1</sub> at Gortyna (?) 472, at Hawara 472<sub>1</sub> 490<sub>1</sub> 496 at Knossos 472 ff. 635 in Lemnos (?) 483<sub>2</sub> near Naulipia 483<sub>2</sub> at Phenix (?) 490<sub>2</sub> in Samos (?) 483<sub>2</sub>

- Rite.*: bull-fights (?) 498 f.

- Myths.*: *Daidalos* 496 *Daidalos* and *Ikaros* 343 made by *Daidalos* for the *Minotaur* 466 f. *Minos* 496

- Types.*: palace with patterned band 474 f. cp. 481<sub>2</sub> patterned column 475 patterned oblong 475 f. *sarcophagi* 476 ff.

- as countiv maze 490 as dance-theme 481 495 as mosaic 477<sub>1</sub> 484 ff. 489 f. taken over from paganism by Christianity 484 ff.

## Lachesis

- Etymology.*: 273

- Function.*: lot 273

Lade 544<sub>1</sub>

## Laegaine mae Crinetham 239

## Laertes

- Genealogy.*: h. of *Antikleria* 640.

Lars 429<sub>1</sub>

## Lakedaimon, s. of Zeus by Taygete 155

## Lakotike

- Cults.*: *Apollon Oupstros* 681<sub>1</sub> *Athena Hapcia* 231, *Demeter* and *Kore* (?) 442 *Dionysos Epiphos* 674 676 705

- Rite.*: human *πῶλοι* 442

## Lambaisa

- Cult.*: *Iupiter Pluto Serapis* 188;

## Lamedon 737

## Lampetie 410

## Lampos, horse of Helios 337,

## Lampsakos

- Cult.*: *Athena* 231.

Langvium 2<sub>2</sub>

## Laodike, d. of Antiochos viii Grypos

- Epithet.*: *Θεα Φιλάδελφως* 748<sub>1</sub>

## Laodikeia on the Lykos

- Cults.*: *Zeus* 151 f. *Zeus Asios* 706

## Laphystion, Mt. in Boiotia

- Cult.*: *Zeus Λαφυστιος* 121

- Myth.*: golden ram 417

Lapiths 24<sub>1</sub>Lappa, coins of 445, 619<sub>1</sub>

## Lare-

- Epithet.*: *Prostitus* 712<sub>2</sub>

- Type.*: seated on rock with dog 712<sub>2</sub>

## Larisa at Argos

- Cult.*: three-eyed *Zeus* 320

## Larisa on the Orentes

- Cult.*: *Zeus* 124 f.

## Larissa in Thessaly

- Cult.*: *Zeus Elytrauros* 498<sub>1</sub>

- Rite.*: *ταροκαθαζία* (?) 497<sub>1</sub> 498 498<sub>1</sub>

- coins of 497<sub>1</sub>

## Larisa

- Associated with Zeus* 156

## Larisee (?)

- Associated with Zeus* 156<sub>2</sub>

## Lartos, rock-cut throne near 142

## Las

- Cult.*: *Zeus Acauer* (?) 351

## Laturum 483

## Lato in Crete 149 729

## Latovici

- Cults.*: *Iupiter Dolichenus* 551, 633<sub>1</sub> *Iupiter Helicopolitanus* 551, 633<sub>1</sub>

## Learechos

- Myth.*: *Athamas* 416 674

## Lebadeia

- Cults.*: *Ajaxes* 407<sub>1</sub> *Apollon* 524 *Demeter Elytrauros* 525 *Hera Hecoxe* 525 *Kronos* 524 *Tiophonios* and his sons 524 *Zeus Baalios* 524 f.

Lebanon, Mt 476<sub>1</sub>

## Leda

- Myth.*: egg 279<sub>1</sub> *Zeus* 279<sub>1</sub> 770 774

- Genealogy.*: m. of *Dioskouron* by *Zeus* 760 763<sub>1</sub>

- Function.*: doublet of *Nemesis* 279<sub>1</sub>

- Attributes.*: blue nimbus 41<sub>1</sub>, swan 770

- Etymology.*: 763<sub>1</sub>

- Identified with Nemesis* 279<sub>1</sub>

- Associated with Zeus* 760, 763<sub>1</sub> 774

## Leleges

- Cult.*: sun-bird (?) 345<sub>2</sub>

## Lemnos

- Myths.*: *Prometheus* 324

- *Labyrinth* in 483<sub>2</sub> (?)

## Lenai 667 f. 672, 679 See also Bakchai, Maenads

- Lenaia 666 ff. 681 ff. 733  
*Rite*: passion-play (?) 678 ff.  
*Etymology*: 667 f. 672<sub>n</sub>  
Lenaion, site of the 666 f. 671  
Leo 231 545; 750 755<sub>n</sub>  
Leodamas 108<sub>1</sub>  
Leon  
*Cults*: Heliopolis in Egypt (?) 571<sub>2</sub>  
Ketr-Ncho 571<sub>2</sub> Leontopolis (?) 571<sub>2</sub>  
*Epithet* Παρσιος 571<sub>2</sub>  
*Associated with* Sennios and Symbe-  
tylos 571<sub>2</sub>  
Leonidas 74<sub>n</sub>  
Leontinoi  
*Myth*: Kyklopes 321<sub>1</sub>  
Leontopolis (?)  
*Cult*: Leon 571<sub>2</sub>  
Lepus 755<sub>n</sub>  
Lesbos  
*Cults*: Dionysos 656 Zeus Αἰδέριος 26  
Zeus Ἀμύων 571 Zeus Εὐφρύων 350,  
*Rites*: Corn-maiden 397<sub>1</sub> human sacri-  
fice to Dionysos 656  
— fennel-stalk used in 323<sub>1</sub>  
Leto  
*Cults*: Dreros 729<sub>2</sub> Ephesos 649,  
Ortygia, near Ephe-os 649; Pha-  
leron 112<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths*: bears twins 649; Kouretes 649;  
*Metamorphosed into* quail 544<sub>n</sub>  
*Genealogy*: m. of (Artemis) 495; m.  
of Diktynna 542<sub>2</sub>  
*Associated with* Zeus 155 544<sub>n</sub> 727<sub>n</sub> 728  
— cypress-grove of 649;  
Leukadios 345  
Leukas  
*Cults*: Aphrodite 345 Apollon Λευκάριος  
344 ff.  
*Rite*: the Leucadian leap 345 f.  
*Myths*: Aphrodite 345<sub>1</sub> Zeus 345<sub>1</sub>  
Leukas, personification of the colony 247  
Leukates 345<sub>1</sub>  
Leukippides  
*Rite*: human colts' 442  
*Myth*: rape by sons of Apharens and  
Dioskouroi 738<sub>12</sub>  
Leukon 416  
Leukothea  
*Cults*: Mt Hermon 420<sub>n</sub> Moschoi 416  
*Rite*: caldion of apotheosis 419<sub>n</sub> 420<sub>n</sub>  
674 f.  
*Myth*: boals Palaimon in caldion 674  
679  
*Metamorphosed into* gull 241<sub>11</sub>  
See also Ixo  
Libanos, Mt 550 f. 561<sub>1</sub>  
Liber  
*Cults*: Italy 693<sub>1</sub> Rome 693<sub>1</sub>  
*Epithet*: Pater 234<sub>1</sub>  
*Festival*: Liberalia 693<sub>1</sub>  
*Rites*: phallic 693<sub>1</sub> sacrifice of goat 717.  
*Priestesses*: 693<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths*: Aries 419<sub>n</sub> (Euhemeristic) 661 f.  
*Function*: procreative 693<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Jehovah 234<sub>1</sub>  
Libera 393<sub>n</sub> 661 f.  
Liberalia 693<sub>1</sub>  
Libertas  
*Cult*: Rome 194<sub>1</sub>  
*Attribute*: Phrygian cap 194<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Iupiter 194<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Iupiter 194<sub>1</sub>  
Libyans 362 387  
Libye, the country  
*Cults*: Ammon 350<sub>7</sub> Zeus Ἀμύων 74,  
*Rite*: shrine of Zeus taken into Libye  
348<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Argos 458<sub>n</sub>  
Libye, the heroine  
*Genealogy*: d. of Pikos Zeus by Io 237<sub>1</sub>  
m. of Belos 439  
Libyo-Greeks  
*Cult*: Bakchos (?) 438  
See also Graeco-Libyans  
Lipara  
*Myth*: Kyklopes 312<sub>1</sub>  
Lobrine See Rhea  
Lobrinon, Mt 394<sub>1</sub>  
Lochaia Iamnia  
*Cult*: Thera 142  
Lokroi Epizephyioi  
*Cult*: Zeus 598<sub>1</sub>  
Loukianos, St 170  
Lousios 154<sub>11</sub>  
Lucerus 64<sub>1</sub>  
Lucifer  
*Genealogy*: f. of Daidalion 342<sub>1</sub>  
Ludi Cincenses 552 715  
Luna, the town in Etruria  
*Cult*: Selene (?) 244<sub>1</sub>  
Luna, the moon-goddess  
*Epithet*: hincens 455<sub>n</sub>  
*Rite*: sacrifice of bull 455<sub>n</sub>  
*Myth*: Mitluas 516 ff.  
*Attributes*: chariot 517<sub>n</sub> crescent 620  
horns 618 radiate *numbus* 620 torch  
617 whip 620  
*Figs*: bust with crescent 616 ff. 620  
bust with *numbus* or radiate *numbus*  
620 horned bust in crescent 618  
riding on ox 538<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Sol 60 616 f. 620  
Lupercal 677<sub>1</sub>  
Lupercalia 87 677<sub>1</sub>  
Lupercus  
*Cult*: Rome 677<sub>1</sub>  
*Rites*: *luperci* or *crepi* 677<sub>1</sub>  
*Festival*: Lupercalia 677<sub>1</sub>  
*Type*: gnt with goat-skin 677<sub>1</sub>  
*Compared with* Zeus Ἀνταίος 63<sub>n</sub>  
Lussumus  
*Cult*: Iupiter Dolichenus 615 ff. 620 ff.  
626  
Luthi  
*Cult*: Iupiter Sol Sarapis 189<sub>1</sub>  
Lycaeus 362  
Lydia  
*Cults*: Tryptolemos 227 Tylos 227  
*Myth*: birth of Zeus 150 f.  
— coins of 571<sub>2</sub>

- Lykaia 63, 68 70 76 f. 76<sub>2</sub> 76<sub>3</sub> 87  
 Lykaion, Mt 81 ff.  
   *Cults* Zeus Λικαῖος 63 ff, 654 St Elias 177 f.  
   *Rite* human sacrifice 654  
   *Myths* birth of Zeus 154 Zeus seduces Kalisto 155  
 Lykaon 63 64<sub>1</sub> 64<sub>2</sub> 64<sub>3</sub> 65 77 ff.  
 Lykas 99<sub>1</sub>  
 Lykastria (?) 99<sub>1</sub>  
 Lykia  
   *Cults* Helios 301 Kyklops 302 ff.  
   *Myth* Kyklopes 303 309  
   — solar symbol of 299 ff.  
 Lykos, Athenian hero 99<sub>1</sub>  
 Lykos, Boeotian hero  
   *Genealogy* f. of Antiope (?) 735; h. of Duke 736 h. of Nykteus 65 737  
   *Etymology* 738  
 Lykos, god of light (?) 64<sub>1</sub>  
 Lykosoura 65  
 Lykomgus, Boeotian hero  
   *Genealogy* f. of Antiope 735<sub>3</sub>  
 Lykomgus, Nemean king, palace of 259<sub>1</sub>  
 Lykomgus, Thracian king  
   *Myth* persecutes nurses of Dionysos 735<sub>3</sub>  
 Lyra 755<sub>3</sub>  
 Lyrkos 237<sub>1</sub>  
 Lyсандros and the cult of Zeus Ἰαμαων 352  
 Lysippe 452  
 Lysippos 35 f. 204  
 Lyssa 252<sub>1</sub>  
 Lyttos 298<sub>3</sub>, 729  
   *Cult* Zeus 652 656 Zeus Βιδάρας 150<sub>3</sub>  
   *Rite* human sacrifice to Zeus 652 ff. 656  
   *Myths* return of Idomeneus 652 f.  
   Zeus as pincely hunter slain by wild boar (?) 652  
   — coins of 652  
 Malog 582 See Hierapolis in Syria  
 Madhu 329<sub>1</sub>  
 Mac-Dunn 239  
 Maenads 111 671 707<sub>2</sub> (?)  
   *Epithet* Γεωπαῖδες 111<sub>1</sub>  
   *Types* omophagy 465<sub>1</sub> with kid (?) 674<sub>1</sub>  
   *Associated with* Dionysos 503<sub>1</sub> 565 f.  
   Silenoi 698<sub>3</sub> 699<sub>1</sub>  
   See also Bakhai  
 Maeonians (?) 362  
 Magi 262 338<sub>2</sub> 783  
 Magna  
   *Cult* Iupiter Dolichenus (?) 552<sub>1</sub> 633<sub>2</sub>  
   Iupiter Helopolitanus 552<sub>1</sub> 633<sub>2</sub>  
 Magna Graecia  
   *Cult* Zeus Ἰαμαπος 17  
   *Rites* Orphic and Pythagorean 403  
 Magnesia ad Maeandrium  
   *Cults* Apollon 483 Demeter 229, Dionysos (?) 453 Kaberoi 110 Zeus (?) 153 Zeus Σαωίροβις 57 717<sub>2</sub>  
   *Rite* bull collapses at entrance of cave 504  
   — coins of 483 *prōpylon* at 296<sub>2</sub>  
 Magnesia ad Sipylum  
   *Cults* Demeter 229, Zeus 139 151<sub>2</sub>  
   — coin of 102<sub>1</sub>  
 Magon 379<sub>1</sub>  
 Magos 227<sub>1</sub>  
 Maia  
   *Associated with* Zeus 755<sub>1</sub>  
 Maionia  
   *Cults* Demeter 229, Men 193 732 Men Τίανον 642<sub>1</sub> 642<sub>2</sub> Zeus 152 732 Zeus Μασφάληνρος 193 642<sub>1</sub>  
 Maira 709  
 Makedonia  
   *Cults* Muses 111 Zeus 126 ff.  
   — carnival-play in 694 coins of 304  
 Malakbel See Genneas  
 Malaos 225<sub>1</sub>  
 Malatia, Hittite relief at 634 640<sub>1</sub>  
 Malla  
   *Cult* Zeus Μορρίτιος 298  
 Mallos  
   *Cults* Auramazda 208<sub>1</sub> sun 296 ff.  
   — coins of 297 t. 602 (?)  
 Maltai 576<sub>1</sub>  
 Mamertini  
   *Cult* Hadran 232<sub>1</sub>  
 Mandylas 367  
 Manthu 329<sub>1</sub>  
 Marathon, the deme  
   *Cult* Athena Ἐλλωρις 526<sub>1</sub>  
   *Myth* bull 467 549<sub>2</sub>  
 Marathon, the hero  
   *Personates* Zeus (?) 247  
   *Genealogy* s. of Epopeus 246 247 f. of Sikyon 246  
 Marduk  
   *Epithets* *Ibi* 756 god of the good wind 759 *Nibru* 756  
   *Myth* fight with Tiamat 759  
   *Function* the planet Iupiter 755 f. ep. 759  
   *Identified with* Iupiter *Belus* 755 f. Zeus Βήλος 756  
 Margarita, St 176<sub>1</sub>  
 Margarito 176<sub>1</sub>  
 Manas  
   *Cult* Gaza 149<sub>1</sub> 467<sub>1</sub> 478  
   *Identified with* Zeus 149<sub>1</sub>  
 Maros 496  
 Mars  
   *Attributes* goose 618 t. helmet 618 619 (?) shield 618 f. spear 618  
   *Type* standing with helmet, spear, and shield 618 f.  
   — birth of 786 conception of 786  
 Mars, the planet 755 f. 758 f.  
 Marsyas 128 f.  
 Marmianos, St 170  
 Mar-Tu 549<sub>1</sub>  
 Maruts 718<sub>1</sub>  
 Massilia  
   *Cults* deus Dolichenus 611 Iupiter Helopolitanus *Prop(iti)us* 2 agator (?) 552<sub>1</sub>

## Mater

*Epithet*: Magna 444;  
*Priestesses*: Melissae 444.

## Mater Matuta

*Associated with* Fortuna 272

## Mauretania Caesariensis

*Cults*. Dis 355; Jupiter *Hammou* 351 f.  
Tanit 351 f.

## Medeia 14, 244 ff.

*Myth*. Apsyrtos 680 Argonauts 244 ff.  
attendants of Dionysos 785 Iason  
253 f. influences that of Kirke (?)  
238; 238; influenced by that of  
Triptolemos 245 Pelias 119 419<sub>10</sub>  
Talos 719 721

*Personates* Hera (?) 248

*Genealogy*: grand-d. of Helios 244  
419 st. of Kirke 244 d. of Aietes  
246 niece of Kirke 244

*Attribute*: halo 238

*Type*: oriental dress 252

*Associated with* Zeus 248

— mortar of 244;

Medionemetum 273<sub>1</sub>

## Medou-a 292

## Megapolis 16 112

*Cults*: Great Goddesses 112, Herakles  
the Idaean Daktylos 112; Zeus  
Αἰδαῖος & Zeus Φῆλος 112;

## Megara

*Cult*: Zeus 2;

*Myth*: Nisos and Skylla 344

— coins of 304

## Megrin. See Ba'al-Margod

## Meh-int

*Function*: sun 315<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with* eye of Rā 315<sub>1</sub>

## Meidias, the potter 125

Melampous 112<sub>1</sub>

*Myth*: Proitides 452 f.

## Melanthos slays Xanthos 689;

## Melas, s. of Phrixos 416

## Melcarth. See Melqart

Melia, w. of Inachos 237<sub>1</sub>

## Melikertes

*Myth*. Ino 416 674 called Palaimon  
170 674

Melissa, nurse of Zeus 112<sub>1</sub>Melissa, priestess of the Mater Magna 114<sub>2</sub>Melissos or Melissos 112; 112<sub>1</sub>

## Melite, former name of Samothrace 109

## Melite, the Attic deme, lesser mysteries at 219

## Melos, coin of 305

## Melqart or Melqarth

*Cult*. Tyre 356 601;

*Festival*: 601

*Identified with* Herakles 356

— emerald *stole* of 356

## Memphis

*Cults*. Apis 188<sub>1</sub> 433 Hephaistos 433  
Nemesis (?) 269; Ptah 433

## Men

*Cults*. Ameria 642 Antiocheia in

## Men (cont.)

Pisidia 642<sub>1</sub> Byblos (?) 227 Maionia  
193 642<sub>1</sub> 642<sub>1</sub> 732 Neokaisareia (?)  
641 f. Nysa in Lydia 642<sub>1</sub> Phrygia  
400; 730; Sagalassos 642<sub>1</sub> Temeno-  
thyrai 642<sub>1</sub>

*Epithets*. Πλουτοδωτης 503<sub>1</sub> Τίαμοι  
193; 642<sub>1</sub> Τύραννος 193; Φαφράκιον 642

*Priests*: ιερόδοκοι 642

*Function*: lunar 193 400; 642

*Attributes*: bull 642 pine-cone 642  
stellate tiara 741

*Types*: bull's head beside him 642;  
drawn in ear by two bulls 642;  
standing with bull beside him 642;  
treads on prostrate bull 642<sub>1</sub> with  
foot on bull's head 642 642<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with* Sabazios 400; Tripto-  
leamos 227 Zeus (?) 400;

*Associated with* Tyche Βασιλέως 642  
Zeus 732 Zeus Μασφαλαιηνός 642;

*Compared with* Sabazios 642<sub>1</sub>

## Mendes, Egyptian king 496

## Mendes, Egyptian town

*Cults*: Ba-neb-Tettu 346 f. goat 347.  
Khemmu 346 f.

*Rite*: sacrifice of sheep but not goat-  
347

## Mene

*Epithets*: ἀντῶπις 738 ταντῶπις 455;  
*Genealogy* m. of Drosos (?) by Aei  
732; m. of Neumean lion 457;

Menelaos 503<sub>1</sub>

*Myth*: in Crete 545;

## Menneh. See Maionia

## Menthe

*Myth*. Hades 257;

*Associated with* Hades 257;

See also Mintha or Munthe

## Mercurius

*Cults*. Athens 551<sub>1</sub> 554<sub>1</sub> Celts 482<sub>10</sub>  
Heliopolis in Syria 554 Netheraby  
611; Samos (?) 172

*Epithets*. Augustus 554<sub>1</sub> Heliopolit-  
anus 554<sub>1</sub> 554<sub>1</sub> Sanctus 611;

*Rite*: sacrifice of goat 717;

*Attributes*: caduceus 482<sub>10</sub> cornu copiae  
714 goat (?) 482<sub>10</sub> purse 482<sub>10</sub> ram (?)  
482<sub>10</sub>

*Associated with* Iupiter Heliopolitanus  
and Venus Heliopolitana 554<sub>1</sub> 554<sub>1</sub>  
Iupiter Heliopolitanus and Venus  
Felix 554<sub>1</sub>

*Superseded by* St Merkourios 172

Mercury, the planet 746<sub>1</sub> 750 755 f. 758

*Function*: moist winds 759;

## Merdocha

*Cults*. Zeus Ἀνέστητος Ἡλῆος Θεός Ἀν-  
πος (?) 194<sub>1</sub>

## Merkourios, St 172

## Meroe

*Cults*. Dionysos 376 Zeus Ἀναγέρ 350  
376 376; 428

Merope, m. of Kleonira 251 251<sub>1</sub>Merope, m. of Panlarios 720<sub>1</sub>

## Merops

*Metamorphosed into eagle* 755<sub>n</sub>

## Mesembria, coins of 251

## Messalla, in guise of Demeter 228

## Messene

*Cults*: Demeter and Kore 442 (?) Zeus

*Ἱεραῖα* 121 f. 154

*Rite*: human *πῶλοι* 442 (?)

*Myth*: infancy of Zeus 151

## Messogis, Mt. Zeus born on 151

## Mestria 141 328;

## Metanena 175, 211

## Metapontum

*Cults*: Dionysos *Ἐπειος* 674 ff. 705

Zeus *Ἀναῖων* 372 376

## Meter

*Cult*: Athens 676 f. Delos 550; Peiraeus 442

*Epithets*: *ἡ παντῶν ἀπαύουσα* 550<sub>1</sub>

*Ἰδέα* (*str.*) 400, *Μεγαλή* 400, 550<sub>1</sub>

*Ὀπάα* (*str.*) 442

*Festivals*: Galaxia 676 f.

*Rites*: barley boiled in milk 676 rebirth 677

*Associated with Attis* 742<sub>1</sub> Zeus *ὁ παντῶν ἀπαύων* 550<sub>1</sub>

See also Mother of the gods

## Methana

*Cult*: Hephaistos 328

## Michael 169 233

## Midas 111, 137 throne of, at Delphi 139

## Midgardh-serpent, the 185

Miletos 74<sub>n</sub>

*Cult*: Zeus *Νοστίος* 733<sub>n</sub>

*Rite*: *Διὸς ποίς* 717<sub>2</sub>

## Milky Way

*Myth*: 624 755

— in folk-love 624<sub>1</sub> in modern art 624<sub>4</sub>

Mimallones 667<sub>1</sub>Mimas (?) 156<sub>12</sub>

## Minerva 619

*Cult*: Rome 59<sub>11</sub>

*Attributes*: helmet 616 lance 616 shield 324

*Types*: bust 616 thoughtful 34; in *quadriga* 712<sub>4</sub>

*Associated with Jupiter and Juno* 60

## Minerva, a Cretan princess 662

## Minos

*Epithet*: *ὀλοόργεν* 657<sub>2</sub>

*Myths*: 464 ff. Britomartis 524 623<sub>3</sub>; dazzling bull 720<sub>1</sub> death of Glaukos

469 ff. Diktynna 524 founds Giza

235 Ganymede's 527<sub>1</sub> Labyrinth

496 as *orge* (?) 657 f. Talos 719

719, 721 war with Athens 319

*Metamorphosed into eagle* (?) 527<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Akakallis 366 f. of

Asterios by Androgeneia 493<sub>1</sub> f. of

Glaukos by Pasiphae 469 f. h. of

Idaea 544, h. of Ideia (=Idaea)

493, h. of Pasiphae 416 s. of Zeus

*Ἀστέριος* 545, 547 s. of Zeus by

Europe 464 467 648

## Minos (cont.)

*Functions*: divine king 662<sub>1</sub> hypostasis of Cretan Zeus (?) 527<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: bay 235 sceptre 493

*Type*: helmeted head (?) 235 helmeted warrior holding bay 235

*Associated with Britomartis* 524 527<sub>1</sub>

541 543 Diktynna 524 511 543

— panegyric of Zeus made by 157, 663, tomb of 158<sub>2</sub>

## Minotaur 490 ff.

*Cult*: Knossos 297

*Epithets*: *Ἀστέριος* 465 493 ff. 524 543

546 *Ἀστέριων* 493 ff. 524 543 546

*Myths*: 464 ff. devours youths and maidens 319 658 slain by Theseus 24<sub>n</sub> 492 ff. 496

*Genealogy*: s. of Pasiphae 465 f. 491

*Functions*: Cnosian crown-prince masquerading in solar dance (?)

491 658 god of sun, moon, and

stars 495 solar 297 490 ff. 546 655

stellar 524

*Attributes*: mask 492 staff 492 star (?) 493 ff. 495<sub>0</sub>

*Types*: bull-headed child (?) 466<sub>n</sub> bull-headed figure throwing stones 720 f.

bull's tail but human head 496 496<sub>2</sub>

dragged by Theseus out of Labyrinth 474 ff. flecked 493 spangled

with stars 493 sprinkled with eyes

493 f. surrounded by dots (*stars*?)

494 f.

— as dance-theme 496

*Associated with Pasiphae* 466<sub>n</sub>

*Compared with Cithician disk-bearing*

god 297 f. Phoenician Kronos 298 (?)

722 f. Talos 297 f. 720 ff.

## Mintha or Munthe

*Genealogy*: d. of Peitho 257

*Identified with Lynx* 257

See also Menthe

Muxans 689<sub>1</sub>Mitani 190<sub>1</sub>

## Mithrae (?) cult of Diskos 299

Mithras 190<sub>1</sub>

*Cults*: Komjea 443 Nemroud Dagh

742<sub>1</sub> (?) 744 ff. 748 Tyana 742<sub>2</sub>

*Epithets*: *Δακαίος* 742<sub>2</sub>; *τροπιδάσιος* 516<sub>1</sub>

*Rites*: *Νεορτικά* 443 sacrifice of bull

516 ff.

*Personated by Antiochos i of Kommagene* (?) 742<sub>2</sub>

*Myth*: 502<sub>n</sub> 516 ff.

*Functions*: god of friendship 190;

light 190, mediator 190, Mercury

the planet 746; rain (?) 190; solar (?)

190; 190<sub>1</sub> 746<sub>1</sub> god of truth 190;

upper air (?) 190; *φρυγοποιος* 746<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology*: 190<sub>1</sub>

*War-hippers*: *ἀετός*, *gryphus*, *helio-*

*dromus*, *απαξ*, *κοπαξ*, *νεαυα*, *νεων*,

*miles*, *pater*, *pater patratus*, *pater*

*patrum*, *Perseus* 443<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: barson 746 bull 516<sub>1</sub> crow

- Mithras** (*cont.*)  
 516; dog 516<sub>1</sub> *kratér* 516<sub>1</sub> Phrygian cap 516<sub>1</sub> 518<sub>1</sub> snake 516<sub>1</sub> stellate tiara (?) 742 tree with snake coiled round it 516<sub>1</sub> zodiac 754  
*Types*: appearing out of tree (cypress?) 517<sub>1</sub> as child emerging from rock 518<sub>1</sub> dragging bull 517<sub>1</sub> slaying bull 516 f. shooting arrow 516 f. mounting chariot of Sol 517<sub>1</sub> with kneeling Sol 517<sub>1</sub> with standing Sol 517<sub>1</sub> 518<sub>1</sub> as youth seizing branches of bush 518<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Apollon Helios Hermes 744 ff. 748 Zeus 181<sub>1</sub> Zeus, Helios. Sarapis 190  
*Associated with* Sol 517<sub>1</sub> 518<sub>1</sub>  
*In relation to* Auramazda 754  
 — mysteries of 442 f. 516 ff. worshipped by Commodus 607
- Mnemosyne**  
*Genealogy*. m. of Muses by Zeus 104 f.  
*Associated with* Muses 112<sub>1</sub> Zeus 104
- Mnevis** 431 f. 784  
*Function* solar 431 436 635  
*Types*. bull with solar disk and uræus 431 human with bull's head 431  
*In relation to* Osiris 431
- Morai**  
*Cult*. Mt Olympus 114  
*In relation to* Atargatis 583
- Moloch**  
*Cult*. Jerusalem 723<sub>1</sub>  
*Rites* sacrifice of flour, turtle-doves, sheep, ram, calf, ox, child 723<sub>1</sub>  
*Type* calf-faced figure of bronze with outstretched hands 723<sub>1</sub> cp. 784
- Molos** 652.
- Monemphus**  
*Cults*. Aphrodite 437 cow 437 Hathor 437
- Momos** 318 f.
- Moninos**  
*Cult* Edessa 706<sub>2</sub>  
*Function*: evening-star (?) 706<sub>2</sub>  
*Associated with* Arizos 706<sub>2</sub>
- Morges** 646
- Mo-choi**  
*Cult* Leukothea 416
- Moses** 51  
 See also Ain Mûsa
- Mosychlos**, Mt 324
- Mother of the gods**  
*Cults*. Comith 118<sub>2</sub> Phrygia 553  
*Functions* central fire 303<sub>1</sub> earth 553  
*Type*: carried by lions 553  
*Identified with* Polykaste 728  
 See also Meter
- Mousa**  
*Genealogy* w. of Zeus 104  
*Etymology*, the 'Mountain'-mother 104  
*Associated with* Zeus 104 ff. 779
- Muses** 104 ff. 128 130 ff.  
*Cults*. Alexandria 132 Athens 104<sub>2</sub>
- Muses** (*cont.*)  
 Delphoi 104<sub>2</sub> Mt Helikon 104<sub>2</sub> Mt Olympus 104<sub>2</sub>  
*Epithet*: Θοῦρπδες 111  
*Myths* contest on Mt Helikon 257 f. dance round altar of Zeus Ἐλευσῖος 117 Lyra 755<sub>1</sub> sing at marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia 540  
*Genealogy* daughters of Zeus by Mnemosyne 104 f.  
*Function* mountain-deities 622<sub>1</sub>  
*Attribute*: wreaths of lilies 622<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Dionysos 111<sub>2</sub> Mnemosyne 112<sub>1</sub> 131 Zeus 104 ff. 130 ff.  
*Type*. Philiskos 131  
 — akin to Maenads 111  
 See also Kalliope, Thaleia
- Mut**  
*Function* mother-goddess 387  
*Genealogy*: w. of Amen-Râ 387  
*Attributes*: crowns of South and North 387
- Myia** See Ba'al Zebub
- Mykenai**  
*Cults*. Hera 446 Zeus 296<sub>1</sub>  
*Rite* bull-fights 497  
*Myth* Kyklopes 309; 310 310<sub>1</sub>  
 — cow's head from 523 619<sub>1</sub> gold ring from 623 precinct of Zeus at 296; terra-cotta cows found at 446
- Mykermos** 523
- Mykonos**  
*Cults*: Demeter 668 f. Dionysos Ἀγῶν 668 f. Ge Χθονία 668 f. Kore 668 f. Poseidon 169 Semelê 668 f. Zeus Βουλεύς 668 f. 717; Zeus Χθόνιος 668 f.
- Mylitta** 554<sub>1</sub>
- Myrmidon**  
*Genealogy*. s. of Zeus by Eurymedousa 533<sub>1</sub>
- Myrmidones** 533<sub>1</sub>
- Mytilos** 37 ff. 262<sub>1</sub> (?) 408  
*Myth* 225<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy* s. of Hermes 405; s. of Phaethon 225<sub>1</sub>  
*Attribute* wheel 225<sub>1</sub> 260  
*Compared with* Phaethon 225<sub>1</sub>
- Mytossa** 112<sub>2</sub>
- Mysians** 362
- Mytilene**  
*Cults* Aps 637 Dionysos (?) 373 f. Zeus Ἀμύων 372 Zeus Ἑλίου Sarapis 189<sub>1</sub>
- Naa-senes** 391<sub>2</sub>
- Nabu**  
*Function*: the planet Mercury 755
- Nahat**, throne of 136
- Naii**, spring at Teuthone 369
- Naiades** See Nymphs; Naiads
- Nandi**, footprint of 637
- Nasamonos**, chalcedony found in land of 583<sub>2</sub>
- Nasatia** or Nasatya 190. 741<sub>1</sub>



Naupaktos 170

Nauplia

*Myth* Kyklopes 483<sub>12</sub>

— Labyrinth near 483<sub>12</sub>

Naxos

*Cults* Dionysos Μελαχίος 428 Zeus

154 163 ff. Zeus Μηλώσιος 164

420<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ολέγπιος 164<sub>1</sub>

— folk-tale of St Dionysios in 171<sub>1</sub>

Naxos in Sicily

*Myth* Kyklopes 321<sub>1</sub>

Neara 410

Neapolis in Campania. coins of 620<sub>1</sub>

Neapolis in Samaria

*Cults* Adad 572<sub>1</sub> 590<sub>1</sub> Iupiter *Capit-*

*olinus* 45 Iupiter *Helopolitani-*

572<sub>1</sub> 590<sub>1</sub> Zeus Αδάος 572<sub>1</sub> 590<sub>1</sub>

Neda 112<sub>1</sub> 112<sub>2</sub>

Nemlo-

*Epithet.* διπτερός ποταμός 349<sub>1</sub>

*Myth* Io 441

*Attribut.* cornu copiae 361

*Identified with* Zeus 361

*Associated with* Triptolemos 222 f.

Nemloupols

*Cult* Apis 433

Nekhebet 206 386 387

Nekysia 423<sub>2</sub>

Nemausus, the town

*Cult* Iupiter *Helopolitanius* 552<sub>1</sub>

— fountain at 569

Nemausus, the town personified

*Associated with* Iupiter *Helopolitanius*

552<sub>1</sub> 569

Nemea, the goddess

*Genealogy* d. of Zeus by Selene

456 732

*Function* woodland(?) 280<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology* 446

*Associated with* Zeus 280<sub>1</sub> 456-

— with Alkibades on her knees 456<sub>1</sub>

Nemea, the town

*Cults* Zeus 448 Zeus Νεμεός 558<sub>1</sub>

*Myths* Argos holds cattle of Hera

446 451 hon 456 f. Lykourgos 259<sub>1</sub>

Zeus and Selene 739

Nemean Lion

*Myth* Hera 456

*Genealogy* f. of Kyklopes 310<sub>1</sub> offspring of Selene 456 f.

Nemesia 423<sub>1</sub>

Nemesiaci 281 ff.

Nemesis 269 ff.

*Cults* Akmonia 278 Alexandria 269

Andautonia 276<sub>1</sub> Aquincum 275 f.

Canuntum 276 ff. Memphis(?) 269<sub>1</sub>

Peraiacus 269 Rhannous 273 ff.

284 f. Sebennytos(?) 269<sub>1</sub> Smyrna

273 275<sub>2</sub> 278 f. 284 f. Pemma 276<sub>1</sub>

*Epithets* ἀναστα 269 ἀρασσα 269<sub>1</sub>

*Augusta* 275 f. εὐπτερος 269 ἀκλιν

εὐρασα πολλοί 269 παρδανατετρα 269<sub>1</sub>

πτεροσσα 269<sub>1</sub> Ρεμνα 276 ff. 276<sub>1</sub>

278<sub>1</sub>

Nemesis (cont.)

*Festival* Nemeia 423<sub>1</sub>

*Oracles* 273

*Role* divining-rod 282

*Priest.* 282 f.

*Myths.* Alexander the Great 278 f.

wooed by Zeus as a goose 279<sub>1</sub> 760<sub>1</sub>

by Zeus as a snake 270<sub>1</sub> 279<sub>1</sub> by

Zeus as a swan 279<sub>1</sub> 760<sub>1</sub>

*Metamorphosed into* fish etc. 279<sub>1</sub> goose

279<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy:* m. of Dioskouroi and

Helene 279 d. of Thestios 279<sub>1</sub>

760<sub>1</sub>

*Functions:* birth and death(?) 284 dis-

tribution(?) 272 f. 284 f. doublet

of Leda 279<sub>1</sub> earth(?) 273 indigna-

tion(?) 272 f. 284 f. vegetation

284 woodland 273 275

*Etymology* 272 ff. 285

*Attributes:* apple-branch 270 275 275<sub>2</sub>

281 285 bowl 275 branch(?) 271

bundle 279 cubit-rule 279 (See also

measuring-rod) guthin 270 276 281

measuring-rod 269 271 moon and

disk 276 *phall* 281 plane-tree 278 f.

285 rudder 269<sub>1</sub> 276 serpent 269

stags 275 281 sword 276 Victories

281 wheel 269 ff. 271 276 whip 276

wreath(?) 271

*Types:* bridal gesture 274 275<sub>2</sub> 279 as

Phana 276 in snake-drawn car 270 f.

two Nemeseis 273 278 f. Pheidias

275 running 270 standing with

apple-branch and stag 274 stand-

ing on man 269 statue at Rham-

nous 280 f. swathed figure(?) 203<sub>1</sub>

winged 269 ff.

*Identified with* Adraesteia 269<sub>1</sub> Artemis

275 f. Diana 275 f. Hygieia(?) 270<sub>1</sub>

Isis 271<sub>1</sub> Leda 279<sub>1</sub> 760<sub>1</sub> Oupis 275

*Associated with* Diana 276 ff. 278<sub>1</sub> Sil-

vanus 275<sub>1</sub> Zeus 278 ff. 760<sub>1</sub> 780

king personating Zeus 280

*Compared with* Aphrodite 284 Artemis

284

*In relation to* Atargatis 583 Fortuna

271<sub>1</sub> Tyche 271<sub>1</sub>

Nemet 273<sub>1</sub>

Nemetes 273<sub>1</sub>

Nemetiales 273<sub>1</sub>

Nemetona 273

Nemroud Dagh, description of funeral

monument of Antiochos I of Kom-

magene on the 742 ff.

*Cults* Apollon 744 ff. 748 750 Ares

744 746 748 Atargatis 744 746 748

Helios 744 ff. 748 Herakles 744 746

748 750 Hermes 744 ff. 748 Kom-

magene 744 f. 748 750 Mithras

742 f. 744 ff. 748 Tyche Nea 744

746<sub>1</sub> Zeus ὁποισδὴς 741 ff.

*Festivals:* Birthday of Antiochos I of

Kommagene 746<sub>1</sub> Coronation-day

of Antiochos I of Kommagene 746<sub>1</sub>

- Nemus**  
*Cult.*: Diana *Nemorensis* 273 ff.  
**Neokaisareia** in Pontos  
*Cult.*: Men (?) 641 f.  
**Neoptolemos**  
*Myth.*: Delphoi 261 f. 680 kills Priamos 39, 40, Trojan leap 483.  
**Nephelai (?)** 202  
**Nephele** 203 f. (?)  
*Genealogy*: m. of Phrixos and Helle by Athamas 415 f.  
**Neptunus**  
*Genealogy*: 1. of Trinacrus 305.  
**Nereids** 165 172.  
**Nereus** 757  
*Myth.*: lends solar cup to Herakles 225  
**Neigal**  
*Function*: the planet Mars 755  
**Nero as Jupiter** 59  
**Nerva as Jupiter** 43;  
**Nestus**  
*Function*: water 31  
**Netherby**  
*Cult.*: Fortuna (?) 611, Iuno (*Regina*?) 611, Iupiter *Dolichenus* 611, Mercurius *Sanctus* 611.  
**Nibiru** See **Marduk**  
**Nicolas, St**  
*Function*: St Elmo's fire 775  
**Nihongi tradition** 305.  
**Nikai (?)** 202. See also **Nike**  
**Nikaia** in Bithynia  
*Cult.*: Apis 637 Demeter 229, Zeus 752  
 Zeus *Ayopaïos* 371 Zeus *Araïos* 38.  
 — coin of 752  
**Nikaia, m. of Satyros and Telete** by Dionysos 536  
**Nike**  
*Attribute*: *tyche* 440.  
*Types*: heading sacrificial procession 565 plume on head (?) 297, riding on bull Apis 538  
*Associated with* Tyche 44.  
 See also **Nikai**  
**Niketas, St** 170  
**Nikolaos, St** 169 f.  
**Nikomedeia**  
*Cult.*: Apis 637 Demeter 229.  
**Nikopolis** in Judaea  
*Cult.*: Adad 572, 590, Iupiter *Helio-politanus* 572, 590, Zeus *'Aðaðos* 572, 590.  
**Nikopolis** in Moesia  
*Cult.*: Zeus *Ἰλιος Μέγας Κύριος Σεβαστός Ἀγίος* 400 428  
**Nikosthenes** 503, 513;  
**Niksar** See **Neokaisareia**  
**Nile** See **Neilos**  
**Nimrod** 651  
**Nineveh**  
*Cult.*: Io (?) 237;  
**Ninib**  
*Cult.*: Nippur 580  
*Functions*: the planet Saturn 755 storm-god 580 sun-god 580  
**Ninib (cont.)**  
*In relation to* En-lil 580  
**Nin-lil**  
*Epithet*: *Nin-khar-sag* 580  
*Etymology*: 580  
*Associated with* En-lil 580  
**Nippur**  
*Cult.*: En-lil 580 756 Ninib 580 Nin-lil 580  
**Nireus, statue of** 592.  
**Nisos**  
*Myth.*: Megara 344  
*Metamorphosed into* sea-eagle 344  
*Function*: solar (?) 346  
**Nonae Caprotinae** 694.  
**Notos**  
*Myth.*: produces temales 759.  
**Nu**  
*Functions*: sky 314 sun 314  
 — eye of 314  
**Nuceria Alfaterna**  
*Cult.*: Zeus *Ἀγῶων* 372  
**Nut**  
*Functions*: moon 314 sky 314 387 sun 314  
*Genealogy*: w. of Seb 387  
 — eyes of 314  
**Nykteus**  
*Myth.*: 65 737  
*Genealogy*: f. of Antiope 735, 737 b. of Lykos 737  
*Etymology*: 738  
**Nyktimos** 64, 65 79 79.  
**Nymphs**  
 — **Cretides** 711.  
 — **Dodonides** 111.  
 — **Dryades**: 41, **Britomartis** (?) 527, **Chrysopeleia** 77.  
 — **Dymanian** 144  
 — **Geraistai** 112.  
 — **Geraistiades** 112;  
 — **Hadryades** 511.  
 — **Heliades**: **Lampetie** 410 **Phaethousa** 410  
 — **Hesperis**: **Kyrene** (?) 95, 95.  
 — **Hyades**: 111, **Dione** 111.  
 — **Idaeon**: 112 529 755. See **Adra-teia**, **Amaltheia**, **Hehke**, **Ide**, **Idothea**, **Kynosoura**  
 — **Naiades**: 667, **Mintia** 257 **Nikaia** 536  
 — **Nereis**: **Halia** 444;  
 — **Oreades**: 41, 229, **Aitne** 106, 106, 106, **Thaleia** 105 f. **Thousa** (?) 321.  
 — **Pleiades**: 405, 755. See **Elektra**, **Maia**, **Taygete**  
 — **Thomides** 111.  
*Associated with* Dionysos and his followers 667, 688 **Panes** 702.  
**Nysa** in **Lydia**  
*Cult.*: **Demeter** 229, **Dionysos** (?) 503, **Men** 642, **Ploutos** (?) 503.  
 — coins of 504 642, 784  
**Nysa, Nymph of Dodona** 111.

- Oases of E. Sahara 366  
 Oas-is of El-Charge  
*Cult.* Amen-Rā 348  
 Oasis of Siwah, as described by Diodorus 369 from s. iv to s. xviii A.D. 376 ff. in modern times 378 ff. 784 described 380 ff.  
*Cults.* Amen 389 Amen-Rā 386 f. Baral-hamman 355 ff. Heli-shaf 389 Graeco-Libyan Zeus 361 ff. Zeus *Αἰαῶν* 350  
*Rite.* *δαφάνος* earned in golden boat 355 ff.  
 — doves of 364 f. 367 f. Fountain of the Sun in 368 381 f. temple at Agerium in 387 ff. temple at Umma buda in 382 ff. 390;  
 Oaxians (?) 363  
 Oceanus (?) 517,  
 Ocean, Mt  
*Cult.* Zeus superseded by St Elias 177 f.  
 Myth union of Zeus with Hera 155  
 Ody-an, mysteries on mountains of 672  
 Odysseus 320  
*Cult.* Ithake (?) 328  
*Epithets.* *Αἰθων* 328 *Ἰθακήσιος* 328 *Ἰθακός* 328  
 Myths axes 329, consults Teiresias 407<sub>1</sub> Kyklops 312<sub>1</sub> 327 *Nekyia* 734 returns to Penelope 323 steals cattle of Helios 640  
*Genealogy* s. of Antikleia 328, s. of Sisyphos by Antikleia 639 f.  
*Functions.* tree (?) 327 f. sun (?) 313.  
*Type* 328  
 Compared with Prometheus 327 f.  
 Superseded by St Elias 170 f.  
 Ogenos  
*Genealogy* h. of (Tethys) 675;  
 Oichalia 117  
 Oidipous 680;  
 Oikoumene 51;  
 Oiners  
*Genealogy* m. of Pan by Aither 27;  
 m. of Pan by Zeus 27;  
 Omoe 112;  
*Genealogy* m. of Pan by Aither 27;  
 Onomaios  
 Myth chariot-race with Pelops 36 ff. 407 ff.  
 Compared with Dryas 225;  
 Onopion  
 Myth 290;  
*Genealogy* f. of Talos 290;  
 Oistros 252  
 Okeanos  
 Myth lends solar cup to Herakles 225 358;  
*Genealogy* f. of Pacira 212 f. of Triptolemos by Ge 212  
 Associated with Ge 212  
 Olba  
*Cult.* Zeus *Ὀλβιος* 125 304;  
 — coins of 304  
 Oleiai 689;  
 Olene or Olenos in Achaia 529;  
 Olenos in Aulis 529;  
 Olenos, f. of Aiga and Helike 529;  
 Olor 755;  
 Olous 149, 150;  
*Cults.* Asklepios 729; Britomartis 729  
 Zeus *Ταλλαῖος* 729  
 — coins of 729  
 Olymbios  
*Genealogy* s. of Ouranos by Ge 597;  
 Identified with Zeus 597;  
 Olympia  
*Cults.* Hera *Ἀσσωρία* 370 Zeus 2 2, 24<sub>1</sub> 37<sub>1</sub> 85 f. 131 292 407 622 751 781 Zeus *Ἀσσων* 370  
*Rite* black ram slain for Pelops 407  
 — boxing-match at 72 Heraion at 292 votive bronzes from 37<sub>1</sub> 331<sub>1</sub> 331<sub>2</sub> 331<sub>3</sub> 334 f.  
 Olympos, various mountains called 100 development in meaning of 113 ff.  
*Typology* 100 115  
 Olympos, Mt  
 — in Arkadia 67 ff. 82<sub>1</sub> 100  
 — in Attike 100  
 — in Elis 100  
 — in Euboea 100  
 — in Galatia 100  
 — in Karpathos 100  
 — in Kilikia 100  
 — in Kypros 100  
 — in Lakonike 100  
 — in Lesbos 100  
 — in Lydia 100  
 — in Lykia 100  
 — in Makedonia 101 ff. 113 f. 126 ff. 338;  
*Cults.* St Elias 177 f. Kabeiroi 107 ff. Korybantes 107 ff. Monai 114 Muses 104; Orpheus 111; Zeus 100 ff. 102; 520<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Ὀλβιος* 116  
*Rites.* mysteries 110 f.  
 Myths meeting-place of heaven and earth 157 ruled by Ophion and Eurynome 155  
 — in Mysia 100 102; 116; 124  
*Cult.* Zeus *Ὀλβιος* 116  
 — in Pauchala 100  
 — in Skyros 100  
 — in Thos 100 116  
 Olympos, the mountain-god (?) 117,  
 Olympos, s. of Zeus (?) 156  
 Omani, cult of Zeus and Athena at 17;  
 Omophagia 666, See also Index n s.v.  
 Omophagy  
 On See Heliopolis in Egypt  
 Onnes 108;  
 Onomakritos 655;  
 Onouphis 437 784  
 Ophelton, Mt 457;  
 Ophion 155  
 Ophites 394;  
 Ophiuchus 755;  
 Orchomenos in Arkadia 16

- Oichomenos in Boiotia 82<sub>1</sub>  
*Cults*: Zeus Λαφύστιος 121 416  
*Rites*: bull-fights (?) 497 Ψολόεις and Ὀλκίαι 689<sub>5</sub>
- Oreïades See Nymphs: Oreïades
- Oreste-  
*Myths*: death 262<sub>1</sub> 680 680<sub>1</sub> kills Aigisthos 39 kills Neoptolemos 261 f.
- Orion  
*Myth*: blinded by Oinopion 290.  
 Orion, the constellation 755<sub>9</sub>
- Omis 30<sub>2</sub>
- Ornytion, s. of Sisyphos 736
- Oropos  
*Cult* Amphiaraios 407<sub>4</sub>
- Orpheus  
*Cults*: Mt Helikon 536 f. Mt Olympos 111<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths*: burial 111<sub>1</sub> death 111<sub>1</sub> plays for Muses 111<sub>1</sub> teaches Midas 111<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of a Muse 111<sub>1</sub>  
*Type*: in Catacombs 166<sub>4</sub> leaning against willow 537  
*Associated with* Dionysos 166 Telete 536 f.
- Orphic Dionysos  
*Cult* Thrace 654 ff.  
*Myth*: slain in bovine form 660
- Orphic mystery in Thrace 695
- Orphic rites derived from Egypt (?) 437
- Orphic sun-god 8<sub>1</sub> 342
- Orphic tablets 650<sub>1</sub>
- Orphic Zeus  
*Cult*: Crete 647 ff. 654  
*Myth*: consorts with Persephone or Kore 398 695 consorts with Rhea or Demeter 398 695  
*Metamorphosed into* snake 398 403 (?)  
*Function*: pantheistic 33 197  
*Identified with* Phanes 8<sub>1</sub>  
*Compared with* Zeus Σαβάζιος 398 f. 778
- Ortygia, name of Delos 544<sub>1</sub>
- Ortygia, near Ephesos  
*Cult*: Leto 649<sub>5</sub>
- Ortygothra 535<sub>1</sub>
- Oserapis or Oserapis 188<sub>1</sub>
- Osin-  
*Rites*: annual mourning 523 annually confronted with Shu (?) 348  
*Myth*: slain by Typhon 435  
*Etymology*: 346<sub>5</sub>  
*Attributes*: hawk 241 plough 223 star of 759<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with* Apis 435 Dionysos 437  
 Typhloemos 223 227  
*In relation to* Apis 633 Mneuis 431 Shu 348
- Omis-Apis 188<sub>1</sub> 435
- Oserapis 188<sub>1</sub>
- Oserapis 431
- Ossa, Mt 100
- Osetes 186
- Ostasos  
*Genealogy*: s. of Ouranos by Ge 597<sub>4</sub>
- Ostia  
*Cults*: Fortuna Sancta 272<sub>14</sub> Zeus Helios Sarapis 189<sub>1</sub>
- Otos  
*Myth*: Ares 623<sub>1</sub>
- Oupi- 275  
*Epithet*: Παυροναίος 275<sub>5</sub>  
*Identified with* Artemis 275 Nemesis 275
- Ouranopolis  
*Cult*: Aphrodite Οὐρανία 51 291  
 — coins of 51 291
- Ouranos  
*Cults*: Dreros 729<sub>2</sub> ep. Kolchis 534<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Adanos by Ge 597<sub>4</sub> f. of Iapetos by Ge 597<sub>4</sub> f. of Kronos by Ge 597<sub>4</sub> f. of Olymbros by Ge 597<sub>4</sub> f. of Ostasos by Ge 597<sub>4</sub> f. of Rhea by Ge 597<sub>4</sub> f. of Sande by Ge 597<sub>4</sub> f. of Kottos, Briareos, Gyges 314 f. of Kyklops 302 313 f. of Kyklops 314 gf. of Zeus 8  
*Function*: the starry sky 8  
*Type*: half-length with arched mantle 59 ff.  
*Associated with* Gaia 8, Ge 597<sub>4</sub>
- Paian  
*Associated with* Apollon 233
- Paiones  
*Cult*: disk on pole 291 Helios 291 783
- Palaikastro  
*Cults*: snake-goddess 402 Zeus Διαιταῖος 15
- Palaimon  
*Cult*: Tenedos 675  
*Epithet* βρεφοκτόνος 675<sub>5</sub>  
*Rite*: human sacrifice 675  
*Personated by* Iobakchoi 679<sub>17</sub>  
*Myth*: boiled in caldron by Leukothea 674 679 brought ashore by dolphin 170
- Palaxos, one of the Canian Kometes 18<sub>1</sub>  
 See Spalaxos
- Palikoi  
*Genealogy*: sons of Zeus by Aitne 156 by Phalaea 106
- Palladion 296<sub>1</sub>
- Pallantion in Arkadia 87
- Pallantion on the Palatine 87
- Palmyra  
*Cult*: Ba'al-Samin 191<sub>1</sub> Gemmas (?) 571<sub>2</sub> Helios 191<sub>1</sub> Zeus Βήλος 756<sub>1</sub>
- Pamboufia 733
- Pamphylia  
*Cult*: Zeus Διόπριος 280<sub>1</sub>
- Pan  
*Cults*: Arkadia 87 Mt Iykaiion 69 Messana 70<sub>1</sub> Rome 87  
*Epithets*: κήληρ 697<sub>1</sub> Λυκαῖος 69 87  
*Festival*: Lykaia (?) 87  
*Myth*: golden lamb 405  
*Genealogy*: s. of Aitha by Omers 27: twin of Atlas (?) 702<sub>5</sub> s. of Kronos 702<sub>5</sub> s. of Zeus 702<sub>5</sub> s. of Zeus by Omis 27

Pan (*cont.*)

*Attributes*: bay-branch 375 *lagobolon* 69 *squirr* 69 702.

*Types*: seated on rock with *lagobolon*, laure 70; seated on rock with *lagobolon*, *squirr* 69 with goat's horns 375 cp. 69

*Associated with* Dionysos 565 Horai, Apollon, etc. 112.

Panagia Gorgoepekos 175<sub>1</sub>

Panaitolia 733

Panamara

*Cult*: Zeus *Παναγαιος*, *Παννυμφος*, *Παννυμφιος* 18 ff.

Panamaros 18

Panamoros, one of the Carian Kouretes 18.

Panathenaea 339 733

Panchaea 100

*Cult*: Zeus *Τυχευλος* 662

Pandarcos

*Myth*: golden hound 720<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: s. of Merope 720<sub>1</sub>

Pandele See Pandia

Pandia, festival at Athens 423, 682<sub>1</sub> 732 f.

*Etymology* 423, 733

Pandia, lunar goddess (?)

*Genealogy*: d. of Zeus by Selene 732 739

Pandion, eponym of tribe Pandionis 732

Pandora

*Function*: earth 700

*Type*: decking 699, 700

Panepi (?) See Ba-en-ptah

Panes, plurality of (?) 702.

*Personated by*: men and boys at Ephesos 657<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with* Nymphs 702.

— as dance-theme (?) 679<sub>1</sub>

Pangaion, Mt 75

Panonia 733

Panopolis 314.

Panormos

*Cult*: Zeus (?) 91

— *triskles* on coins of 227 307

Pantia See Pandia

Papas

*Etymology* 399

Paphi (?)

*Cult*: Thalamai 522.

Panion, altar at 513.

Paris

*Myth*: judgment 125 125<sub>7</sub> 231

— statue of 592.

Parmenides 313

Parnassos, Mt

*Cults*: Apollon 233 Muses 132, Paian 233 Zeus *Παρκάσιος* 63.

*Myth*: Dardalion 342

Parnes, Mt

*Cults*: Zeus 165 Zeus *Ἀπρίσιος* 121 Zeus *Ἰουσιππος* 121 Zeus *Παρνήσιος* 121 Zeus *Συναλσιος* 121

Paros

*Cults*: Baubo 669<sub>2</sub> Demeter *Θεσσα-*

Paros (*cont.*)

*Φορος* 669<sub>2</sub> Hera 669<sub>2</sub> Kore 669<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Εὐσταλσιος* 669<sub>2</sub>

Pasiphae

*Cult*: Thalamai 739

*Oral*: 521 f.

*Myth* 464 ff 543 549, 739 f.

*Genealogy*: st. of Aietes and Kirke

416 m. of Ammon by Zeus 522

544, d. of Atlas 522 544, m. of

Glaukos by Minos 469 f. d. of He-

lios by Perseis 464 w. of Minos

416 m. of Minotaur 491

*Function*: lunar 521 ff. 522, 733 f. 739

*Identified with* Daphne (?) 522 Ino (?)

522 Io (?) 522, Kasandra 522

*Compared with* the Proitides 452

*Associated with* Helios 522 the Mino-

taur 466, Zeus 522 733 f. 777

— as dance-theme 481 495

Pataios 753<sub>2</sub> See also Patrus

Patrai 227

Patrus

*Cult*: Renzano 753<sub>2</sub> See also Pataios

*Epithet*: *deus paternus* 753<sub>2</sub>

Paul. St 51 60 166 f 194.

— quotes Minos' description of the

Cretan Zeus 663 ff.

Pedasa

*Cult*: Zeus 717.

*Rite*: sacrifice of goat 717.

Pedasians 362

Pegasos, the hero, introduces cult of Dionysos *Ἐλευθερεὺς* 682

Pegasos, the horse 170 724<sub>1</sub>

Peion, Mt 70<sub>1</sub> 134

Peiraeus

*Cults*: Aphrodite Euporia *Βενηλα*

442 Nemesis 269 (Meter) *Ἰοπαία* (sic)

442 *Συρία θεός* 442

Pennas or Penasos 453.

Peithenios 411<sub>0</sub>

Peitho 38<sub>1</sub> (?) 459; (?)

*Genealogy*: m. of Iuvx 440<sub>7</sub> m. of

Mintia 257

*Attributes*: *ignis* 258 whip 253

Pelagia, St 175

Pelagia, St. dancer of Antioch 176<sub>1</sub>.

Pelagia, St. virgin of Antioch 176<sub>0</sub>.

Pelagia, St. of Patros 176<sub>0</sub>.

Pelagius, monk 176<sub>0</sub>.

Pelagon 38 469 540

Pelasgians in Argos (?) 438 Arkadia (?) 77

Crete 15 Dodona 111, Skotoussa

114, various burghs named Larissa

156

Pelasgos, king of Argos 438

Pelasgos, king of Arkadia 77

Pelasgos, s. of Zeus by Larissa 156

Pelous

*Genealogy*: h. of Thetis 419<sub>0</sub>.

Pelades 245 679

Pelias

*Myth*: boiled by Medea 244 f. sends Iason to Kolchis 419

Pelias (*cont.*)

*Compared with that of Pelops* 679

*Etymology*: 679<sub>13</sub>

— subject of plays by Thespi-  
Sophokles, Euripides 679

## Pelinnaion, Mt

*Cult*: Zeus Πεlinnaios 290<sub>2</sub>

## Pelion, Mt

*Cults*: Zeus Ἀκταῖος 421 f. 428 Zeus  
Ἀκταῖος 164 f. 420 ff. 428

— carnival-plays in district of  
694 May-day festival on 420<sub>1</sub>

## Pelopidai 407 412 414

## Pelops

*Rule*: sacrifice of black ram 407

*Myths*: boiled 419<sub>10</sub> chariot-race with  
Oinomaos 36 ff. 407 ff. compared  
with that of Pelias 679 Myrtilos  
225<sub>1</sub> 262<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Atreus 405 407 f. of  
Thyestes 405 407

— chariot of 260<sub>1</sub> subject of trage-  
dies 679 throne of, on Mt Sipylos  
137 ff.

## Penelope 328

## Pentheus

*Myth*: omophagy 466<sub>11</sub>

— subject of plays by Thespi-  
Aischylos, Euripides, Iophon, Chai-  
rimon. Lykophron 679 ep. 680<sub>4</sub>

Percivale, Sir 243<sub>6</sub>Peidica, Peidicca, Peidiccas See Per-  
dix

## Perdika See Perdix, m. of Talos

Perdikas 401<sub>1</sub>

## Perdix

*Myth*: Polykaste 728

*Genealogy*: s. of Calaus (Kalos) 726<sub>1</sub>

*Compared with Aktaion, Adonis, Hip-  
polytos* 728 See also Talos

Perdix, m. of Talos 725<sub>1</sub> 726 726<sub>1</sub>

## Peredni Paladi-hir See Percivale, Sir

## Perzamon

*Cults*: Athena Νικηφόρος 118 Athena  
Πολιάς 118 Demeter 513, Helios

334<sub>10</sub> Kabeiroi 110 120 (?) Trajan  
118 Zeus 110 118 ff. 135 154

*Myth*: birth of Zeus 110 120 154

— great altar at 110 118 ff. 135

## Perikles

*Personates* Zeus 280

## Perillos 643

Perimede 14<sub>1</sub>

## Perinthos

*Cult*: Zeus 752 f.

## Periphas 38

## Perkun 185

## Pertharboi

*Rule*: ταρποκάψια (?) 497<sub>1</sub>

— coins of 497<sub>4</sub>

## Perses 464

## Persephone

*Cults*: Prianosos (?) 402 Selinous (?) 403

*Epithet*: μελαινόδης 443<sub>10</sub>

*Myths*: rape by Hades 175<sub>10</sub> 231 623<sub>10</sub>

Persephone (*cont.*)

sought by Demeter 228 ff. 231  
transforms Menhe 257<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: m. of Dionysos 457; off-  
shoot of Gaia 396 f. m. of Zagreus  
402

*Attributes*: column 220 snake 402  
torch 220 f. 223 f.

*Type*: seated on rock (?) 403

*Associated with* Kataibates 597<sub>1</sub> Plou-  
ton (?) 501<sub>11</sub> Zagreus (?) 467<sub>1</sub> Zeus  
780

See also Kore, Pherephatta, Phero-  
phatta, Phersephone, Pro-cipina

## Persepolis

*Cults*: Auramazda 208 Zeus Ὠρωάσ-  
δης 208

## Perseus

*Myth*: slays Gorgon 26 724<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus and Danae 414

*Attribute*: cap of Hades (?) 100<sub>1</sub>

*Type*: driving nail into Gorgon's  
neck (?) 724<sub>1</sub>

## Perseus, the constellation 755

## Persia

*Cult*: Zeus 338<sub>1</sub> 783 t.

— winged disk in 207 f.

Persians 9 f. 781 See also Aitagne-, Aua-  
mazda, Bahram, Magi, Mithras,  
Zeus Μακεδς, Zeus Ὠρωάσδης

## Perun 184 f.

## Pessinus

*Cults*: Attis 742<sub>1</sub> Demeter 229<sub>1</sub>

## Peter, St 51 60

## Petrachos, Mt

*Cult*: Zeus 121 154

*Myth*: stone swallowed by Kiono- 154

Petronell See Carnuntum

Pet-sofa 646<sub>1</sub>

## Pfunz

*Cults*: Ae-culapius (?) 630, Jupiter  
Iulicenus 630<sub>1</sub>

## Phaethon

*Myth*: drives solar chariot (?) 337  
falls from solar chariot 225<sub>1</sub> 419

*Function*: morning-star 343<sub>1</sub> (?) 738

*Compared with* Antheias 227 f. Helle  
419 Myrtilos 225<sub>1</sub>

— doublet of Phaon 345

## Phaethon, horse of Helios 337

Phaethon, the planet Jupiter 750<sub>1</sub> 756  
759 f.

## Phaethon-a, d. of Helios 410

Phaethousa, m. of Myrtilos 225<sub>1</sub>Phaidia 591<sub>1</sub>

— as dance-theme 481

## Phamou, the planet Saturn 756

## Phaistos

*Cults*: Europa 660<sub>1</sub> Hermes 661<sub>1</sub>  
Talos 297 Zeus 660 f.

— coins of 660 f. 661<sub>1</sub> 720 disk  
found at 643<sub>1</sub>

## Phalanthos 170

## Phalaris 122

— bull of 643 f.

## Phala-arna

*Cults*: Rhea (?) 147 f. Zeus (?) 147 f.  
— sand-tone thrones at 147 f. ep. 782

## Phalxion

*Cults*: Achelous 112, Apollon *Ἡέλιος* 112; Artemis *Αἰχμή* 112, Eileithyia 112, Geraistai 112, Hestia 112, Kallirhoe 112, Kephisos 112, Leto 112, Rhapso 112,

Phanai 7<sub>n</sub>.

## Phanes

*Functions*: day *Σ*, light *Σ*, sun *Σ*, 312<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: *Σ*, 311<sub>n</sub>  
*Types*: bi-sexual 311 four-eyed 311  
462 golden wings 311 heads of  
rams, bulls, snake, lion 311 398<sub>4</sub>  
two-bodied (?) 311 with thunderbolt  
*Σ*  
*Identified with* Helios 311  
*Compared with* Ardos 311.

## Phaon

*Associated with* Aphrodite 345  
— doublet of Phaethon 345

## Phaeadon

*Rite*: *παροκαθάρια* (?) 497<sub>1</sub>  
— coins of 497<sub>1</sub>

## Phaenakia 631

Phendias 21, 2<sub>2</sub>, 12, 91 f. 275 622 751,  
ep. 350

## Phenai

*Rite*: *παροκαθάρια* (?) 497<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Anthos 74.  
— coins of 497<sub>1</sub>

## Phenkydes of Leros 311 462

## Phenkydes of Syros 274.

## Pherephatta

*Genealogy*: d. of Zeus by Deo 394 w.  
of Zeus 394 ep. 395  
*Function*: fertility 705  
*Types*: rising from grotto 698<sub>1</sub> 699  
rising from ground 699  
*Associated with* Hermes 699 Satyroi  
699 Zeus 394 ep. 399

See also Kore, Persephone, Pherephatta, Pherephatta, Proserpina

## Pherephatta 670;

## Persephone

*Cult*: near Mykenai 430.  
*Genealogy*: m. of Dionysos by Zeus  
398 399<sub>2</sub> d. of Zeus by Rhea  
398  
*Type*: horned child with four eyes and  
an extra face 398  
*Associated with* Zeus 398  
See also Kore, Persephone, Pherephatta, Pherephatta, Proserpina

Philaichme 74<sub>n</sub>.

## Philemon 30

## Philippopolis

*Cult*: Southegethes 753.  
See also Gomphoi

## Philiskos of Rhodes 131 t.

## Philistines 363

*Cults*: Dagon 238<sub>n</sub> Zeus *Ἀφροδιος* 238<sub>n</sub>.

## Philogaios, horse of Helios 337.

Philologia 197<sub>1</sub>

## Philomele

*Type*: woman 592<sub>n</sub>.

## Phlegon, horse of Helios 337.

## Phlegai 410

## Phlegyai

*Myth*: Kadmos 540

## Phlegyas, f. or h. of Ixion 199

## Phlious

*Festival*: Kissotomoi 534.

— coins of 305 305<sub>1</sub>;

Phobos 74<sub>n</sub>.

## Phoebus 757

## Phoenicians 364 644 f. 651

## Phoinike

*Cults*: Beel-samen 191 Europe (?) 524  
538 ff. Herakles 544, Herakles *De-*  
*sanous* (?) 603; Herakles *Δισανδρας* (?)  
603; Kronos 722 moon-goddess 524  
538 ff. Shun 519 Zeus 191 Zeus  
*Ἀσπεριος* 734

*Rite*: human sacrifice 722

*Myths*: Europe 538; 733 Zeus 755<sub>1</sub>.

— winged disk in 206 f.

## Phoinix

*Cult*: Hieros 729<sub>2</sub>.

*Genealogy*: f. of Europe 525; 527, 539  
648

## Phokis

*Myth*: Kadmos 540

## Phokos, s. of Onyktion 736 f. tomb of 736

## Phorbas, subject of play by Thepis 679

## Phorkys

*Myth*: Euboea 321<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: gf. of Polyphemos 321<sub>1</sub> t.  
of Thoma 321<sub>1</sub>

## Phononous 237.

Phosphoros, the planet Venus 200, 378 (?)  
756Phixa 112<sub>1</sub>

## Phixos

*Myth*: towns-sanctuary of Leukothea  
416 golden ram 121 414 n. 430

## Phiontis 416

## Phygia

*Cults*: cow (?) 468 t. earth-mother 397  
Herakles *Ἀφροδιος* 399, Kabirai  
108; Men 400; 730. Mother of the  
gods 553 *Ἡάριος* Zeus *Σαφής* 399,  
sky-father 397 Zeus 399 n. 598.  
Zeus *Βαχάριος* 400; Zeus *Βραχάριος*  
399; Zeus *Δίος* 4 Zeus *Μαχάριος* 741;  
Zeus *Ἡάριος* 399; Zeus *Ἡάριος* 393  
Zeus *Ἡάριος* 399; Zeus *Σαφής* 113  
Zeus *Σαφής* 399.

*Myths*: birth of Zeus 151 t. Hos 468 f.

*Etymology*: 415

— rock-cut thrones in 136 f.

## Phyrye 710

Phylamedousa 444<sub>1</sub>

## Picus 241 t.

## Piena 257

## Pietos 257

Pikoloos 241<sub>1</sub>.Pikulas or Pikullos 241<sub>1</sub>.

- Pindar as worshipper of Zeus Ἰουῶν 352  
dedicates statue of Ammon 352  
362<sub>1</sub> writes *Hymn to Zeus Ammon*  
352 366 f.
- Pindos, Mt.  
*Cult.* Zeus Ἀρπαῖος 123 f.
- Pisa  
*Cults.* Zeus 407 ff., Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 116  
*Rite* ram sacrificed to Zeus 407 ff.
- Pisces 581<sub>n</sub> 759<sub>1</sub>
- Pisidia  
*Cult.* Zeus Σολυμείας 123
- Plastene 139
- Platon 310 f. 357<sub>1</sub> 664<sub>n</sub>
- Pleiades 405; 755<sub>n</sub>
- Plota See Plouto
- Plotis See Plouto
- Plouto  
*Genealogy:* d. of Atlas 156 m. of Tan-  
talo- by Zeus 156 720<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with Zeus* 156 720<sub>1</sub>
- Plouton  
*Cults:* Acharaka 503 Eleusis 669  
*Epithets:* μεγαλόδωρος 503; πλουτοδότης  
503; πλουτοδοτῶν γενεῶν βροτῶν  
καρποῖς ενιαυτῶν 503;  
*Myths:* rape of Persephone 623<sub>n</sub>  
*Function:* giver of wealth 503;  
*Etymology:* 503 f.  
*Attribute:* cornu copiae 504<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with Sarapis* 188;  
*Associated with Demeter and Kore* 669  
Herakles (?) 502<sub>n</sub>, Kore 503 Perse-  
phone (?) 501<sub>n</sub>  
See also Hades, Pluto
- Ploutos  
*Cult:* Nysa in Lydia (?) 503,  
*Attribute:* cornu copiae 220
- Plute See Plouto
- Pluti  
*Cult.* Kourtes 471<sub>1</sub>
- Plutus See Plouto
- Pluto  
*Cult.* Lambaisa 188;  
*Identified with Iupiter Serapis* 188;  
See also Hades, Plouton
- Pnyx 147
- Podalmenos  
*Cult.* Daunia 407<sub>1</sub>  
*Oracle:* 407<sub>1</sub>
- Poiar  
*Myth:* Talos 719
- Pollux and Castor See Dioskouroi.  
Kastor, Polydeukes
- Polybos 251<sub>n</sub>
- Polydeukes  
*Cult.* Byzantion 168  
*Myth:* Talos 721  
*Genealogy:* s. of Zeus by Leda 760.
- Polydeus as dance-theme 181 See also  
Polyidos
- Polygnotos 133 537 700 f.
- Polyhymno 111<sub>n</sub>
- Polyidos 470 See also Polydeus
- Polykaipe See Polykaste
- Polykaste  
*Myth:* Perdix 728  
*Function:* earth 728  
*Identified with Diana* 728 Mother of  
the gods 728
- Polykleitos 84<sub>1</sub> 134 f. 204<sub>2</sub> 766
- Polyphemos  
*Myth:* 302 312<sub>1</sub> 312 f. 320  
*Genealogy:* f. of Galas 321<sub>1</sub> h. of  
Galateia 321<sub>1</sub> f. of Illyios 321<sub>1</sub> f. of  
Kelios 321<sub>1</sub> grand-s. of Phorkys  
321<sub>1</sub> s. of Poseidon 320<sub>1</sub> s. of  
Sikanos 321<sub>1</sub> s. of Thoosa 321<sub>1</sub>  
*Function:* star (?) 313.  
*Compared with Euebios* 411  
See also Kyklopes, Kyklops
- Polyphenion  
*Cult:* Zeus Κρηταγενής 149<sub>1</sub>
- Polyxenos 211
- Pompei  
*Cult.* trees 768<sub>n</sub>  
— mosaic from 338<sub>2</sub>
- Pontos  
*Rites:* dances of Τιτᾶνες, Κορύβαντες,  
Σάτυροι, Βοικόλοι 679<sub>1</sub>
- Populonia 255
- Porphyria, St 176<sub>n</sub>
- Porsenna, tomb of 483<sub>12</sub>
- Portus Romanus  
*Cult:* Iupiter Angelus Heliopolitannus  
551<sub>n</sub> 567<sub>5</sub>
- Poseidon  
*Cults:* Argion 17 Byzantion 169 Ephes-  
os 442 Gythion 351 Halikarnassos  
74 Illyricum 181<sub>n</sub> Isthmos 2<sub>1</sub> My-  
konos 169 Priene 132 Tegea 521<sub>n</sub>  
Thera (?) 142 Troizen 74  
*Epithets:* ἄναξ 506<sub>1</sub> Γαλαρῶς 351 EN  
κλῆρος 132 506<sub>1</sub> Γαλαρῶς 74  
*Festivals:* Panomia 132  
*Rites:* bull-dragging 506<sub>1</sub> drowning  
of horse every year in Illyricum (?)  
181<sub>n</sub> drowning of four horses every  
ninth year in Illyricum 181<sub>n</sub> human  
sacrifice (?) 653<sub>1</sub> sacrifice of bull  
717<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of bulls 717<sub>2</sub> sacrifice  
of rams 717<sub>2</sub> ταυροκατανύξεις (?) 498  
*Places:* 74<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths:* Asteria or Asterie 544<sub>n</sub> Delphen  
755 golden ram 417<sub>11</sub> strife with  
Athena 147  
Metamorphosed into ram 418<sub>n</sub>  
*Genealogy:* f. of Anthos 74<sub>n</sub> f. of Belos  
756<sub>n</sub> f. of Borotus by Ame 539 f.  
of Polyphemos 320<sub>n</sub> f. of golden  
ram by Theophane 418<sub>n</sub>  
*Functions:* originally a specialised  
form of Zeus 717<sub>2</sub> vegetation-god  
74  
*Attributes:* bull 442 464 498<sub>2</sub> 739 f.  
trident 361 575  
*Types:* bust 575 chryselephantine  
statue 2<sub>2</sub> seated 498 triple icome  
horn 521<sub>n</sub>  
*Identified with pantheistic Zeus:* 361



Poseidon (*cont.*)

*Associated with* Amphitrite 721 Apollon 74, Arne 539 Asteria or Asterie 544, Demeter and Zeus 521, Helle 418, Theophane 418, Zeus Ἰαμων, Apollon Καρρεος, Asklepios, Demeter 351

*Superseded by* Saint Nikolaos 169 f.  
— cattle of 665, statue of at Delphi 762 at Isthmos 2.

## Pothos (?) 459.

## Praeneste

*Cult.* Fortuna Primigenia 272 Zeus Helios Sarapis 189.

## Praisos

*Cult.* pig 658 Zeus 660 660; Zeus Δαταῖος 660

*Myth.* Zeus suckled by cow (?) 660 665 785 by sow 653 785  
— coins of 660 660; 785

## Prananthu 329.

## Praxiteles 427 670 710.

## Priamos

*Myth.* killed by Neoptolemos 39; 40, *Genealogy* f. of Kasandra 522

## Praisos

*Cult.* Hygieia (?) 402 Persephone (?) 402 Zeus Βαδαῖος 150.

## Priene

*Cult.* Poseidon ΕΠΙΔΕΡΙΟΣ 132 Zeus Αδαῖος 26 f.

— coins of 483 Labyrinth at (?) 499.

## Purkos, St 169

## Puyaviata 329.

## Proitides

*Myth.* 451 ff  
*Metamorphosed into* hatters 453.

*Compared with* Pasiphae 452

## Proitos 303 310, 321, 451 ff.

## Prokne

*Fable.* woman 592.

## Prometheus

*Myths.* bound to Mt Kaukasos 461 Erechthon (?) 324 first killed ox 469, freed from Mt Kaukasos 329, Herakles and Kastor 329, invents alphabet 329, invents fire-sticks 325 Lemnos 324 makes man 324 Satyr 702, theft of fire 323 ff.

*Epithet.* προπαιος 702.

*Genealogy.* h. of Axiothea 329, s. of Iapetos 324, 325 s. of Klymene 324.

*Function.* fire 327 f.

*Etymology.* 329

*Attributes.* axe 329, ring 329, two rings 329, willow (?) wreath 329.

*Compared with* Kyklops and the Kaberos 328, Odysseus 327 f.

*In relation to* Hephaistos 328 the Kabenoi 328

— as an eagle (?) 205.

## Pron, Mt

*Cult.* Hera 131 f.

## Propontis 310.

Proserpina 393. See also Kore, Persephone, Pherephatta, Pherophatta, Persephone

Prosymna, d. of Asterion 415

Prosymna, district near Argos

*Cult.* Hera 445.

## Protearythmos

*Personated by* Iobakechoi 679.

## Proteus 496.

*Identified with* Keten 496

## Protagoras 191

## Prousa in Bithynia

*Cult.* Zeus (?) 116, 124 Zeus Ὀνύπιος 117.

## Pithvi

*Epithet.* speckled cow 718.

*Function.* earth 718.

## Psoloeis 689.

## Psyche

*Myth.* golden sheep 404 f.

## Ptah

*Cult.* Memphis 433

*Identified with* Hephai-tos 433

*In relation to* Apis 435, 633

## Pterelao

*Myth.* 344 346

*Genealogy.* descended from Zeus 328; f. of Ithakos and Neritos 328;

*Function.* sun (?) 346

*Etymology.* 344 345;

See also Pterelas

## Pterelas 345, 345; See also Pterelao

## Proos 416

## Puteoli

*Cult.* Iapyx Helioopolitanus 551.

## Pyaneisia 339

## Pygoteles 357

Pyrois, the planet Mars 750, 756 cp. 759

Pyrois, horse of Helios 337.

## Pyrrhos, sculptor 727.

## Pythagoras 135 646 669

— symbol Y of 283.

*Type.* 55 f.

Pythagorean 66 303 303, 330, 358, 403 457 558.

Pytho 233 258 510 See Delphi

## Rā

*Cult.* Thebes in Egypt 346

*Epithet.* ram 346

*Genealogy.* f. of Horos 206 f. of Shu 348

*Function.* sun 311 f. 341 346

*Attributes.* falcon 341 hawk 241 sparrow-hawk 341

*Identified with* Amen 315 Horos 315 341 Khnemu 346 Tem 315

*In relation to* Baes, Bacchis, or Bouchis 436 f.

eye of 311 f.

*Identified with* Bast 315, Hathor 315, Meh-unt 315, Sekhet 315.

## Ramman

*Functions.* fertilising 579 lord of justice 579 sky 576, storm 582, 634 f.

Ramman (*cont.*)

*Etymology*: 576 577<sub>1</sub>

*Attribute*: bull 576 ff. 633 ff.

*Types*: bull (?) 577 579 planting one foot on bull 576 645 standing on back of bull 576 606

*Associated with* Istar 577<sub>0</sub>

*In relation to* Adad 576<sub>1</sub> Šamaš 577 ff.

See also Adad

## Rar 212

## Rarian Plain 212

## Raros 212

Recaranus (?) 482<sub>0</sub>

## Remo, St

*In relation to* St Eia-mo 775

*Supersedes* Remus 775

## Remus

*Superseded by* St Remo 775

## Renzano

*Cults*: Patrus 753<sub>2</sub> Surgastus 753<sub>2</sub>

Reparata, St 176<sub>0</sub>

## Rhadamanthys

*Myth*. 461

*Genealogy* s. of Hephaistos 330; s. of Zeus Ἀστέριος 545; 547 s. of Zeus by Europe 461

*Function*: judge of dead 330;

*Etymology*: 330;

## Rhamnos

*Cults*: Amphiaros 275<sub>7</sub> 275<sub>8</sub> Nemesis 273 ff. 281 ff.

*Myth*: Nemesis 279<sub>1</sub> 280

## Rhapso

*Cult*: Phaleron 112.

## Rhea

*Cults*: Crete 148; 635 Knossos 649; Kyzikos 169 Phala-aina (?) 147 f.

*Euphets*: Δοξίην 394<sub>1</sub> μήτηρ ὀρεος 648<sub>1</sub>

*Rites*: depo-ition of genitalia 394<sub>1</sub>; torches carried over mountain 648<sub>1</sub> 650

*Myths*: Ammon 376<sub>1</sub> Dionysos (?) 375 f. golden hound 720<sub>1</sub>

*Metamorphosed into* snake 398

*Genealogy*: m. of Korybantes 106, ep. 107<sub>1</sub> m. of Kouretes 650; d. of Omasos by Ge 597<sub>1</sub> m. of Pherephone by Zeus 398

*Function*: mountain-mother 645 648<sub>1</sub> 650

*Attribute*: cypress 649

*Associated with* Attis 391; Kronos 376<sub>1</sub> Zeus 398 645 ep. 112<sub>1</sub>

*Identined with* Atargatis 582 591

*In relation to* Atargatis 583

*Supersedes* Eurynome 155

*Superseded by* Mary Mother of God 169

*Worshipper*: Κέσσητος 395.

— cypress-grove of 649; house of 649; mysteries of 102 temple of 648 f. throne of (?) 147 f. torches of 648<sub>1</sub> 650

Rhodanos 623<sub>0</sub>

## Rhode 332 f.

Rhodes, called Asteria 544<sub>1</sub>

*Cults*: Apollon 132 Hekate 142 Helios 181<sub>0</sub> 306; 331 f. 643 Zeus Ἀράδι-πος 123 132

*Rite*: quadruga flung into sea 181.

*Myths*: Althaimenes 117 Korybantes 106.

— coins of 625; rock-cut throne in 142

Rhoikos 483<sub>1</sub>

## Rhoeteion 304

## Rho-os

*Cults*: Adad 590 Dio-kouioi 590 Zeus Ἀδάδος 590

## Rhyta

*Genealogy*: m. of Korybantes by Apollon 106.

## Rimmon See Ramman

## Rome

*Cults*: Atargatis (?) 551<sub>11</sub> Foix Fortuna 285 Fortuna Viscata 272 Geniu-Forinarum 552<sub>0</sub> Iuno Regina 611<sub>1</sub> Iupiter Dolichenus 608 ff. 630. Iupiter Iammon 353<sub>1</sub> Iupiter Helio-politanus 551<sub>11</sub> Iupiter Libertas 194<sub>1</sub> Iupiter Sol 191<sub>0</sub> Iupiter Sol Sarapis 189<sub>1</sub> Liber 693<sub>1</sub> Lupercus 677<sub>1</sub> Pan 87 Sol 630<sub>1</sub> Sol Serapis Iupiter 190<sub>0</sub> Vestiovis 711 Vulcanus 656<sub>1</sub> Zeus Helios Sarapis 189<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ὀλύμπιος or Ὀλύβιος 597<sub>1</sub>

*Festivals*: Liberalia 693<sub>1</sub> Lupercalia 677<sub>1</sub> Nouae Capotinae 694<sub>0</sub> Satur-nalia 693<sub>1</sub>

*Rites*: homicide stands on rum 423 human sacrifice 659;

— coins of 44 ff. 51 f. 56 62 133 f. 268 276; 307 538 712 ff. *signum sororum* at 768<sub>0</sub>

## Romulus

*Myths*: di-appears in thunder-tem 656; torn to pieces by senators 656.

## Romaeta (?)

*Cult*: Celts 482<sub>0</sub>.

Rural Dionysia 666 671, 673 (?) 683 f. 688 ff.

Sabadios 400<sub>2</sub> See also Sabazio

Sabaoth, the *κλειος Σαβαωθ* identified with Sabazio 425 ep. 244 and 400.

## Sabatum 114

Sabazio 390 ff. 400 642<sub>1</sub>

*Cult*: Phrygia 350

*Rites*: golden adder 392 mystic 395 425; orgastic 400<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of virility 394 f.

*Priests*: 391 (?)

*Myth*: 392 ff. 695

*Metamorphosed into* pall adder 392

*Functions*: iam 392 396 snake 396 solar 400, vegetation 400.

*Etymology*: 400<sub>2</sub>

Sabazios (*cont.*)

- Attributes*: 392<sub>1</sub> puff adders 392  
*Types*: ram (?) 392 seated or standing  
 with feet on ram's head 391 with  
 foot on ram's head 391 f. 642<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Dionysos 399, the  
 κριος Σαβάζω 425<sub>2</sub> cp. 234<sub>1</sub> and 400,  
 Men 400,  
*Compared with* Men 642<sub>1</sub>  
 — mysteries of 395 425<sub>2</sub>

Sabai 395 400

Sabos 400

*Etymology*: 400<sub>1</sub>

Sagalassians 362

Sagalassos

*Cult.* Men 642<sub>1</sub>— coin of 642<sub>1</sub>Sagitta 755<sub>2</sub>Sagittarius 755<sub>1</sub>

Sais 523

Salamis, trophy for battle of 761 f. 771<sub>1</sub>

Salamis in Kyprios

*Cult.*: Agraulos 659<sub>1</sub> Diomedes 659<sub>1</sub>*Rit.* human sacrifice 659<sub>1</sub>

Sali 715

Sallentum

*Cult.* Jupiter *Moneta* 180<sub>1</sub>

Salmann

*Cult.*: Assyria 519 Phoinike 519

Salmoneus 12 318

Samos

*Cult.* Sippar 262 ff.*Priest*: 263*Function* sun 553, 577 f*Attributes* disk and bar 263*Types*: enthroned 263 raved 553<sub>1</sub>*Associated with* Sun, Istar and Adad  
577*In relation to* Adad 577 ff. Ramman  
577 ff.

Samos

*Cult.* Hera 440<sub>1</sub> 441 f. Hermes (?) 172

St Morkounis 172

— Labyrinth in 483<sub>1</sub>

Samotheace

*Cult.* Kabeiron 109 120*Function* calm the sea 765

Sanchoinathon 191

Sandas

*Cult.* Arminia (?) 635<sub>1</sub>, Hattic (?) 635<sub>1</sub>Hittites (?) 635<sub>1</sub> Puz 594 f. 598<sub>2</sub>Taurus 535<sub>1</sub> 595 ff*Epithets*: *Desandus* (?) *Desandas* (?)*Δασαρδας* (?) 603<sub>1</sub>*Festivals*: Ortygotheia (?) 535<sub>1</sub>, Pyra (?)  
600 f.*Functions*: fertility 595 600 solar 302<sub>1</sub>302<sub>1</sub> 604 thunder (?) 635<sub>1</sub>*Genealogy*: s. of Ouranos by Ge 597<sub>1</sub>*Attributes*: bovine horns 595 bow-case  
600 branch 600 corn-ears 595 596  
598, double-axe 600 cp. 600<sub>1</sub> 631 f.  
eagle 596 600 602 604 eagle-sceptre  
596 flower 600 602 grapes 598<sub>1</sub>  
grape-bunches 595 596 602 lion 599Sandas (*cont.*)

cp. 599<sub>1</sub> lotos-sceptre 596 plough (?)  
595 598<sub>2</sub> pyramid topped by eagle  
600 ff. star 604 sword 600 cp. 600<sub>1</sub>  
tall head-dress 600 cp. 600<sub>1</sub> wreath  
600

*Types*: enthroned as Zeus 595 ff.  
pyramid 600 ff. standing on lion  
599 f.

*Identified with* Herakles 535<sub>1</sub> 598 f.  
Zeus 597 f.

*Assimilated to* Zeus 595 ff.*In relation to* Zeus 603

— localised forms of (?) 635<sub>1</sub>, pro-  
 totype of 598 603 pyre of (?) 600 f.

Sandes 302<sub>1</sub> See SandasSandon 302<sub>1</sub> See Sandas

Sarapi-

*Cult.* Alexandria 188<sub>1</sub> 189<sub>1</sub> 360 f.753 Ankyra in Galatia 189<sub>1</sub> Aph-

lun 190, Auximium 190, Babylon

188<sub>1</sub> Djebel-Dokhan 189<sub>1</sub> Djebel-Fateeh 189<sub>1</sub> India 637, Lambarsa188, Lutri 189<sub>1</sub> Mediterranean sea-board 435 Mytilene 189<sub>1</sub> Ostia 189<sub>1</sub>Praeneste 189<sub>1</sub> Rome 189<sub>1</sub> 190<sub>1</sub>Sassoferrati 190<sub>1</sub> Sidyma 189<sub>1</sub>Sinope 188<sub>1</sub> Stratonikeya 189<sub>1</sub>Tropolis in Lydia 188<sub>1</sub>*Epithets*: *Αριαγρος* 190<sub>1</sub> *Μεγας* 189 f*Functions*: chthonian 188 435 sun  
188 ff. 435 f.*Etymology* 188<sub>1</sub>*Attributes*: *αρεσιν* 360 *λάλαθος* 360753 *kiste* 360 *modius* 360 rayed

crown 188

*Types*: bust 620 bust of Zeus *Aegae*  
 and Sarapis (?) 366<sub>2</sub> pantheistic  
 361 as serpent 360 seated with  
*modius* on head and Kerberos at  
 feet 188<sub>1</sub> standing with *modius* on  
 head and Kerberos at feet 188<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with* the Apis of Oms 188Helios 361 435 Jupiter Pluto 188<sub>1</sub>Jupiter Sol 190, Plouton 188<sub>1</sub> Zeus181<sub>1</sub> 188 ff. 197<sub>1</sub> 361 435 Zeus,

Hades, Helios 187 Zeus, Helios

189 f. 190<sub>1</sub> Zeus, Helios, Mithras

190

*Associated with* Isis 360 454 Zeus366<sub>2</sub> (?)

Sardanapalos as an effeminate Zeus or  
 Dionysos snapping fingers at Hera-

kle (?) 599<sub>1</sub>

— statues of 272<sub>1</sub> (?) 592

Sardes

*Cult.* Demeter 229, 229<sub>1</sub> Zeus 151 753

— coin of 753

Sardians (?) 362

Sardium

*Cult.* earth 723 728<sub>1</sub> Kronos 722Talos (?) 723 728<sub>1</sub>*Myth* Talos 721 ff.*Rit.* human sacrifice 722

Sardians (?) 362

## Sarpedon

*Myth*: 464

*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus Ἀσρέπτος  
545; 547 s. of Zeus by Europa  
464

## Sa--oferrati

*Cult*: Jupiter Sol Sarapis 190.

Saturn, the planet 755 f. 758 f.

Saturnalia 693<sub>1</sub>

## Saturnus

*Festival*: Saturnalia 693<sub>1</sub>

*Type*: the-breathing dragon devouring  
its own tail 192<sub>1</sub>

— victim of (?) 693<sub>1</sub>

## Satyroi

*Personated by men and boys at*  
Ephe-sos 657<sub>1</sub>

*Myths*: Arkadia 458 Prometheus 702<sub>1</sub>  
Satyr touches fire 702<sub>1</sub> Zeus takes  
the form of Satyr to court Antiope  
734 ff.

*Functions*: akin to Kouretes 534

*Etymology*: 534<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: crook 709 two flutes 736,  
panther-skin 709

*Types*: ἀποσκοπεῖων 709 double helm  
of Zeus Ἀμύων and Satyr 374 goat-  
creatures 696 ff. 702 702<sub>1</sub> (?) Hellen-  
istic 697 horse-creatures 696 701 f.  
rhyphallic goat-man with cornu  
copiae (?) 704; lashed by Silenos  
659; Roman 697

*Associated with Dionysos* 565 667<sub>1</sub> 672  
711 Hermes 699 Hermes, Io, Anxos,  
etc. 459; Maenads 465<sub>1</sub> Phere-  
phatta 699

— as dance-theme 679<sub>1</sub> plurality of  
702<sub>1</sub>. See also Tityroi

## Satyros

*Genealogy*: s. of Dionysos by Nikaia  
536

Sauadai 400<sub>2</sub>

Sauazios 400<sub>2</sub>. See also Sabazios

Saudoi 400<sub>2</sub>

Schoineus 116

Scipio 58 f.

Scorpius 755<sub>1</sub>

Seythia 229<sub>2</sub>

*Cult*: Tryptolimos 212

Seabhan Lochlannach 321<sub>2</sub>

Seasons. See Horai

## Seb

*Function*: earth 387

*Genealogy*: h. of Nut 387

Sebadia 393<sub>1</sub>

Seban 315

Sabazios 400. See also Sabazios

## Sebek

*Function*: crocodile-god 472<sub>10</sub>

## Sebeumyos

*Cult*: Nemeis (?) 269.

## Securitas

*Type*: 34<sub>1</sub>

Segeta 122<sub>2</sub>

Seilenoi. See Silenoi

## Seimios

*Cults*: Heliopolis in Syria (?) 553 f.

Keft-Nebo 571<sub>2</sub>

*Epithet*: Παρῶς 571<sub>2</sub>

*Associated with* Adad and Atarcati-  
533 f. Symbetiyos and Leon 571<sub>2</sub>

## Seiren

*Type*: plume on head 297<sub>2</sub>

See also Zeus Σειρήν

## Seirios

*Cult*: Keos 740

*In relation to* Zeus 740

— dog-star so called 299 sun so  
called 299 rising of 420

## Seker

*Attribute*: hawk 241

## Sekhet

*Function*: sun 315<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with* eye of Râ 315<sub>1</sub>

## Selamaneš

*Cult*: Koryphe near Aleppo 519

*Epithet*: Παρῶς 519<sub>2</sub>

## Selenai

*Identified with* Astarte 538

See also Selene

Selenaion, Mt. in Argolis 457<sub>1</sub>

Selenaion, Mt. in Etruria 244<sub>1</sub>

## Selene

*Cults*: Mt Apaisanton (?) 457; Byzan-  
tion 92 Elis 455, Luna (?) 244<sub>1</sub>  
Thalamai 522

*Epithets*: ἀμφίκερος 455, ἀράσσα 455,  
δία (?) 732<sub>1</sub>, δίκερως 455, εἰκέραος  
455, εὐώπις 738<sub>11</sub>, ἠραουος 456  
κεραή 455<sub>1</sub>, 455, κερασφόρος 455,  
κερατώπις 455, κεραῶς 455, κερύεσσα  
455, 455, κίχλας 313 οὐρα τα-  
ρωπὸν ἔχεις 455, πανδία 722, 732 (?)  
732<sub>10</sub>, Παιοράη 522 πασιώρας 522,  
ταυροκάραος 455, ταυρόκερος 455,  
ταυρώπις 455, υψίκερος 455, υψι-  
κερος 455.

*Pretexts of* 243<sub>1</sub>

*Myths*: parent of androgynous sex  
310 helps Hera against Heiakh-  
457, Mithras 516 ff. Nemea 739  
Nemean Lion 456

*Metamorphosed into* cow 455; puppy 455.

*Genealogy*: m. of Dionysos 457, 732  
m. of Herse (ἑρσα) by Zeus 732,  
m. of Nemean Lion 456<sub>1</sub> m. of  
Nemea by Zeus 456 732 m. of  
Pandere (Pandia) by Zeus 732 d.  
of Zeus by Leto 727<sub>1</sub>.

*Functions*: γερύεσθαι προστάτης 518,  
huntress 538 magician 457 Mondax  
753

*Attributes*: blue nimbus 41, chariot  
drawn by two bulls 752 cow 625,  
626 crystal 625 f. horse 250 nar-  
cessus 625 f. panther (?) 727<sub>1</sub>,  
silver 626, star (?) 753

*Types*: in biga 119 (?) bovine 455  
bust 573 bust with crescent 571  
575 in chariot drawn by bulls or

## Selene (cont.)

cows 456 537 f. drawn by two  
bulls 752 horned 455 on horseback  
200, *nimbos* 250 *quadriga* in boat  
358, riding bull 456 537 f. riding  
horse 250

Identified with Isis 454

Associated with the *Dio-kouroi* 449

Helios 358, 455, 522 He-pero-  
449 Zeus 456 732 f. 739 777

Compared with Hera 455

Confused with Semele 733

In relation to Atargatis 583 bull 518,

— boat of 358, chariot of 358,  
449(c) 456 537 f. 752

See also Selenia

Selukeia on the Kalykadnos

Cult: Zeus 152 f.

Selukeia Piesia

Cult: Zeus *Kastios* 521,

Selukos

*Attributed*: horn of bull 511, horned  
elephants 511, horned helmet 511,  
horned horses 511

Selge 305 306

Selinous 335

Cults: Demeter 512, Per-ephone (?)  
403 Zeus (?) 403

Semele

Cults: Athens 669 f. 695 Mykonos  
668 f. Thracio-Phrygians 669

Festival: Lenaia 669 ff.

Rites: mysterious 695, sacrifice of  
yearling 668 *τοῦτα* 695

Myths: Thibes 398, wooed by Zeus  
398

Genealogy: m. of Dionysos 671 675  
m. of Dionysos by Zeus 681 f. m.  
of Iakchos 670 f. m. of Iakchos  
by Zeus 693

Type: carrying infant Dionysos 670

Associated with Zeus 155 398, 681  
733 736, 751 780

Confused with Selene 733

Semiramis

Myths: 583, standard at Hierapolis  
in Syria 583 Zeus *Augur* 367

Metamorphosed into dove 367 583,

Etymology 583, 584,

Assimilated to *Iktai* 584,

— sign of 583 statues of 592,

Septimius Severus

Personates Zeus 278

Serapis See Sarapis

Serpens 112, 755, ep. 757

Sesphos See Sis-phos

Set

Identified with Typhon 387

Shamash See Samas

Shu

Genealogy: s. of Ra 348 h. of Tefnut 387  
Functions: atmosphere 348 dry at-  
mosphere 387

Identified with Amen-Ra 348 Hera-  
kles 348 387

Sicca Venerea

Cult: Baral-hammān 308

Sicily

Cult: Zeus *Aḗkaios* 88,

Myths: Atgos 458, Kyklopes 312 320  
321, Sikanos 321

— *trishelēs* as emblem of 305,  
ep. 306 f.

Siculo-Pelasgians (?) 363

Sidon

Cults: Astarte 538 Europe 538

Myth: rape of Europe 538 ff.

— coins of 539

Sidyra

Cult: Zeus Helios Serapis 189,

Siga

Cult: Dionysos 502

Sikanos

Genealogy: f. of Kyklops, Antiphantes  
(etc), Polyphemos 321

Sikyon

Cults: Artemis *Ἰαργία* 520, Dionysos  
*Ἀκρωπεῖρης* 674, Zeus *Μελίχιος*

520, Zeus *Στοχεύς* 143,

Rite: *φαλλοφόροι* 690,

Myth: Antiope 737 f.

See also Aigialeia

Sikyon, the eponymous hero

Genealogy: s. of Marathon 246

Silenoi

Types: asses (?) 696, confused with  
Kentauri (?) 696, horse-creatures  
696 f. 699 701 f.

Associated with Dionysos 503, 667,  
ep. 400,

— plurality of 702,

Silenos

Cult: Thracio-Phrygians (?) 697,

Etymology 697,

Type: laughing Satyr 659,

Silenus, tutor of Liber 662

Sillax 655,

Sillon 655,

Silpion, Mt 236 f.

Cult: Kronos 237,

Silvanus

Function: protector of flocks and  
herds 518 ep. 518,

Associated with Diana 275, Jupiter  
373, Nemesis 275,

Summas 583,

Sin

Genealogy: f. of Istar 237,

Function: moon 237, 577

Associated with Samas, Istar, and  
Adad 577

Sinai, Mt

Cult: golden calf 581

Sinjerli 576,

Sinope

Cults: Sarapis 188, deity wearing  
wolf-skin 99,

Sinopion 188,

Sippai

Cult: Samas 262 ff.

- Sipylos, Mt  
*Myth*: Tantalos 138 156 f. 720<sub>1</sub> Zeus born 151 Zeus married to Semele 155  
*Type*: 102<sub>1</sub>  
 — rock-cut throne on 137 ff.  
 Sirens 258 See also Seiren  
 Si-cia  
*Cult*: Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* 551<sub>7</sub>  
 Si-yphos  
*Cult*: Corinth 639 f.  
*Myth*: Corinth 246 Autolykos 639 f. Under-world 204 f.  
*Genealogy*: h. of Merope 251<sub>6</sub> f. of Odysseus by Antikleia 639 f. f. of Ornytion 736  
*Function*: sun 639 f.  
*Etymology*: 639 655<sub>2</sub>  
 Skione 783  
 Skirophoria 423  
 Skopas 204<sub>2</sub> 665 f.  
 Skotoussa  
*Cult*: Zeus 111<sub>6</sub>  
*Rite*: *ταυροκαθάρια* (?) 497<sub>1</sub>  
 — comm. of 497<sub>1</sub>  
 Skylla  
*Myth*: Megara 344  
*Metamorphosed into* heron 344  
 Skyllaion 344  
 Skythia  
*Myth*: Io 441  
 See also Scythia  
 Smilis 485<sub>1</sub>  
 Smyrna  
*Cult*: Demeter (?) 275<sub>2</sub> Nemesis 273 275<sub>2</sub> 278 f. 284 f.  
 — gilded statuettes of Zeus or Zeus Sarapis from 2<sub>2</sub>  
 Soares, catch gold in fleece 418  
 Sokos  
*Genealogy*: f. of Korymbantes by Kombe 106.  
 Sol  
*Cults*: Apulum 190, Auximum 190, Dalmatia (?) 191, Dorstadt 191, Luthi 189<sub>1</sub> Rome 189<sub>1</sub> 190, 191, 630, Sassoferati 190, Thence 400  
*Epithets*: *Deus Genitor* 191, *Deus Magnus* (?) 191, *Dignus* 609, *Inuictus* 166 190, 191, 610, *Liber* 400 *Praestantissimus* 191, (?) 609, ep. 609, *Rupe Natus* 191, *Sebastus* 400  
*Attributes*: bovine horns 620 chariot 517, grape-bunch 518, radiate crown 517, radiate nimbus 517, 620 torches 714 whip 518, 617 (?) 620  
*Types*: bust 616 f. 620 bust with radiate nimbus 620 rayed bust 610 619 with star above him 538<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Mithras 516 ff.  
*Identified with* Jupiter 191, Jupiter *Dolichenus* 609, Jupiter Sarapis 190, Serapis Jupiter 190,  
 Sol (cont.)  
*Associated with* Jupiter *Dolichenus* 609, 619 Luna 60 616 f. 620 Mithras 517, 518,  
 — flocks of 404  
 Solmi-os, Mt  
*Cult*: Kourete 649;  
 Soloi  
*Cult*: Anamazda 208;  
 Solymos, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus *Σολυμειός* 123  
 Solymos, s. of Zeus 156  
 Soma 718<sub>1</sub>  
 So-sipolis  
*Cult*: Elis 58  
*Attribute*: starry *chlamys* 58  
 Sothenes 169  
*Superceded by* Michael 169  
 Sotei, horse of Helios 337;  
 Souregethes  
*Cult*: Philippopolis 753<sub>2</sub>  
*Epithet*: *Ἐπῆκοος* 753<sub>2</sub> See also Sarga-teus  
 Spalaxos, one of the Carian Kouretes 18;  
 See Palaxos  
 Sparta  
*Cults*: Auxesia and Damoia 730  
 Dioskouroi 766, Zeus *Ἀγῆτωρ* 373<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Ἀρμων* 352 Zeus *Λακεδαίμων* 8 Zeus *Λύκατος* 92 ff. Zeus *Οὐρανίος* 8 Zeus *Πλοῦσιος* 504<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Talaeiras* 730  
 (Spartoi) 540  
 Sphaيروس 225<sub>1</sub>  
 Sphinx  
*Types*: bull-sphinxes 636 with Hathor head 636 with human head 535 with plume on head 297<sub>2</sub>  
 Sterope 38<sub>1</sub> 39 (?)  
 Sterope, horse of Helios 337;  
 Sterope 305<sub>2</sub> 312<sub>1</sub> 314 317 f. 318<sub>1</sub>  
 Stenobolia 591;  
 Stilbon, the planet Mercury 750<sub>1</sub> 756  
 Stoichos 143<sub>1</sub>  
 Stoics 29 ff.  
 Stratonikera  
*Cults*: Demeter 229, Zeus Helios Sarapis 189, Zeus *Πανάγαθος*, *Πανηγρεος*, *Πανήμιος* 18 ff.  
 Stymphalon  
*Cult*: *Διπατύρος* 684<sub>1</sub> 779, Zeus 684<sub>1</sub>  
 Sympax 727;  
 Syessa Amunia 305  
 Sunamas 329<sub>1</sub>  
 Sarga-teus  
*Cult*: Ranzano 753;  
*Epithets*: *deus patrinus* 753<sub>2</sub> *Magnus* 753<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Souregethes  
 Sūrya  
*Function*: sun 240 341;  
*Attribute*: eagle 341;  
 — as a bird 240  
 Sybans  
*Cult*: Zeus *Αυάριος* 17

## Syene 66

*Cults*: Iuno Regina 353<sub>1</sub> Iupiter Optimus Maximus Hammon Chnubis 353<sub>1</sub>

## Symbetylos

*Cult*: Kefi-Nebo 571<sub>2</sub>

*Epithet*: Παργιος 571<sub>2</sub>

*Associated with* Semios and Leon 571<sub>2</sub>

## Synnada

*Cult*: Zeus 152

Syria, folk-tale from 243<sub>1</sub>

## Syracuse

*Cult*: Ptolemaios 212

— coins of 260, 305, 306 f.

## Syrza-tor See Somegthes, Sugasteus

## Syria

*Cults*: Adonis 651 Astarte 237<sub>1</sub> Azizos 706<sub>2</sub> Caelus 59 Hadran 232<sub>1</sub> Io 237<sub>1</sub> Iupiter 59 Zeus 191 ff. Zeus Karai-jarros 124

— coins of 731 741.

## Syria theos

*Cults*: Hierapolis in Syria 582 ff. 591; Peiraijeus 442

## Syros 334 f.

*Cult*: Kabeiron 715<sub>2</sub>

## Syrtis, shores of

*Cult*: Ammon 365

## Szalan-kemen See Acumineum

## Tabor, Mt

*Etymology*: 643

## Tadg 239

## Tamaron, sheep of Helios at 410

## Tamaros, s. of Zeus 156

## Taleton, Mt 155

*Cults*: Helios 180 730 Zeus superseded by St Elias 177 f. 181

*Rite*: sacrifice of horses to Helios 730

## Talos

*Cult*: Phaiastos 297

*Epithets*: *Circinus* (?) 725 Καλός (?) 725 f. *Perdix* 726 ff. Ταῖρος or ταῖρος 468 635 719, 722

*Myths*: Athens 342 ff. 724 ff. Crete 719 ff. Sandania 721 ff.

*Metamorphosed into hawk* (?) 725<sub>2</sub> part-ridge 342 f. 726 ff.

*Genealogy*: s. of Daidalos' sister 342 f. 725 f. of Hepharstos 330; s. of Ktes 330; s. of Omipion 299<sub>1</sub>

*Functions*: fertility 728 sun 297 342 f. 719 721 (?) 725 728

*Etymology*: 468 719

*Attributes*: compasses 724 f. potter's wheel 724 f. saw 725 728 snake 725

*Types*: bull-headed (?) 722 f. youthful winged figure hurling stones 720 f.

*Identified with* Kronos 722 Zeus 633<sub>10</sub> 728 ff.

*Associated with* earth-mother (?) 723 728<sub>1</sub>

*Compared with* Daidalos 342 f. 725<sub>2</sub> Minotauri 720 ff.

*In relation to* Kronos 298

- grave of 726 as dance-theme 481

## Tammuz

*Associated with* Istar 645 646<sub>10</sub>

*Compared with* Adonis and Zeus 645

Tan (?) 655<sub>2</sub>

## Tamit

*Cults*: Carthage 354 Mauretania Caesariensis 354 f.

*Epithet*: Panthea 354 f.

*Function*: mother-goddess 354

*Attributes*: horns of sheep 513<sub>1</sub> mural crown 354

*Associated with* Ba'al-hamman 354 Dīs 355<sub>1</sub> Iupiter Hammon 355<sub>1</sub>

## Tantalus 138

## Tantalos

*Myths*: Sipylus 138 720<sub>1</sub> Under-world 204 f.

*Genealogy*: near akin to Zeus 116 s. of Zeus by Pluto 720<sub>1</sub>

## Taphos 344

## Tarus 170

## Tarentum

*Cults*: Dio-kouron (?) 35<sub>10</sub> Herakles 36 Zeus 35 f. Zeus Karai-jarros 520<sub>2</sub> 521<sub>1</sub>

## Tarkuattes (?) or Taikyanas (?) 136

## Tarquinius Priscus 53

## Tatros

*Cults*: Apollon 586; Aniamazda 208<sub>1</sub> Herakles 535<sub>1</sub> 598 ff. Sandas 535<sub>10</sub> 595 ff. Zeus Téptos 595 ff.

*Festivals*: burning of Herakles on Sandas (?) 600 ff. Ortygothra (?) 535<sub>10</sub> Pyra 600 f.

*Etymology*: 597<sub>1</sub>

— called Ter-os 597<sub>1</sub>; coins of 586<sub>1</sub> 595 ff. foundation of 236

Tartara 412<sub>2</sub>

## Tartaros

*Genealogy*: f. of Echidna by Ge 458

*Associated with* Ge 458

## Tavros Trigardus

*Cult*: Celts 482<sub>10</sub>

*Attribute*: willow 482<sub>10</sub>

## Tauri

*Cult*: Artemis 417

## Taurus, Mt

— rock-cut effigy of Sandas on 594 f. 603 rock-cut throne on 136

## Taurus, i.e. Talos 468 635 719; cp. 722

## Tamos, king of Crete 539

Taurus 549 549<sub>2</sub> 579 736 ff. 755<sub>10</sub>

## Taygete

*Associated with* Zeus 155 755<sub>10</sub> 779

## Taygeton, Mt 155 730

*Cults*: St Elias 180 Wind 180<sub>1</sub>

— Promontory of 293

See also Taleton, Mt

## Tefnut

*Genealogy*: w. of Shu 387

*Function*: moisture of sky 387

*Type*: lion-headed 387

## Tegea

*Cults*: Athena 'Αλέα 112<sub>1</sub> Demeter 521<sub>10</sub> Poseidon 521<sub>10</sub> Zeus 521<sub>10</sub> Zeus

Tegea (*cont.*)

Πάριος 520<sub>2</sub>, Zeus Πατρώος 520<sub>2</sub>,  
Zeus Στροπῆος 520<sub>2</sub>

See also Korythos

Teireias 407<sub>1</sub>

Telephassa or Telephae See Telephassa

Telephassa, m. of Eutrope

Function: lunar(?) 537

Etymology: 537

Telephe See Telephassa

Telete 535 ff.

Cult. Mt Helikon 536 f.

Genealogy: d. of Dionysos by Nikara 536

Attributes: castanets 536, timbrel 536<sub>2</sub>

Associated with Euthenia and Epiktetes 535 ff. Orpheus 536 f.

## Tem

Cult: Heliopolis in Egypt 315

Function: sun 315

Identified with Rā 315

— eye of 315

Identified with Bast 315<sub>1</sub>

## Temenothyrai

Cult. Men 642<sub>1</sub>

— coins of 642<sub>1</sub>

Temesa 99<sub>0</sub>Tenages 225<sub>1</sub>

## Tenedos

Cults: Dionysos Ἀνθρωποπολιότης 469<sub>1</sub>

659 f., 711 Dionysos (Ὠμάδιος?) 656

659<sub>0</sub> double axe 659 f., Palaimon 755

Rite: sacrifice of calf in buskins 659

711

— first inhabited by Asterioi 544<sub>0</sub>

## Tenos

Cults: Dionysos (?) 373 f., Zeus Ἀμύων 371 f.

## Teodoro, S. 51

## Teos

Cult. Zeus 423<sub>2</sub>, 733<sub>2</sub>

Festival: Dia 423<sub>2</sub>, 733<sub>2</sub>

Tenedon 632<sub>1</sub>

## Tereus

Type: bird 592<sub>0</sub>

## Terma 305

Terminus 53 f. See also Jupiter Terminus

Terpon 696<sub>2</sub>Terna Mater 60<sub>1</sub>, 106

Attribute: cornu copiae 60<sub>1</sub>

See also Gaia, Ge, and in Index II

Earth-mother

Teros See Tarsos

## Tesub

Cult. Hittites 526, 604 f., 639 ff., 644 778

Rite: sacrifice of goat 641<sub>0</sub>

Functions: lightning 639 641<sub>0</sub> (?) sky 640 sun 639

Attributes: bow 641<sub>0</sub>, bull 526, 605 f., 631 634 f., 636 640 641 644 bundle of weapons 605<sub>2</sub>, club 526, 644 crook 526<sub>2</sub>, 644 goat (?) 605<sub>1</sub>, high head-dress 605 640<sub>1</sub>, horned cap 605 mace 604<sub>0</sub>, sword 605<sub>0</sub>, trident-fork (?) 605<sub>0</sub>, 641<sub>0</sub>

Tesub (*cont.*)

Types: holding bull by lea-h 605 f.

holding bull on which stands Chipa

644 with bull at his side 604 f., 779

standing on back of bull 606 779

standing on two attendants 604<sub>0</sub>

treading on mountains 526<sub>2</sub>, 644

Associated with Chipa 644

Superseded by Zeus Δολιχάιος or Jupiter Dolichenus 604

## Tethys

Epithet: Τηρνίς 675<sub>2</sub>

Myth: Zeus warned not to marry her 329<sub>0</sub>

Genealogy: w. of Ogenos 675<sub>2</sub>

## Teucians 363

## Teukros 763

Teukros, f. of Aias, high-priest of Zeus Ὀλῆιος 304<sub>1</sub>

## Teurnia

Cult: Nemesis 276<sub>1</sub>

## Teuthania 118

Teuthrone 369<sub>2</sub>

## Thalamai

Cults: Aphrodite (?) 522<sub>1</sub>, Helios 522

Paphie (?) 522<sub>1</sub>, Pasiphae 521 f., 739

Selene 522

## Thalassa

Attributes: head-dress of crab's-claws

753 prow 753 rudder 752 753

stern-ornament 752

## Thaleia 105 f.

Genealogy: m. of Korybantēs by

Apollon 106 w. of Zeus 106<sub>1</sub>

See also Thalia

## Thales 28 165 186

## Thalia 730. See also Thaleia

## Thallo 730.

## Thammuz See Tammuz

Thanatos 252<sub>1</sub>

Attributes: wings 99<sub>0</sub>, wolf-skin on dog-skin cap 99<sub>0</sub>

## Thargelia 339

## Thasos

Cult: Artemis Ηωλώ 442

## Thaumasion, Mt

Cult: Zeus 154

Myth: stone swallowed by Kronos 154

## Theano 447

Thebe, d. of Jupiter 365<sub>2</sub>

Thebe, town in Mysia 304

## Thebes in Boiotia

Cults: Ammon 362<sub>1</sub>, Ares 540 Athena

Ἰογγῆ 540 Dionysos 457 Dionysos

Ἡρακλῆϊος 671 671<sub>0</sub>, Dioskouroi

(Amphion and Zethos) 739 Hera (?)

259<sub>1</sub>, Kaberos 112<sub>0</sub>, 328<sub>0</sub>, Zeus 154

398<sub>1</sub>, Zeus Ἀμύων 74 f., 352 Zeus

Ἐλαίς 181<sub>2</sub>

Rite: Thebans guard tomb of Zethos and Amphion against men of

Titheora 736

Myths: Europe 740 founded by Kadmos 469 539 f., founded by Zethos and Amphion 734 Kadmos and



Thebes (*cont.*)

Harmonia 415 Semele 398<sub>1</sub> (Spartoi) 540

— connected with Thebes in Egypt (?)  
353 Kabeirion at 654 spring of  
Ares at 549

## Thebes in Egypt

*Cults*: Amen 315 347 350 360 Amen-  
Ra 358 387 Hera 370; Ra 346  
Zeus 347 ff. 370; Zeus *Θηβαίος*  
387

*Rites*: *εὐπὸς γάμος* 348<sub>1</sub> sacrifice of  
goats but not sheep 347 temple-  
wheel 266

*Myths*: two priestesses found oracles  
of Zeus 363 f.

— connected with Thebes in Boio-  
tia (?) 353

Thei-oi 112<sub>1</sub>

## Themis

*Genealogy* m. of Dike by Zeus 755<sub>10</sub>

*Associated with Zeus* 755<sub>10</sub>

## Themisto 415 f.

## Themistokles, human sacrifice by 656 f.

Theodore 483<sub>2</sub>

## Theodoros 167

## Theogma 686

Theokles, f. of Knios 351<sub>2</sub>Theokosmos 2<sub>2</sub>

## Theophane

*Metamorphosed into* sheep 418<sub>1</sub>

Theou prosopon 236<sub>1</sub>

## Thera

*Cults*: Apollon 142 f. Artemis 143  
Athena 143 Biris 143 Charites 143  
Cheiron 142 Eumyes 143 Ge 143  
Hades (?) 142 Hermes 143 Kore  
143 Koures 142 144 Lochiaia Damia  
142 Poseidon (?) 142 Thero (?) 143  
Zeus 142 ff. Zeus *Οὐρανός* 117<sub>1</sub>  
— rock-cut inscriptions in 117<sub>1</sub>  
142 ff. 784 rock-cuttings in 144  
784

## Theras (?) 142

Therma (?) 296<sub>2</sub>Thermos 292<sub>10</sub>

## Thero

*Cult* Thera (?) 143

## Theus

*Myths*: Ariadne 480 481 finds shoes  
and sword of Aigeus 519<sub>2</sub> Laby-  
rinth 481 Marathonian bull 467  
rides dolphin 170 slays Minotaur  
24<sub>1</sub> 492 ff. 496

*Genealogy*: s. of Aigeus 467

*Function*: embodiment of Athenian  
people 710 ep. 709<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: club 710 crown 492 f.

*Types*: dragging Minotaur out of  
Labyrinth 474 ff. slaying Mara-  
thonian bull 499<sub>1</sub> slaying Minotaur  
499

— crown of 492 ep. pl xl, 4 flower  
of 492 rock of 519<sub>2</sub>

Thesmophoria 685<sub>10</sub>

## Thespiai

*Cults*: Diony-os (?) 464 Tauros 463 f.

## Thespi 678 f.

## Thesalonike

*Cults*: Demeter 229 Kabeiros 108 ff.  
513

## Thessaly

*Cults*: ant- 533<sub>10</sub> Zeus 533<sub>10</sub> Zeus-  
*Λαφύστιος* 428

*Rite*: *ταρκαταζία* 497 ff.

*Myths*: Kyklopes 309; 310 Zeus and  
Eurymedousa 533<sub>10</sub>

— carnival-plays in 694

Thestios 279<sub>4</sub>

## Thetis

*Myth*: boils her children 419<sub>10</sub>

*Genealogy*: w. of Peleus 419<sub>10</sub>

## Thoo-sa

*Myth*: Mt Athos (?) 321<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: d. of Phorkys 321<sub>1</sub> m. of  
Polyphemos 321<sub>1</sub>

## Thor 185

## Thorikos 480

*Cult*: Zeus *Αἰαντήρ* 195

## Thomax See Kokkygion, Mt

## Thoth

*Identified with* Hermes 443

## Thouioi

*Cult*: Zeus *Ἰπποκλῆς* 289 f. 329 f.  
Zeus *Ἰπποκλῆς* (?) 330<sub>1</sub>

## Thourion, Mt

*Etymology*: 541

## Thrace

*Cults*: Diony-os 400; Orphic Diony-  
sos 654 ff. Sol *Liber Sabadus* 490

*Rite*: human omophagy 695

*Myths*: Dryas 225<sub>1</sub> Kyklopes 310  
310<sub>1</sub> 321<sub>1</sub>

— carnival plays in 694 Orphic  
mystery in 695 spring custom in  
216<sub>1</sub>

Thracians, dress of 655 mysteries on  
mountains of 672

## Thracio-Phrygians

*Cults*: Demeter 695 Dionysos 669  
695 705 706 780 Kore 695 Sabos  
or Sabazios 399 f. Semele 669 781  
Silenos (?) 697<sub>1</sub> Zeus 428 695 706  
778 780 Zeus *Σαβάζιος* 428

*Rite*: boiling of milk (?) 676 f.

## Thrinakie 409

## Thronax See Kokkygion, Mt

## Thyestes

*Myth*: feast 405, golden lamb 409<sub>1</sub> 414

*Genealogy*: b. of Atreus 405 407 s.  
of Pelops 405 407

— grave of 407

Thyia 667<sub>1</sub>Thyone 670<sub>2</sub>

## Tiamat

*Myth*: fight with Marduk 739

## Tibui

*Cult* Albunea 407<sub>1</sub>

Timandros 527<sub>1</sub>

## Tumhu 387

- Timia** 53  
*Myth*: birth of Dionysos 622 f.  
*Functions*: fertility 623 storm 623  
*Attributes*: eagle-sceptre 623 winged thunderbolt 623 wreath of lilies 623
- Tiou** See **Tios**
- Tios**  
*Cult*: Zeus *Συργάστης* or *Συργαστήριος* 753;  
 — coin of 753
- Tiryns**  
*Cult*: Hera (?) 446 454;  
*Rites*: bull-fights 497 human *βόες*(?) 453;  
*Myths*: *Kyklopes* 303 309 321; *Peiras* or *Peirasos* 453; *Proitides* 451 ff.
- Ti-hub** or **Tisub** or **Tisup** See **Tešub**
- Tisyroi** 401, 534 f.
- Titakidai** 655<sub>2</sub>
- Titakos** 655<sub>2</sub>
- Titanes**  
*Myths*: attack *Ammon* 376<sub>1</sub>; attack *Dionysos* 647 689 attack *Zagreus* 398 647 attacked by *Zeus* 164<sub>1</sub> (*Euhemeristic*) 661 f. fight with *Zeus* 731<sub>1</sub> *Knossos* 649; *Prometheus* 327  
*Functions*: deities of a bygone age 317 656 *Thracian kings* 655 f.  
*Etymology*: 655 f. 655<sub>2</sub> 677  
*Types*: attacking *Zagreus* 659 devouring *Zagreus* 654 ff.  
 — as dance-theme 679<sub>1</sub>
- Titanoi**(?) 655<sub>2</sub>
- Titans** See **Titanes**
- Tithorea**  
*Rite*: attempt to steal earth from tomb of *Zethos* and *Amphion* for tomb of *Antiope* 736
- Titopolis**  
*Cults*: *Tyche* 598<sub>1</sub>; *Zeus* 598<sub>1</sub>
- Titon** 655<sub>2</sub>
- Tittakides** 655<sub>2</sub>
- Tityos**  
*Genealogy*: s. of *Zeus* 156<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: 534<sub>1</sub>
- Tityroi**  
*Myth*: danced round tree in which *Zeus* met *Europe*(?) 534 f.  
*Function*: *Dionysiac* 667<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 401<sub>1</sub> 534<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: ithyphallic goat-man with cornu copiae(?) 704<sub>1</sub>; ram-headed dancers(?) 704<sub>1</sub>
- Tityroi**, festival at *Gortyna*(?) 534 f.
- Tityros**, Mt  
*Cult*: *Diktynna* 534<sub>2</sub> 541<sub>5</sub>
- Tityros**, town in *Crete*(?) 534
- Tmolos**, i. of *Plouto* 156<sub>1</sub>
- Tmolos**, Mt, *Zeus* born on 151
- Totaplethos**(?) 668
- Tottes** 108<sub>1</sub>
- Trachonitis**  
*Cult*: *Zeus* 'Ανίκητος' *Ἡλιος Θεός* *Δύμος* 193
- Traglatella**, Etruscan vase from 476
- Trauzmauer** See **Tugi-amum**
- Trajan**  
*Cult*: *Pergamon* 118  
 — column of 60
- Tralleis**  
*Cult*: *Zeus* 151<sub>1</sub>  
*Festivals*: *Dios Goniai* 535<sub>1</sub>; *Eion-Gamoi* 535<sub>1</sub>
- Trans-figuration**, Mt of 181
- Trigaranus**(?) 482<sub>1</sub> See *Tarvos Trigaranus*
- Trigisamum**  
*Cult*: *Iupiter Dolichenus* 617 ff
- Trikke**  
*Rite*: ταυροκαθάρια(?) 497<sub>4</sub>  
 — coins of 497<sub>4</sub>
- Trinacrus**  
*Genealogy*: s. of *Neptunus* 305<sub>1</sub>  
*Attribute*: triskelēs 305<sub>1</sub>
- Trinity** 171
- Triopas** 320
- Triops** 320
- Tripolis** in *Lydia*  
*Cult*: *Zeus Sarapis* 188<sub>4</sub>  
 — coins of 188<sub>4</sub> 483
- Tripolis** in *Phoinike*  
*Cult*: *Zeus Agyos* 192 400<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 192
- Triptolemos** 211 ff.  
*Cults*: *Byblos* 227 *Egypt* 212 222 f. 227 *Eleusis* 211 ff. *Gordyene* 212 *Kilikia* 227 *Lydia* 227 *Seythia* 212 *Syracuse* 212  
*Personated by* *Claudius* 228 *Germanicus* 228<sub>4</sub>
- Myths*: in *Apollodoros* 211 in *Hymn to Demeter* 211 influences that of *Medeia* 215 variants 211 f. *Antheia* 74<sub>1</sub> first ploughs and sows 158<sub>1</sub> quest of Io 236 f.
- Genealogy*: s. of *Dysaules* 212 earth-born 212 s. of *Eleusinus* by *Cathonea* 212 s. of *Eleusinus* by *Cynthia* 212 s. of *Eleusis* 211 s. of *Eleusius* by *Hioma* 212 b. of *Eubouleus* 212 f. of *Gordys* 237<sub>1</sub> s. of *Icarus*(?) 212 s. of *Koleos* 212 218 226 s. of *Metanena* 211 s. of *Okeanos* by *Ge* 212 s. of *Ra* 212 s. of *Raios* 212 s. of *Trochilos* by an *Eleusinian* wife 212 225 f. 236
- Functions*: agricultural 224 f. lunar(?) 227 solar(?) 225 f.
- Etymology*: 224 f.
- Attributes*: bag of seed 223 corn-ears 213 ff. corn-ears in hand 222 plough 223 ff. 782 sceptre 214<sup>2</sup> 218
- Identified with* *Adonis-Eumun*(?) 783 *Baal-tarz* 227 *Men*(?) 227 *Osiris* 223 227 *Tylos* 227
- Associated with* *Demeter* 211 f. 217 f. 220 ff. 228 *Eumelos* 227 *Isis* 222 f. *Neilos* 222 f. *Persephone* 218 220 f. 224

## Triptolemos (cont.)

*Compared with Dionysos* 214 ff. 231  
*Hephaistos* (?) 216<sub>2</sub>

*Supersedes Demophon* 211

— chariot of 71<sub>1</sub>, 211 ff. in a folk-tale 175<sub>1</sub>, in a relief 227 in art 212<sub>1</sub>, on a cameo 228 on coins 217<sub>1</sub> 229<sub>1</sub> on vases 213 ff.

*Types*: bearded 213 ff. beardless 217 ff. on single wheel 225 on chariot with wheels 213 ff. on chariot with winged wheels 213<sub>2</sub> 217 ff. 231 342 on chariot with snake wheels 213<sub>2</sub> 217 ff. on chariot with winged and snake wheels 126 ff. on chariot with winged snakes 217<sub>1</sub> 226<sub>1</sub>; cp. 230

## Triton

*Type*: bovine horns (?) 374

## Tritopateres

*Cult*: Athens 171

*Superseded by the Trinity* 171

## Trochilos

*Etymology* 212 225 f. 236

## Troizen

*Cults*: Hippolytos 225<sub>1</sub> 593<sub>1</sub> Poseidon 74 Zeus Soterios 519<sub>2</sub>

*Rite*: hair cut for Hippolytos 593<sub>1</sub>

Trojanu 489<sub>1</sub>

## Tromi-

*Cult*: Archegetes 736<sub>1</sub>

## Trophonios 450 ff.

*Cult*: Lebadea 524

*Oracles* 524

*Myths*: Delphoi 450 563<sub>1</sub> euthanasia 450 f. nursed by Demeter 525

## Tros 468

## Troy

*Cult*: Zeus Epheios 40<sub>1</sub>

*Myths*: Achilles' kap 483<sub>1</sub> Neoptolemos 39<sub>2</sub>

— game of 476 482 ff. 483<sub>1</sub> 491

## Tuamu labuti See Heavenly Twins

## Turduli 309

## Turnus 141

## Tyche

*Cults*: Argenta 710 Anazarbos 598<sub>1</sub> Barata 136<sub>1</sub> Gaza 149<sub>1</sub> 230<sub>1</sub> Nemrond Dagh 744 745, Ptolemais 44<sub>1</sub> Tinnopolis 598<sub>1</sub>

*Epithets*: Basileas 642 Nea 744

*Personated by Antiochos I of Kommagene* 744 745<sub>1</sub>

*Function*: Augo 755<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: bull 236 cornucopiae 598<sub>1</sub> 709 f. cp. 236 cow 236, cow's head 236, sceptre 709 f. cp. 236 Lalathos ep. 236 tiarated crown 598<sub>1</sub>

*Types*: in guise of Io 236, veiled and tiarated head 598<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with Isis* 271<sub>1</sub> Kommagene 745

*Associated with Eros* 710 Men Φαφραλον 642 Nike 44<sub>1</sub>

*In relation to Nemesis* 271<sub>1</sub>

## Tyche (cont.)

*Supersedes mountain-mother* 136<sub>1</sub> 597<sub>1</sub> 710 745; cp. 750

## Tychon

*Identified with Aphroditos* 176<sub>1</sub> Hermes 176<sub>1</sub>

Tychon. St 175 176<sub>1</sub>

## Tylos

*Identified with Triptolemos* 227

## Tyndareos

*Genealogy*: f. of Dio-kouroi and Helena 279 f. f. of Klytaimestra and Dio-kouroi 764

*Function*: thunder and lightning 770<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology*: 770<sub>1</sub> 780<sub>1</sub>

Tyndaridai affiliated to Zeus 780<sub>1</sub> re-named Dio-kouroi 780<sub>1</sub>

## Typho

*Myth*: scares Venus and Cupido 584<sub>1</sub>

See also Typhoeus, Typhon

## Typhoeus

*Epithets*: contemptus 514<sub>2</sub>

*Myths*: attacks the gods 570<sub>1</sub> 445 675 defeats Zeus 731<sub>1</sub>

See also Typho, Typhon

## Typhon

*Myth*: slays O-iris 435

*Identified with Set* 387

See also Typho, Typhoeus

## Tyre

*Cults*: Astarte 356<sub>2</sub> (?) 782 Helios 197

Herakles 356 Melqart 356 moon 619<sub>1</sub> sun 619<sub>1</sub>

*Festivals*: burning of Melqart (?) 601<sub>1</sub> Kake Opsine 539

— Ambrosial Rocks at 530<sub>2</sub> coins of 530<sub>2</sub>

## Tyrseniens 362

## Uatchu 206 386 f.

## Uama, the star of Helena 773

Uta Major 112, 548 755<sub>1</sub> cp. 755Uta Minor 112 755<sub>1</sub>; 755<sub>1</sub> cp. 757

## Utestu 383

## Vaca

*Cult*: Baral-hammân 308

Vaphio, capture of bulls on cup from 497 499

Varma 190 741<sub>1</sub>

## Vedovis

*Cult*: Rome 711

*Rite*: sacrifice of she-goat ritu humano 711 717<sub>1</sub>

*Function*: youthful Jupiter 711

*Etymology*: 711<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: bay-wreath 712 bundle of arrows (?) 711<sub>1</sub> 712 goat 711 thunderbolt 712

*Type*: archaistic 713

*Identified with Apollo* 711<sub>1</sub> 712

*Compared with Dionysos* 711 ff.

## Veha 306

## Vener, St 172

- Venti 517<sub>0</sub>  
*Cult.* Mt Taygeton 180;  
*Rite:* sacrifice of horse 180;  
Venus  
*Cults:* Athens 551<sub>1</sub> 554<sub>1</sub> Carnuntum 551<sub>6</sub> Helopolis in Syria 554  
*Epithets:* *Felix* 554<sub>1</sub> *Genetrix* 176<sub>0</sub> *Heliopolitana* 551<sub>4</sub> 554<sub>1</sub> *Pelagia* 176<sub>0</sub> *Purpurissa* 176<sub>0</sub> *Victrix* 551<sub>6</sub> 554<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth:* sends Psyche to find golden sheep 404f.  
*Metamorphosed into* fish 584<sub>0</sub>  
*Type:* masculine 176<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* 551<sub>6</sub> 554<sub>1</sub> and *Mercurius* 554<sub>1</sub> and *Mercurius Heliopolitanus* 551<sub>4</sub> 554<sub>1</sub>  
*In relation to* Iuno 617 f.  
*Superseded by* St Venere 172  
Venus, the planet 577 580 741 755 f. 758 f.  
*Function:* heat 759.  
Verethaghnā See Artagne-  
Vesta  
*Associated with* Iupiter 330  
Via Traiana personified 260;  
Victoria  
*Attributes:* palm-branch 616 617 (?) 619 wreath 616 619  
*Type:* standing on globe 617 (?)  
Vienna, town in Gaul 623<sub>0</sub>  
Vira-vrata 329<sub>1</sub>  
Virbius 225<sub>1</sub> 282<sub>1</sub> (?)  
Virgin, the  
*Epithet:* Panagia Gorgoepekoos 175<sub>1</sub>  
*Supersedes* Artemis 172  
Virgo 755<sub>10</sub>  
Volcae 243<sub>0</sub>  
Volcanus  
*Cults:* Celts 482<sub>0</sub> Rome 656<sub>2</sub>  
*Attribute:* tongs 482<sub>0</sub>  
Volceii 244<sub>0</sub>  
Volci 244<sub>0</sub>  
Volsci 243 f.  
Weland 489  
Wind-gods See Venti  
Xanthios 689<sub>0</sub> See Xanthos  
Xanthos, Cretan king 547<sub>2</sub>  
Xanthos, slain by Melanthos 689<sub>0</sub>  
Xanthos, horse of Achilles 241<sub>1</sub>  
Xanthus, horse of Helios 337.  
Xenophanes 11 772  
Xerxes, supposed throne of 145 147<sub>1</sub>

## Zagreus

- Cults:* Crete 442<sub>0</sub> (cp. 457) 644 ff. (cp. 661 ff.) 695  
*Epithets:* δεισιππος ἄλλος νέτιος Ζεὺς 398 f. 647<sub>0</sub> νεκτίπολος 648<sub>1</sub> (cp. 667<sub>1</sub>) θεὸν παννύπτεται πάντων 647.  
*Rites:* Bakchoi 648 ff. Kouretes 648 ff. omophagy 648<sub>1</sub> 650 (cp. 661 ff.)

## Zagreus (cont.)

- thunder-making 648, 649 f. torches-carried over mountain 648<sub>1</sub> 650  
*Priests:* βοῦκόλοι 442<sub>0</sub> 457  
*Personated by* human victim (?) 657  
*Myth:* 398 f. (Euhemeristic) 661 f. slain in bovine form 398 647 650  
slain by Titans 647 (cp. 661 f.)  
*Metamorphosed into* bull 398 647 650  
Zeus, Kronos, babe, youth, lion, horse, snake, tiger, bull 398 f. 647  
*Genealogy:* s. of Persephone 402  
*Functions:* chthonian 398 442<sub>0</sub> hunter 651 Zeus reborn (?) 647 cp. 398 f.  
*Etymology:* 651  
*Attributes:* mirror cp. 661 rattles cp. 661 πόμβος 650<sub>1</sub>  
*Types:* bull-headed child (?) 465<sub>1</sub> devoured by Titans 654 ff. horned infant 398 slain by Titans 659  
*Associated with* Ge 647; Persephone (?) 465<sub>1</sub>  
*In relation to* Kronos 398 Zeus 398 f. 644 ff.  
— mysteries of 402 442<sub>0</sub> 457 spread of the name of 651 thunders of 648<sub>1</sub> 649 f. toys of 650<sub>1</sub> (cp. 661)  
Zagron See Zagros, Mt  
Zagros, Mt 651  
Zakynthos, folk-tales from 324; 343  
Zamolxis 781  
Zan 303 646 See Zeus  
Zarathushtra 10<sub>1</sub> 741<sub>1</sub> 745<sub>1</sub> See also Zoroastres  
Zas 27 See Zeus  
Zen 28 f. See Zeus  
Zenon of Kition 29<sub>2</sub> 29<sub>3</sub> 29<sub>1</sub>  
Zeno-Poseidon 603  
Zephyros  
*Myth:* fertilises Lusitanian mares 753<sub>0</sub>  
Zetes 721  
Zethos  
*Myth:* Diike 736 740  
*Genealogy:* s. of Zeus by Antiope 734 ff.  
*Function:* evening-star (?) 739  
— tomb of 736  
Zens

- Cults:* Achaean- 16 ff. 461 529<sub>1</sub> Aenta 193<sub>1</sub> Mt Agdos (?) 155 Agaima 193<sub>1</sub> Agazentum 122 643 Agnon 17 529<sub>1</sub> Mt Amos 165 Attne 91 121 Akmonia 151 f. Alevan-drea 74<sub>0</sub> 188<sub>1</sub> 189<sub>1</sub> 361 cp. 753 Amaseia 91 602<sub>2</sub> Amastris 753 Ammonion (See Oasis of Siwah) Amorgos 194 f. 659<sub>2</sub> Anazarbos 597<sub>1</sub> Mt Anchesmos 121 Ankyra in Galatia 124 189<sub>1</sub> Apameia in Phrygia 151 f. Apameia in Syria 756<sub>0</sub> Aphytis 352 371 Aquileia in Venetia 740. Mt Anchnanon 117 178 Argos 117 122 f. 320 373 444 456 461 f. Arkadia 26 (q) 63 ff.





Zeus (*cont.*)

519 Μαζεύς 741<sub>1</sub> μακάριος (?) 280<sub>1</sub>  
 μάστις 758<sub>1</sub> Μασφαλαιήνός 193 642<sub>1</sub>  
 Μαχάρεις 717<sub>1</sub> μέγας 233<sub>1</sub> 400<sub>1</sub> 501<sub>1</sub>  
 618<sub>1</sub> 758<sub>1</sub> 763 μέγιστε κοῦρε .Κρόνιε  
 15 645 Μέγιστος 10<sub>1</sub> Μελίχιος 290<sub>2</sub>  
 422 f. 428 520<sub>1</sub> (See also Μηλίκιος)  
 Μεμφίτης 188<sub>1</sub> Μηλίκιος 144 (See  
 also Μελίχιος) Μηλωσιος 164 164<sub>1</sub>  
 520<sub>2</sub> μητέρα 14<sub>1</sub> μητιόεις 14<sub>1</sub> Μονρι-  
 τιος 298 Μοριος 196<sub>1</sub> Νάιος 363 369  
 369<sub>1</sub> 370 524 77<sub>1</sub> Νευειος 236<sub>10</sub> 280<sub>1</sub>  
 448 456 558<sub>1</sub> νεφέληγέρτα 14<sub>1</sub>  
 Νυσως = Νοτιος 753<sub>1</sub> Ξεριος 75 (?)  
 233 234<sub>1</sub> 280<sub>1</sub> ολβιος 75 125 304<sub>1</sub>  
 Όλιβριος on Ολβριος 597<sub>1</sub> Όλέμ-  
 πιος 37<sub>1</sub> 102<sub>1</sub> 116<sub>1</sub> 117<sub>1</sub> 121 233  
 234<sub>1</sub> 758<sub>1</sub> Όναγριμος 17 Όναριος  
 (?) 16<sub>1</sub> 16<sub>1</sub> 16<sub>1</sub> 17 Ουβριος 121 ο  
 πατρων κρῆσιν 570<sub>1</sub> ομι Father  
 664<sub>1</sub> Ουβριος 8 565<sub>2</sub> 647<sub>1</sub> ούρανός  
 8 παγκρατες γαρός 15 Πανύραρος.  
 Πανρμεος, Πανρμειος 18 ff. 581  
 Πανρπητης 159 461<sub>1</sub> 741 παντε-  
 ποττης 161<sub>1</sub> παντοπτας 459<sub>1</sub> Πάτας  
 399<sub>1</sub> Πάτας 399<sub>1</sub> Πανρηιος 121  
 Πάσιος 520 Πάσιος 399 Πανρως  
 116<sub>1</sub> 123 133 (?) 290<sub>2</sub> 519<sub>1</sub> 520<sub>2</sub>  
 Πελασγιος 545<sub>1</sub> Πελαναίος 290<sub>2</sub>  
 Πελαγιος (?) 142 Πέλιος 158 237<sub>1</sub>  
 Πλουσιος 504<sub>1</sub> Πλουτοδοτης 503<sub>1</sub>  
 504<sub>1</sub> Πολεις 122 142 143 (?) 147  
 498<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>1</sub> Πολυόχος 597<sub>1</sub> Πουανρτης  
 289 f. 329 f. Ηρωμρθεος (?) 330<sub>1</sub>  
 Σααριος 400<sub>1</sub> Σαβελιος 113 297<sub>1</sub>  
 390 ff. 399 399 428 650<sub>1</sub> 778 Σαβος  
 395 Σαβελιος 400<sub>1</sub> Σειρήν 740 Σειριος  
 740<sub>1</sub> Σημαλιος 121 Σθένιος 519<sub>2</sub>  
 Σινωπιτης 188<sub>1</sub> Σολυαριος 123 σόρος  
 758<sub>2</sub> σόρος τοίς πάσι 758<sub>1</sub> Σπλαγχνο-  
 τήιος 654<sub>1</sub> στεφανοπηγίατα 317 f. στε-  
 φορηγιος 758<sub>1</sub> Στουχαδεις 148<sub>1</sub> Στου-  
 χαριος 143 Στουχιος 143<sub>1</sub> Στουχιος  
 143<sub>1</sub> Στουπας 520 Στρατιος 91 602<sub>2</sub>  
 641 Σωσιπας 57 f. 717<sub>2</sub> Σωτηρ 350<sub>1</sub>  
 361<sub>1</sub> 399<sub>1</sub> 459 Ταλαιος 181<sub>1</sub> 194<sub>1</sub>  
 633<sub>10</sub> 728<sub>1</sub> Ταλνιτας 181<sub>1</sub> 194<sub>1</sub> 730  
 730<sub>1</sub> Ταλλας 181<sub>1</sub> 194<sub>1</sub> 633<sub>10</sub> 729  
 730 Τελιος 25<sub>1</sub> Τελιος 623<sub>1</sub> Τερμων  
 520<sub>2</sub> Τερπιος 597 τραγῶδος 702<sub>1</sub> Τρι-  
 φυλιος 662 Τριπυριος 642<sub>1</sub> Τέτιος 398<sub>1</sub>  
 647<sub>1</sub> Τίμηπιος 121 Τίπατος 123  
 Τίσιος 147 646<sub>1</sub> wonderful 664<sub>1</sub>  
 Φαναίος 7<sub>1</sub> Φριγιος 350 Φελώνη (See  
 Antiochos i of Kommagene) Φελιος  
 112<sub>2</sub> Φιλομασιος (See Antiochos i of  
 Kommagene) Φοργιος 398 Φυξιος 416  
 417 Χθονιος 668 f. Χριστωρ (?) 731<sub>1</sub>  
 Ξρημαδης 10<sub>1</sub> 208 741 ff.

*Festivals.* Ammonia (?) 359<sub>1</sub> η άρά-  
 βας τοῦ θεοῦ 21 η ανόδος τοῦ θεοῦ  
 21 Bouphonia (See Rites) Dia 423<sub>2</sub>  
 733, Dusia 423<sub>2</sub> 733<sub>2</sub> Dupolieia  
 684<sub>1</sub> Disotelia 684<sub>1</sub> η επιδημία τοῦ  
 θεοῦ 20 η των ιππων εισοδος 20

Zeus (*cont.*)

Komyria 20 ff. Lykaia 63<sub>1</sub> 68 70  
 76 f. 76<sub>2</sub> 76<sub>2</sub> Maimakterion 20<sub>1</sub>  
 176<sub>2</sub> Panamaria 20 Pandia 423<sub>2</sub>  
 682<sub>2</sub> (?) 732 f.  
*Oracles:* Aphytis 352 Dodona 39<sub>1</sub>  
 363 ff. 367 368<sub>1</sub> 369 Heliopolis in  
 Syria 357 552 f. Hierapolis in  
 Syria (?) 357 584 ff. Oasis of Siwah  
 352 f. 355 357 363 ff. 376  
*Rites:* Bakchoi 648 ff. βοφονία 469<sub>1</sub>  
 717<sub>2</sub> bovine omophagy 659 ff. bull  
 carried 503 f. dedication of hair  
 23 ff. 25<sub>1</sub> of horns 21 Dictaeon  
 hymn 15 681<sub>1</sub> Δός βοῦς 717<sub>2</sub> Διός  
 λῶδον 422 ff. 689<sub>1</sub> distribution of  
 meat 21 of money 21 of wine 21  
 funeral sacrifice 646 human consort  
 348<sub>1</sub> 396 human sacrifice 70 ff. 75  
 415 ff. 417 652 ff. 654 656 ιερός  
 γαρός 21 f. 22<sub>1</sub> 57 348<sub>1</sub> 396 522 f.  
 526 ff. 534 f (?) 543 708<sub>1</sub> initiates  
 of Zeus Σαβελιος pass a golden  
 adder through their bosoms 394  
 Kometes 648 ff. marriage (See ιερός  
 γαρός) mysteries 21 113 390 ff. 402  
 648 ff. 650<sub>1</sub> 663 ff. (See also Index II  
 s. v. Mysteries) ναστός επιπελασ-  
 υέος 176. omophagy 648<sub>1</sub> 650  
 651 ff. 659 ff. παρκαρπια νηφαλιος  
 176<sub>2</sub> πομπαν όρθόνφαλον δωδεκόν-  
 φαλον 176<sub>2</sub> procession beating Διός  
 λώδον (?) 422 procession up Mt  
 Olympos 163 113 procession up  
 Mt Pelion 420 422 sacrifice of  
 black yeasting 668 f. of bulls 467  
 511<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>2</sub> 779 (See also oxen) of  
 goats 347 717<sub>2</sub> of horses 180<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>2</sub>  
 of oxen 82 338<sub>1</sub> 545<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>2</sub> ep. 467  
 511<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>2</sub> of pigs 82 668 669<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>2</sub>  
 of rams 39 348 407 ff. 416 f. 420 ff.  
 422 ff. 717<sub>2</sub> 717<sub>2</sub> 779 ep. 75<sub>2</sub> of  
 sheep 75<sub>2</sub> (See also rams) of young  
 pig 668 669<sub>1</sub> silence observed during  
 sacrifice 592<sub>1</sub> ταρκακαζία (?) 498<sub>1</sub>  
 throne annually thrown 646 thun-  
 der-making 648<sub>1</sub> 649 f. torches  
 carried over mountain 648<sub>1</sub> 650  
 votive limbs dedicated in the Idaean  
 Cave 645 f.  
*Priests:* η άπόθεσις τῶν στεφανων 22  
 μισταγωγος 21<sub>2</sub> η παραληξις τοῦ  
 θεοῦ 22 η παράληξις τοῦ στεφανου 22  
 υποφῆται 530<sub>1</sub> of Zeus Αἰθέριος 26  
 Zeus Αραίος 421 Zeus Ακαίος 420  
 Zeus Αμωρ 355 389 Zeus Οηζαίος  
 363 Zeus Όλβιος 304<sub>1</sub> Zeus Σαβάγιος  
 391 Zeus Σωσιπας 57  
*Priestesses:* at Dodona 111<sub>1</sub> 364 in the  
 Oasis of Siwah 364 at Skotoussa  
 111<sub>1</sub> at Thebes in Egypt 363 f.  
*Personated by* Alexander the Great  
 57 279 Antiochos i of Kommagene  
 742<sub>2</sub> 748 ff. Augustus 547 f. ep.  
 43<sub>1</sub> 59 Demetrios Poliorketes 54

## Zeus (cont.)

Epopeus (?) 247 737 Homer (?) 131  
131, Jason (?) 248 Julius Caesar (?)  
781 kings of Corinth (?) 247 f.  
737 kings of Crete 545; 547 662  
Marathon (?) 247 Minos (?) 527,  
cp. 545, Pelops (?) 139 Perikles  
280 priest 22 Septimius Severus  
278 son of Domitia Longina 51  
547 Tyndareos (?) 279 f. cp. 770;  
780

*Myths:* Agdistis 155 Aithiopes 186  
187, 348, Amaltheia and her *cornu  
copiae* 501 f. 717; Amaltheia hangs  
cradle on a tree in Crete 530, cp.  
534 Aquarius 755 Aquila 755 Ara  
755 Arcophylax 755 Asterion or  
Astérios or Ásteros 546 f. attacked  
by wheel-shaped beings 310 f. 317  
Auriga 755 begets bull 394 birth of  
Athena 585 birth of Dionysos 622 f.  
693 Bootes 755 born in Crete 650;  
665 665<sub>10</sub> (See also *Epithets Kōrra-  
gevns. Kōrraios, Kōrragevns*) born  
in a cave of Mt Dikte 149 151 653  
born on Mt Drios (?) 154 born in  
a cave of Mt Ide in Crete 150 f.  
born on Mt Ide in the Troad (?)  
154 born in Katakekaumene 152  
born on Mt Korikos 152 f. born  
in Lydia 150 f. born and reared  
on Mt Lykaion 154 born on Mt  
Messogis 151 born in Naxos 154  
born at Pergamon 120 154 born in  
Phrygia 151 f. born on Mt Sipylus  
151 born at Thebes in Boiotia 154  
born on Mt Tmolos 151 buried in  
Crete 157 ff. 645 f. 646, 663 burns  
his hand 702, Canis 755 Capra  
755 Capricornus 755 causes Hera  
to sneeze Herakles 624 Centaurus  
755 chains Prometheus to Mt  
Kaukasos 329,

*consorts with Mt Agdos* 155 with  
Aitne 106, 106; 106, 156 779 with  
Alkmene 624 with Amara (?) 581 f.  
with Antiope 535, 734 ff. 739 777  
with Astarte (?) 546, with Asteria or  
Asterie 544, with Danae 414 with  
Demeter 393 396 398 401 668 f. 695  
779 with Dione 370 with Elare (?)  
156, with Elektra 755<sub>10</sub>, with  
Europe 155 351; 401; 464 167 172  
524 ff. 538 f. 544 546 f. 644 648  
660 f. 733 f. 739 f. 777 780 with  
Eurydouda 533, with Eury-  
nome 155 with Ge 26 with Ge  
Neoria 668 f. with Hekate (?) 111 f.  
543, with Hera 134 f. 154 f. 348,  
370 370; 522 f. cp. 20 ff. 22, 117  
133, 345, 456, 459; 501, 591 597,  
708; 753 with Idaia 544, with Io  
237, 257 438 ff. 457 ff. 462 f. 532<sub>10</sub>,  
684, 733 f. 739 777 with Isis 346;  
454 457, with Kalliope 105 f. with

## Zeus (cont.)

Kallisto 155 with Kore 394 398 f.  
401 695 with Korymbie 155 779 with  
Larissa 156 with Larisse (?) 156;  
with Leda 279, 760; 763, 770 774  
with Leto 155 544, 727, 728 with  
Maia 755<sub>10</sub>, with Mnemosyne 104 f.  
with Mousa 104 779 with Nemea (?)  
280; 456; with Nemesis 270; 278 ff.  
760; 780 with Pasiphae 522 733 f.  
777 with Persephone 394 398 399,  
780 with Phoinike 755<sub>10</sub>, with  
Plouto 156 720, with Rhea 398 645  
with Selene 456 457; (?) 732 f. 739  
777 with Semele 155 398, 457;  
681 f. 693 (?) 733 736, 751 780 with  
Taygete 155 755<sub>10</sub>, 779 with Thaleia  
105 f. 106, with Themis 755<sub>10</sub>,  
cradle hung on tree round which  
Kouretes clash weapons 534 Cyg-  
nus 755 Danaos 371, defeated by  
Typhoeus 731, Deltoton 755 des-  
tined to be dethroned by s. of  
Hekate 543, dethrones Kronos 329,  
Dionysos founds temple of Zeus  
Ἀμμων 369 f. 373 Dionysos sewn  
up in thigh of Zeus 674, Elektra  
755<sub>10</sub>, Engonasin 755 Epaphos  
438 ff. Equos 755, Ganymedes 408  
527, girds ram 394 Gemini 755  
Gigantes 119 gives ring to Pro-  
metheus 329, goes up into moun-  
tain with golden calf and silver  
knife 581 golden bound 720, golden  
or purple lamb of Atrous 405 ff.  
golden ram 121 Hammon brings  
sheep to Dionysos 368 373 He-  
niochus 755 Hera 251, 106, 156 198  
248 257 398 438 ff. 440; 467 624  
658; *ἑρῶς γάμος* (See *Rites*) Indians  
318 Ixion 198 Lynx 257 440; judg-  
ment of Paris 125 f. king of Egypt  
376, Kronos 154 f. 299 329, 520,  
755<sub>10</sub>, Leo 755 Leucadian rock 345,  
Lyra 755 married on mountain  
tops 151 ff.

*nursed by* Adrasteia 112; 112, by  
Aiga 529, by Alkmoe 112, by Amal-  
theia 112; 501 f. 717; by Ambrosie  
111, by Aneluroe 112, by Anthrakia  
112; 112, by Arsinoe 111, by  
Bromie 111, by Erato 111, by  
Euphrosia 111, by Gerasiades 112;  
by Glauke 112, by Hagno 112; 112,  
by Helike 112; 529 f. 548 755<sub>10</sub>, by  
Hvades 111, by Ide 112; 112; 112;  
by Ideothea 112; by Kissos 111, by  
Koromis 111, by Kynosoura 112;  
755<sub>10</sub>, by Melissa 112; by Myrtoessa  
112, by Neda 112; 112, by Nymphs  
on Mt Arktion 112 by Nymphs in  
Crete 112, 755<sub>10</sub>, by Nymphs of Do-  
dona 111 by Nymphs on Mt Ide in  
Crete 112 by Nymphs on Mt Ide in  
Phrygia 112 by Nymphs on Mt



## Zeus (cont.)

Ithome 154 by Nymphs at Megalopolis 112 by Nymphs at Tegea 112 by Nysa 111, by Oinoe 112, by Phixia 112, by Polyhymno 111, by Thesora 112, nurtured by bees 150 by cow (?) 660 665 785 by doves 150 182 by goat 112, 112, 150 529, 653, 665 720, by sheep (?) 401 by sow 150 653 785

Olor 755 Ophionchus 755 Orion 755 Persephone 126 ff. Phaethon (?) 337 Phades 755 pretends castration 394 prevents Ares from slaying Kadmos 540 prince slain by wild boar and buried in Crete 157 645 652 663, Prometheus' theft of fire 323 ff. reared in Naxos 164, receives omen from eagle 164, Sagittarius 755 sceptre made by Hephaistos 406 Scorpius 755 Semele 155 398, (See also Semele) Semiramis 387 shows himself in ram-skin to Herakles 347 f. spares Nyktimos in answer to supplication of Ge 79, cp. 79, stone swallowed by Kronos 154 299 520, strife of Athena and Poseidon 147 succeeds Kronos and Rhea 155 329, swaddled at Geraiston 154, Talos 719 Tantalos 116 720, Taurus 755 thunderbolt made by Encheirogastres 317 thunderbolt made by Kyklopes 310, 314 317 f. Titanes 164, 661 f. 731, transforms Anthos into bird 73, Dionysos into kid 674 f. Helike and Kyno-oura into bears 112, Leto into quail 544, Palikos into eagle 106, tug-of-war 113, Typhoeus 370, 731 Ursa Major 755 Ursa Minor 755 Virgo 755 warned not to marry Tethys 329, washed in the Lousios 154, 1

*Metamorphosed into* ant 533, bull 393 399 438 f. 458 f. 464 468 (?) 472 499 527, 535, 537, 544 660 f. 681, 736 739 f. eagle 164, 532 544, fly (?) 532 533, gad-fly (?) 532, golden lamb (?) 412 414 golden ram 414 golden ram 419 golden or purple or white ram (?) 467 goose 279, 760, man with bull's horns, lion, leopard, puff-adder 392 396 quail 544, ram 370, 419 422 423 428 430 675, Satyr 734 ff. serpent 112, 270, 279, 358 f. 392 394 396 398 398, 401 402 (?) 463 428 shepherd 104 star 760 778 stranger 79, swan 279, 760, 763, 770 vulture 106 white bull (?) 468 working-man 79,

*Genealogy:* f. of Agdistis by Mt Agdos 155 s. of Aither 27, 65 h. of Aitne 106, 106, 106, f. of Ammon by Pasiphae 522 542 f. of Arkas (?) 702, f. of Artemis by Leto 727,

## Zeus (cont.)

f. of Asopos by Eurynome 155 f. of Asterion by Idaia 544, f. of Athena by Koryphe 155 f. of Atlas 156 f. of Belos, if not Belos himself 756, f. of Britomartis by Hekate (?) 543, f. of Charites by Eurynome 155 h. of Demeter 393 f. h. of Deo 393 f. f. of Dike by Themis 755, f. of Dionysos 166 346, 429 657 f. of Dionysos by Io 457 by Isis 457, by Kore 695 by Pherephone 398 399, by Selene (?) 457, 732 by Semele 457, 681 f. f. of Dioskouroi and Helene by Nemesis 279 f. of Dioskouroi by Leda 763, f. of Dodon or Dodonos by Europe 524 f. of Epaphos by Io 438 ff. 633 f. of Gargaros 156 f. of Geraistos 156 319 f. f. of Hekate by Asteria or Asterie 544, f. of Helene by Nemesis 279 760, f. of Helios 27, f. of Herakles by Alkmene 624 f. of Hermes 237, f. of Herse (Epora) by Selene 732, f. of Iakchos by Semele 693 f. of Karnos by Europe 351, f. of Kastor and Polydeukes by Leda 760, f. of Kore or Pherephatta 394 f. of Korinthos 247 f. of the Korymbantes by Kalliope 105 f. s. of Kronos 14, 732 f. of Lakedaimon by Taygete 155 f. of Labye by Io 237, f. of Minos 158, f. of Minos by Europe 467 545, 517 648 f. of Minos, Sarpedon, Rhadamanthys, by Europe 464 h. of Mnemosyne 104 h. of the Muse 104 f. of Muses by Mnemosyne 104 f. f. of Myrmidon by Emymedousa 533, f. of Nemea by Selene 456 732 f. of Olympus (?) 156 gr.-s. of Ouranos 8 f. of Palikoi by Aitne 156 f. of Palikoi by Thaleia 106 f. of Pan 702, f. of Pandia (Pandia) by Selene 732 f. of Pelagos by Larissa 156 forefather of Pelopidai 407 f. of Persens by Danae 414 f. of Pherephone by Rhea 398 f. of the Phoenician Herakles by Asteria or Asterie 544, forefather of Pterelaios 328, f. of Rhadamanthys 545, 547 f. of Sarpedon 545, 517 f. of Selene by Leto 727, f. of Solymos 156 f. of Tainaros 156 f. of Tantalos 156 f. f. of Tantalos by Pluto 720, f. of Titios by Elare (?) or Larisse (?) 156, h. of Thaleia 105 f. 106, f. of Zethos and Amphion by Antiope 734 ff. three Zeuses 27,

*Functions:* air 30 31, agriculture 176, author 25 ff. 65 195 585 776 animal and vegetable fertility 75 apotropaic 422, astronomy and astrology 751 754 ff. begotter 681, 733 779 f. brilliance 15 celestial lights 733 f.

## Zeus (cont.)

740 chthonian (?) 63<sub>1</sub>, 188 668 f.  
clouds 318 day-light 15 ff. 65 776  
days 16 Dionysiac 399 f. dog-days (?)  
299<sub>2</sub> drawing lots 57 earth 33 187<sub>10</sub>  
earthquake 2 f. 14<sub>1</sub> exiles (?) 63,  
father 399, 681, 733 779 f. fertility  
75 429, 545 (?) 591 598 623 730 779  
fills markets, seas, and havens  
with his name 664<sub>10</sub> fire 27 28 f. 31  
31<sub>1</sub>, 323 fire-dull 429 f. gives good  
signs to men 664<sub>10</sub> giver of wealth  
504<sub>2</sub> healer 645 f. (?) 646, heat 31,  
heaven 8 565, 647, 664, hunter 651  
652 Iupiter the planet 750 756 king  
58 758 king of (1 cete 545; king of the  
gods 233 279 (See also *Epithets*:  
*αἰετῶν*, *Βασιλεὺς*, *Τυφάριος*) life 11,  
28, 29, 31, 196 f. light 7 29 63 ff.  
66, 68 472 lightning 1, lunar 208<sub>2</sub>  
730 f. magician 14, 758 meteorites  
760 mountain 102, 290, 348, 399,  
520, 551 777 moves men to work  
664, oak 1, 289 f. ordains all that  
is visible and invisible 664<sub>10</sub> orders  
the constellations 754 ff. ovens 290,  
pantheistic 33 planet Iupiter 750  
756 procreative 681, 733 779 f. rain  
121 134 398 f. 545, 647<sub>10</sub> rain-maker  
14<sub>1</sub> sea 187<sub>10</sub> setting sun 358 -ky  
1 ff. 29 f. 33 65 80 182 338<sub>2</sub> 348, 758  
776 (blue sky 33 ff. bright sky 730  
775 f. burning sky 25 ff. 195 585  
776 starry sky 751 ff.) solar 7, 19 (?)  
66, 166 181<sub>10</sub> 186 ff. 298 f. 338 358  
400 401 428 ff. 454 461 f. (?) 522 f.  
545 ff. (?) 549 ff. 578 633 635 612  
732 ff. 751<sub>2</sub> 758<sub>1</sub> 777 spring 234  
stellar 547 ff. 665 665<sub>2</sub> 740 ff. 751 f.  
757 777 storm 338 398 f. 570 623  
streaming water 369 summer heat  
195 three-fold god (?) 301 thunder-  
bolt 28 591 Thursday 753 time (?)  
16 transition from sky to sky-god  
9 ff. 776 tribal god (See *Epithets*:  
*Παρθένος*) vegetation 74 wealth 504<sub>2</sub>  
(See also *Epithets*: *Κρηταίος*, *Πάσιος*)  
wind 142 764, wolf (?) 63 ff. wood-  
land (?) 280, years 16, 187.

*Etymology*: 1 ff. 16 31, 776

*Attributes*: *aigis* 14, 398 *barsom* 745  
bay-wreath 149, 376 blue globe 33  
41 ff. 349, 776 (See also globe) blue  
mantle 33, 56 ff. 349, 776 blue  
*nimbus* 33 f. 40 f. 349, 776 box (?)  
360<sub>11</sub> bull 501 576 ff. 633 ff. 660 f.  
739 f. bulls 567 ff. 586, 590 buskins  
112, calf 581 Chimæra-head 748  
clouds 57 club 356, *cornu copiae*  
361 501 f. 598, corn-ears 68, 74<sub>10</sub> (?)  
552 569 572 590 596 598, 741 couch  
662 cow 660 665 crescent moon  
35, 731 crooked stick 87, *cran*  
*ansata* 590 f. cup 112, cypress-, 649  
cypress-wood sceptre 558, diadem

## Zeus (cont.)

of palmettes and lotos-buds 622<sub>11</sub>  
Dionysiac 2, double axe 606 ff. 731<sub>1</sub>  
(See also Index II s.v. *Axe*) doves-  
39, 361 f. 367 f. eagle 34 ff. 40 56,  
84 ff. 88 ff. 102, 103 ff. 117, 191 f.  
596 731, eagles 66 83 f. eagle on  
pine-tree 91 on rock 90, eagle-  
sceptre 590 596 623 fawn-kin (?)  
736, fir-cone (?) 569, fruitful poplar  
529 globe 56, 136<sub>10</sub> (?) 547 572 (?)  
(See also blue globe) goat 401 501  
547 665 706 ff. 717, 731, 779,  
golden calf 581 fleece 119 422 ff.  
grapes 1, 596 598, *himation* deco-  
rated with animals and lilies 622  
horns 74 f. 590 (See also *Epithet*:  
*Ἀγρῶν*) 'horns of consecration' (?)  
731, inscribed golden pillar 662  
jewel (?) 569 *kallathos* 568 f. 571 f.  
574 576 590 (See also *modius*)  
Kerberos 188, *lagobolon* 736, lilies  
622 ff. lily-sceptre 623, *litnos* 86 f.  
90 f. (?) lotos-sceptre 596 Lycian  
symbol (?) 301 *num* 478, *modius*  
188, 361 (See also *kallathos*) moon  
35, 731 mouse 425 Nike 2, 590 753  
oak-leaves-and-acorns 748 f. oak-tree  
1, 364 ff. 401 *omphalos* 521, *phiale*  
19 35, 102, 281 (?) 752 pillar 34 ff.  
44 (?) 62, 279, 409 520, 662 pillar-  
66 521, pillars surmounted by  
eagles 83 f. pine-cone 392, plough  
1, 598, poplar 529 put-adders 392  
radiate crown 19 188 194, 361  
radiate *nimbus* 572, ram 346 ff.  
390 401 417 428 ff. 429, 731,  
ram's head as foot-stool 391 f. ram's  
horns 361 371 ff. rainbow 57 ep. 51,  
sceptre 2, 19 34 39 56, 102, 575 (?)  
sceptre tipped with eagle 590 596  
623 sceptre tipped with lily 623,  
sceptre tipped with lotos 596  
sceptre tipped with votive-hand 392,  
serpent 102, 113 358 ff. 429, ser-  
pents 102, 113, 392 394 396 serpent  
coiled in circle 191 f. serpent-staff  
361 seven stairs 149, ep. 276, 547 ff.  
silver knle 581 snake (See *serpent*)  
solar disk 360<sub>11</sub> 569 (?) 571 -pear  
ep. 276, 621 star 731 744 751 ff. 781  
star (-sun) 35, stellate tiara 741 f.  
745 748 f. thunderbolt 31 39 f. 56,  
84 ff. 88 102, *thorax* with eagle on  
it 112, tiara adorned with disks  
and thunderbolts 745 tiara adorned  
with peathed eagle, stars and  
thunderbolts 748 trident 361 two  
bulls 567 ff. 586, 590 two eagles-  
34 748 two thunderbolts 299, veil  
57 Victory 2, 590 753 vine-branch  
91 ep. 92, wheel 288 ff. whip 552  
568 ff. willow 529 f. wreath 56,  
wreath of bay 18 69 149, 298<sub>10</sub>, 376  
731 ep. 712 wreath of flowers 622

Zeus (*cont.*)

wreath of lilies 622 f. 623<sub>1</sub> 736<sub>1</sub>, wreath of oak ep. 41; wreath of pomegranate-flowers (?) 623<sub>1</sub> zodiac 752 ff.

*Types*: advancing with thunderbolt and eagle 84 ff. Archelaos 129 ff. Aristonous 622 Askaios 622 Assyrion 645 bearded 371 ff. 402 beardless 371 ff. 402, 652 (See also youthful beardless charioteer with whip, thunderbolt, and corn-ear-552 as bull bearing off Europe 499 as bull in radiate circle 472 bust 375 bust in front of rock 397<sub>1</sub> carrying infant Dionysos 707 carrying infant Dionysos with goat beside him 706 as charioteer with whip and corn-ears standing between two bulls 567 ff. child seated on globe with goat and stars 52 f. 547 colour of hair 2; in Commagenean costume 745 748 crowned with lilies 736<sub>1</sub> Dionysiac 2, 112, 131 (?) 373 ff. ep. 4, 490 596 598 double busts of Zeus *Auuew* and Dionysos 374 double busts of Zeus *Auuew* and Hera *Aaueua* (?) 370<sub>1</sub> double busts of Zeus *Auuew* and Sarapis (?) 366 double herm of Zeus *Auuew* and Satyr 374 driving chariot 338 effeminate (?) 599<sub>1</sub> Egyptian 572 ff. enthroned with sceptre and *cornu copiae* 598<sub>1</sub> Hageladas 122 heads of Zeus *Auuew* and Dionysiac (?) goddess-jugate 370<sub>1</sub> heads of Zeus *Auuew* and Hera *Aaueua* jugate 370 as Herakles 376, ep. 288, horned 74 f. 590 (See also *Iphigeneia*, *Auuew*) horned serpent (?) 430<sub>1</sub> on horse-back with *phiale* and sceptre 19 infant nursed by Diktyon 541 by Neda 112<sub>1</sub> by Oinoe 112<sub>1</sub> by Rheia 152 infant nurtured by cow (?) 660 by goat 529<sub>1</sub> by sheep (?) 401 by sow (?) 660 infant seated on globe with goat beside him 547 infant seated on throne with Kouretes round him (?) 646<sub>1</sub> infant with two Kouretes 150<sub>1</sub> 544 infant with three Kouretes 150<sub>1</sub> 151 ff. inscribed golden pillar on couch 612 ithyphallic Satyr 736<sub>1</sub> Kalamis 352 362 laureate head 18 69 149<sub>1</sub> 298<sub>1</sub>, 376 ep. 712 and 731 lead figure 570<sub>1</sub> Lysippos 351 masks of Zeus *Auuew* 370 *omphalos* 520<sub>1</sub> 521<sub>1</sub> panther-skin 361 Phedias 2 f. 2, 36 42 91 f. 280 f. 350 (?) 622 751<sub>1</sub> pillar 36 ff. 520, 521<sub>1</sub> Polygnotos (?) 133<sub>1</sub> Polykleitos 112<sub>1</sub> portrait as Zeus *Auuew* 374 pyramid 520<sub>1</sub> 521<sub>1</sub>, ep. 164, 600 ff. 615 ff. pyramid on pillar 520<sub>1</sub> 521<sub>1</sub> radiate 19 188 194<sub>1</sub>

Zeus (*cont.*)

361 572<sub>1</sub> in ram-drawn chariot 338<sub>1</sub> ram-faced 348 ram's ears 350 ram's ears and ram's horns 372<sub>1</sub> ram's horns 350 Satyr 735 736<sub>1</sub> seated on altar 93 521<sub>1</sub> seated before aniconic pillar 34 520 f. seated on bull 582 ff. 778 f. seated on couch 92 seated with eagle and sceptre 17 68 seated with feet on ram's head 390 f. seated with *litnos* and thunderbolt 86 f. seated with *modius* on head and Keiberos at feet 188<sub>1</sub> seated on a mountain 124 ff. 159<sub>1</sub> seated with Nike in hand 753 seated with Nike and sceptre 2, 17 f. seated among other denizens of Olympus 43 seated with *phiale* and sceptre 19 seated on a rock 124 ff. 708 seated with sceptre 200 ff. seated with sceptre in easy attitude 90 ff. seated with sceptre, eagle, and pillar 34 ff. seated with sceptre and thunderbolt, eagle 68 seated with thunderbolt and sceptre, eagle, globe, Nike 42 seated with thunderbolt and sceptre, eagle, Nike 42 seated with thunderbolt and sceptre 69 seated on winged wheel 232 f. serpent 403 428 ep. 360 f. standing on bull with double-axe and thunderbolt 606 standing between two bulls 567 ff. 778 f. standing with corn-ears in right hand, sceptre in left, and star above head 711 standing with crescent moon on head and star in right hand 731 778 standing with eagle and sceptre 68 f. standing with one foot on ram's head 390 f. 391 f. standing with feet on ram's head 390 f. standing with goat beside him 706<sub>1</sub> standing with *modius* on head and Keiberos at feet 188<sub>1</sub> standing with Nike and sceptre 17 f. standing with *phiale* and sceptre, eagle 102<sub>1</sub> standing in shrine 293<sub>1</sub> 392<sub>1</sub> standing with thunderbolt 88 standing with thunderbolt and eagle 84 standing with thunderbolt and sceptre 102<sub>1</sub> surrounded by seven stars 51 f. 149 547 ff. surrounded by zodiac 752 ff. 'Talleyrand' 622<sub>1</sub> thoughtful 34 three-eyed 320 462 treading on bull and lifting lion above his head 645 triple icomic herm 521<sub>1</sub> youthful 57 371 ff. 645 (See also beardless)

*Identified with* Adad 549 ff. Aither 32 Amen 361 Amen-Ra 348 ff. 363 368 387 429<sub>1</sub> Apollon *Kaprios* (?) 373 409; Argos 32 Ashur 197<sub>1</sub> 297 Asklepios 361 Attis 399; 717; Ammazda 10; 208 741 ff. 754 Baal of Baitokanke 565; Ba'al-hammân 363 Ba'al-Samin 8 Beel-shamen 191

Zeus (*cont.*)

Belos 756; Belos, Ammon, Apis, Kronos 756; Dagou 238; Dionysos 2, 112, 376; (See also *Types* Dionysiac) Dionysos, Helios 187; Dis pater (?) 99 Elagabalos 520; Hades, Helios, Dionysos 187, 234; Hades, Helios, Sarapis 187 Helios 181, 186 ff. 191 f. (?) 361 400 778 Helios Aumos 193 Helios, Mithras, Sarapis 190 Helios, Sarapis 189 f. 190, 454 Helios Σεβάζιος 400, 429; Helios Σωτήρ 361; Herakles 356; Iao 233 ff. Jehovah 233; elder Kabeiros 112 Khnemu 361 Marduk 756 Marnas 149; Men (?) 400; Mithras 181, the moon (?) 730 f. 731; Neilos 361 Olymbros 597; Phanes 8, Poseidon 361 Sandas 597 f. Sarapis 2, 181, 188 ff. 197, 361 435 sun 186 ff. sun and moon 197 Talos 633; 728 ff. various parts of the cosmic whole 197

*Assimilated to* Apis 537

*Associated with* Mt Agdos 155 Aitne 106, 106, 106, 156 779 Alkmene 624 Amara (?) 581 f. Anthas (?) 74 f. Antiope 535, 734 ff. 739 777 Apollon 73; 373 Apollon Κάριος, Asklepios, Demeter, Poseidon Παυρογος 351 Asklepios 351 f. Astarte (?) 546; Asteria or Asterie 544; Atargatis 578; Athena 17; 350; Athena Ἀμάρια and Aphrodite 16 f. Athena Κυρία 123 Auramazda 10; Auxesia and Damoia 730 Danae 414 Demeter 393 396 398 401 695 779 Demeter and Kore 668 f. Dione 370 Dionysos 564 ff. 566 Dioskouroi 35; 392; 590 earth-mother 1, 401 (?) 429 779 f. Elare (?) 156; Elektra 755; Europe 155 351; 401; 464 467 472 524 ff. 538 f. 544 546 f. 644 648 660 f. 733 f. 739 f. 777 780 Eury-medoua 533; Eurynome 155 Gaia 26 Ge Χθονία 668 f. Hadryades 511; Hekate (?) 141 f. 543; Helios 187 Hera 21 f. 22, 117 133; 134 f. 154 f. 345; 348; 370; 459; 501; 522 f. 591 708; 753 Hera Ἀμάρια 370 Hera Ἀργεία 456; Hera Παυρία and Ares 597; Hera Τελία 20 Herakles 399; 502; Herakles and Hebe (?) 501; Hermes 567 570 570; Hestia, Hera, etc. 149; Hestia 17; 330; Idalia 544; Io 237; 257 438 ff. 457 ff. 462 f. 532; 681; 733 f. 739 777 Isis 346; 454 457; Kabirai 120 Kalliope 105 f. Kallisto 155 Kore 394 398 f. 401 695 Korymbos 155 779 Koures 142 144 Kouretes 149; Kyllene 779 Larissa 156 Larisse (?) 156; Leda 279; 760; 763; 770 774 Leto 155 544; 727; 728 Maia 755; Medea 248 Meter Μεγάλη ή πάντων

Zeus (*cont.*)

κροῦσα 550; Men 732 Men Τάουον 642; Mnemosyne 104 f. Mother Earth (See earth-mother, Ge) Mon-a 104 779 Nemea (?) 280, 456; Nemesis 270; 278 ff. 760; 780 Pasiphae 522 733 f. 777 Per-ephone 780 Pherephatta 394 ep. 399 Pher-ephone 398 Phoinike 755; Plouto 156 720; Poseidon and Demeter 521; Rhea 398 645 Sarapis (?) 366; Selene 456 457; (?) 732 f. 739 777 Semele 155 398; 457; 681 f. 693 (?) 733 734; 751 780 Taygete 155 755; 779 Thaleia 105 f. 106; Themis 755

*Compared with* Adonis and Tammuz 645 Argos 32 458

*In relation to* Adonis 157; 468, 530; 645 f. 651 f. 663; 675 Apollon 373 Apollon Κάριος 373; 409; Argos 457 ff. Aristaios 372 Asklepios 646; Ba'al-hammān 353 ff. the bovine figures of Cretan mythology 543 ff. Dionysos 373 ff. 398 f. 401 428 429 647 706 ff. 711 713 ff. 780 earth-mother 779 Hera 658; Ixion 288 Kyklopes 317 ff. the moon 730 ff. Sandas 603 Seirios 740 the stars 740 ff. the sun 186 ff. Zagreus 398 f. 644 f.

*Superseded by* Aphendi Christos 162; St Elias 103 163 ff. 177 ff. 777 St George (?) 176 782

— Barnabas taken for 194; bird of 341 birth of (scene in mysteries?) 535; (See also *Myths*) chariot of 187; 338 338; 783 f. circular temple of 478 ep. 400 conical stone of 164; counters of 147; cradle of 530; 534 cup-bearer of 755; emerald obelisks of 556 eye of 187; 196 f. 783; ferocious language of 658; fire of 323 fleece of 422 ff. 680; on Gnostic amulets 235 golden shrines of 348; grave of (See tomb of) move of 364 ff. 511; 558; horses of 338; 784 house of 303 330; 632; immorality of, attacked by Christian apologists 167; interpreters (εὐνοφῆται) of 530; laughter of 318 mysteries of (See *Rites* mysteries) nod of 2 f. 369; omphalos of 521; ox of 717; pyre of 602; spring of, at Dodona 368 f. spring of, in Oasis of Siwah 368 ff. 381 f. rays of 7, 187; road of 303 sceptre of 406 558; seats of 147 statues of (See *Types*) survivals of the name of 159 161 ff. temples of (See *Cults*) tenants of 565; throne of 147 f. (?) 398 407; 647 744 748 tomb of 157 ff. 645 f. 646; 663 731; tower of 303 watch-tower of 303 vote of 147; wall of, in Oasis of Siwah 387 389 woodman of 407

*Zeus (cont.)*

See also Dios Gonai, Zan, Zas, Zen

Zeus, the planet

*Epithet*: temperate 760

*Functions*: connected with certain animals (men, lions, clean birds), vegetables (wheat, barley, rice, spelt, astringent fruits), and minerals (tin, beryl and all white stones, red arsenic, sulphur, etc.) 626, fertilising winds 759 solar 759<sub>2</sub>

*Attributes*: amber 626, bronze 626, eagle 625, 626 626, gold 626, lily 624 ff, silver 625 f.

Zeus, king of Crete 662 See also Jupiter, king of Crete

Zilmissos 400

Ziu (?) 178,

Zoroastres 265 783 See also Zarathushtra

Zu

*Genealogy*: f. of fertilising bull 579

*Function*: storm-bird 579

## INDEX II

### SUBJECTS AUTHORITIES

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

- Abbott, G. F. 170 177<sub>0</sub> 179<sub>0</sub> 338<sub>5</sub> 694 774  
 Abstinence from animal food 648<sub>1</sub>  
 Acanthus 336  
 Acorns 77 366<sub>7</sub> 367  
 Adders of Zeus *Sabaios* 392 394 396  
 Adolescence, phenomenal 647  
*Adyton* at Ba'albek 564 ff. at Delphi 563; at Hierapolis in Syria 582 ff.  
 Ahrens, H. L. 257<sub>0</sub> 603; 730.  
*Aigis* 14<sub>1</sub>  
*Aithēr*, eye of 196  
*Aithēr* in relation to *aēr* 101 776  
 Albers, C. 64;  
 Alberti, J. 442; 468<sub>7</sub> 471<sub>4</sub> 527<sub>0</sub> 675.  
 Allcroft, A. H. 488;  
 Allen, J. Romilly 326;  
 Allen, T. W. 410<sub>10</sub>  
 Altar as object of cult 518 ff. bronze 592<sub>0</sub> bull-shaped 784 Egyptising 540<sub>2</sub> floating 592<sub>0</sub> triangular 785  
 Altar, horned, among Dinka tribes 508 ff. in Greece 511 ff. 'Minoan' 506 ff. 511 649; 784 at Parion 513<sub>5</sub> Semitic 507 in Spain 507 ff. of Athena 511<sub>1</sub> of Demeter 513<sub>5</sub> of Zeus 39 of Zeus and Hadryades 511<sub>1</sub> on vase-paintings 37 106  
 Altar of Apollon at Delos 482 513 784 at Delphi 262<sub>1</sub> of Athena 511<sub>1</sub> of Athena *Alta* 112<sub>1</sub> of Demeter 512<sub>5</sub> 513<sub>5</sub> of Hestia 16 f. of Iupiter *Dolichenus* 614 of Iupiter *Helio-politanus* 559 of the Unknown God 663<sub>2</sub> of Zeus at Nikaea in Bithynia 38, at Olympia 37, 121 on Mt Olympos in Makedonia 192 f. at Pergamon 118 ff. 567<sub>0</sub> with pillar inscribed *Dios* 37 of Zeus *Hagios* 192 of Zeus *Agoraios* 37<sub>1</sub> of Zeus *Adaios* 559 of Zeus *Aithrios* 26 f. of Zeus *Atabarios* 117 of Zeus *Aphrios* 117 of Zeus *Dios* 4<sub>2</sub> of Zeus *Helikinos* 117 of Zeus *Idaios* in Crete 118 of Zeus *Idaios* in Troad 117 of Zeus *Kallinikos* (?) 37<sub>1</sub> of Zeus *Kithaironios* 117 f. cp. 511<sub>1</sub> of Zeus *Klarios* (?) 37<sub>1</sub> of Zeus *Klarios* (?) 37<sub>1</sub> of Zeus *Litaios* 38<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Likaivos* 66 78 79 81 ff. 92 f.  
 Altar (cont.)  
 of Zeus *Olympios* at Olympia 37<sub>1</sub> 121 781 of Zeus *Ombrios* and *Apemios* 121 of Zeus *Patronos* 117 of Zeus *Sthenios* 519<sub>2</sub> of Zeus *Semalios* 121 of Zeus *Hymettios* 121 of Zeus *Hypatos* 77 f. of Zeus *Oromasdes* 746 of Zeus and Hadryades 511<sub>1</sub> of Zeus and of Heia 117  
 Altar (?) shaped weights in-cribed *Διός* etc. 37<sub>1</sub>  
 Alviella, Count Goblet d' 205<sub>1</sub> 206<sub>1</sub> 207 267 316<sub>2</sub> 478;  
 Amber 626<sub>0</sub>  
*Ambrosia*, lily called 624<sub>0</sub>  
 Amelung, W. 130<sub>1</sub>  
*Amphiphontes* 121  
 Ancestor-worship at Nemroud Dagh 745  
 See also Dead, cult of the  
 Anderson, F. 199;  
 Anderson, J. G. C. 74 f.  
 Andrae, W. 581;  
 Anemone 625; 626  
 Aniconic representations of Zeus as a stone 520<sub>2</sub> cp. 662  
 Animal names given to priests and priestesses 441 ff. 451 453 453;  
 Animals sacrificed to Zeus 716 ff.; bulls 467 511<sub>1</sub> goats 347 717 horses 180<sub>0</sub> 717; oxen 82 338<sub>5</sub> 545 pigs 82 663 669; 717; rams 39 348 407 ff. 416 f. 421 f. (?) 422 ff. sheep 75;  
*Amalos* of earth-goddess 670 698<sub>1</sub> 699  
 Anson, L. 296<sub>2</sub> 602<sub>1</sub> 602<sub>0</sub> 624<sub>1</sub> 753<sub>1</sub> 753  
 Anthropomorphism affects mountain-cults of Zeus 121 evolved through three stages 13 f. rise of Hitt. tendency towards 241 304 310 ff. 337 350 355 f. 360 f. 374 392 592 719 766 ff. 776  
 Anthropophagy See Omophagy, human  
 Ant in Mithraic myth 518 worshipped in Thessaly 533<sub>0</sub> Zeus becomes 533<sub>0</sub>  
 Apotheosis in cauldron 120<sub>0</sub> 674 ff. indicated by lily 624<sub>0</sub> of Homer 129 ff. of kings 662 (see also King called Zeus) of Orphic votary 675 ff. on pyre 602<sub>2</sub>

- Apotropaia* 292 ff. 336 339 360 422; 424  
565 634; 774  
Apples 748  
Apple-branch 270 275 275<sub>2</sub> 281 285  
Arbois de Jubainville, H. d' 321<sub>2</sub> 639<sub>2</sub>  
Armfield, H. T. 86;  
Arnth, F. von 168<sub>2</sub>  
Arnold, B. 701<sub>4</sub>  
Arnold, E. V. 190.  
Arsenic, red, and Zeus, the planet 626,  
Arundell, F. V. J. 503<sub>2</sub>  
Arvanitopoullis, A. S. 520<sub>2</sub>  
Ashby, T. 272<sub>4</sub>  
Ashes, altars of 121 512<sub>2</sub> divination by  
103 not blown away from altar 82<sub>1</sub>  
102 f. sanctity of 82<sub>1</sub>  
A-pelm, J. R. 489<sub>1</sub>  
Ass 331 (?) 625<sub>2</sub> 626<sub>2</sub> 696<sub>2</sub> *phallois* of 623  
Astrology in Babylonia 754 ff. in Egypt  
496 754 in Greece 754 ff. in Italy 756 ff.  
Astronomy, relation of, to astrology 756  
Aubrey, J. 487<sub>1</sub>  
Aufhäuser, J. B. 782  
Aust, E. 567;  
Avezon, C. 785  
Axe, double, 'Chalyb' 618 f. combined  
with bovine horns 635 combined with  
lily-symbol 646, of Dionysos 216 659 f.  
of Hippias(?) 216<sub>2</sub> of Hittite son-  
god 599 f. 604 f. 631 f. of Jupiter *Doli-*  
*chamus* 606 ff. of Kabeiros 108 ff. 329<sub>2</sub>  
of Prometheus 329<sub>2</sub> of Sandas 599 f.  
604 f. 631 f. of Triptolemos(?) 216<sub>2</sub>  
of Zeus *Dolichamnus* 606 ff. 'ox-slaughter-  
ing' 216 ep. 659 used for felling timber  
in Crete 618 f. worshipped(?) 632 659 f.  
  
Babylon, E. 68<sub>2</sub> 151<sub>1</sub> 194<sub>1</sub> 228<sub>1</sub> 232<sub>1</sub> 235 f.  
235<sub>1</sub> 296<sub>2</sub> 297<sub>2</sub> 301 f. 305<sub>2</sub> 305<sub>4</sub> 305<sub>5</sub>  
495<sub>2</sub> 497<sub>1</sub> 538<sub>1</sub> 571<sub>2</sub> 583<sub>2</sub> 588<sub>2</sub> 590<sub>2</sub> 596<sub>1</sub>  
596<sub>2</sub> 596<sub>3</sub> 596<sub>4</sub> 596<sub>5</sub> 596<sub>6</sub> 597<sub>1</sub> 597<sub>2</sub> 599<sub>2</sub>  
602<sub>2</sub> 602<sub>3</sub> 602<sub>4</sub> 637<sub>1</sub> 637<sub>2</sub> 637<sub>3</sub> 637<sub>4</sub> 660<sub>1</sub>  
712<sub>1</sub> 712<sub>2</sub> 712<sub>3</sub> 712<sub>4</sub> 712<sub>5</sub> 712<sub>6</sub> 713<sub>1</sub> 720<sub>2</sub>  
712<sub>2</sub> 722<sub>2</sub> 753<sub>2</sub> 785  
Baumeister, A. 273<sub>2</sub>  
Baer, E. von 489  
Baethgen, F. 354  
*Baityllos* or *bait hon* of Batal-brunman  
355 ff.  
*Bakchos* 220 f.  
Balluchan 119 565 601  
Ball, C. J. 262<sub>2</sub>  
Bapp, K. 327 329<sub>2</sub> 330<sub>1</sub>  
*Barresman* See *Parsson*  
Baring-Gould, S. 51<sub>2</sub> 80<sub>1</sub> 81<sub>2</sub> 292<sub>2</sub>  
Barley and Zeus, the planet 626<sub>2</sub> boiled  
in milk at Galaxia 676  
Barley-meal 668  
Barnett, L. D. 610<sub>2</sub>  
Barre, A. 354  
Barre, M. L. 57<sub>2</sub>  
Bartlett, Sir W. F. 283<sub>2</sub>  
*Barson* 745<sub>1</sub>  
Basket containing heart of Liber 662  
containing member of Dionysos 107 f.  
Basket (*cont.*)  
in Dionysiac procession 565 707 ep.  
688<sub>2</sub> 698<sub>1</sub> of Europe 530 f. of figs 688<sub>2</sub>  
of Selene 457<sub>2</sub> on coins of Kibyra in  
Phrygia 530<sub>2</sub>  
Bassi, D. 758<sub>2</sub>  
Bast, F. J. 559<sub>1</sub>  
Bath at Balbek 555; 559<sub>2</sub> of boiling milk  
676 f. 785 f. of mare's broth 678  
Bather, A. G. 679<sub>1</sub>  
Baudissin, Count W. W. 191<sub>1</sub> 233<sub>2</sub> 233<sub>3</sub>  
234<sub>1</sub> 235<sub>2</sub> 354 354<sub>2</sub> 354<sub>3</sub> 354<sub>4</sub> 356<sub>2</sub>  
541 551<sub>1</sub>  
Baumeister, A. 202<sub>1</sub> 202<sub>2</sub> 494<sub>1</sub>  
Baumgarten, F. 430<sub>2</sub>  
Baumlein, W. 66<sub>1</sub>  
Baumstark, A. 631<sub>2</sub>  
Baunaek, J. 497<sub>4</sub>  
Baur, P. 704<sub>1</sub>  
Bay as *aristone* 339 metamorphosis into  
687<sub>2</sub>  
Bay-wreath 18 69 149<sub>1</sub> 298<sub>10</sub> 376 712  
729 731  
Bazin, H. 570<sub>1</sub>  
Bears kept at Hierapolis in Syria 592<sub>2</sub>  
of Mt Arkon 112<sub>2</sub> sacrificed to  
Artemis at Aulis 417  
'Bears,' worshippers of Artemis *Brau-*  
*ronia* called 421 f. 442 784  
Bechtel, F. 498<sub>1</sub> 667<sub>4</sub> 669<sub>2</sub> 729<sub>2</sub> 730<sub>2</sub> 762<sub>1</sub>  
'Bee-keepers,' priestesses of Artemis called  
443  
'Bees,' name of, given to priestess of  
Apollon 443 f. priests of Artemis 443  
imitates and priestesses of Demeter  
443 priestess of Kybele 444 the Moon  
518<sub>2</sub>  
Bees, procreation of, from buried ox 514 f.  
518 532 souls as 469<sub>2</sub> 511 518<sub>2</sub> 532<sub>1</sub>  
Beetle 432  
Bege, L. 365<sub>1</sub>  
Behanding on wheel 209 f.  
Bekker, I. 279<sub>1</sub>  
Beleth, J. 287<sub>1</sub>  
Bell, Miss G. 136  
Beloch, G. 643<sub>2</sub>  
Belon, P. 158  
Bender, F. 239<sub>2</sub>  
*Benichetto Iattina* 391  
Bendite, G. 205<sub>1</sub> 341  
Benetoklis 412<sub>2</sub>  
Benndorf, O. 120<sub>2</sub> 292 292<sub>2</sub> 292<sub>10</sub> 467<sub>2</sub>  
476  
Bent, J. T. 164 172 172<sub>2</sub> 175<sub>2</sub> 177<sub>1</sub> 483<sub>2</sub>  
323  
Bentley, R. 478<sub>2</sub> 495 648<sub>1</sub>  
Benzinger, I. 643<sub>2</sub>  
Berard, V. 63 206<sub>4</sub> 313<sub>2</sub>  
Berger, P. 354 374<sub>1</sub>  
Bergk, T. 198<sub>2</sub> 259<sub>2</sub> 366<sub>2</sub> 406<sub>1</sub> 618<sub>1</sub>  
Bernays, J. 625<sub>2</sub>  
Bernhardy, G. 257<sub>2</sub>  
Bernoulhi, J. J. 55<sub>1</sub> 56<sub>1</sub> 56<sub>2</sub> 56  
Bertrand, A. 197<sub>2</sub> 289<sub>1</sub> 478<sub>2</sub> 482<sub>2</sub>  
Beryl and Zeus, the planet 626<sub>2</sub>

- Bethel, E. 218<sub>6</sub> 248; 252; 474, 763, 766<sub>2</sub>  
     771 780, 780;  
 Beulé, E. 229<sub>6</sub> 467;  
 Bevan, A. A. 240<sub>1</sub>  
 Bie, O. 104<sub>2</sub> 105<sub>2</sub>  
 Bieber, Friaufm M. 700, 700<sub>6</sub> 701<sub>1</sub> 701  
 Biliotti, Sir A. 330  
 Bill-hook 575  
 Birds hung on trees 592<sub>6</sub>, in Babylonian  
     religion 579 cp. 265 of Chipa 526<sub>2</sub> of  
     Europe (?) 526<sub>1</sub> of Zeus, the planet  
     626<sub>6</sub>, on bull-shaped altar 784 on coin  
     of Hierapolis in Syria 587; on coins  
     of Kilikia 603 on coins of Tarsos 596  
 Birlinger, A. 238<sub>1</sub>  
 Birth tabooed 648<sub>1</sub>  
 Bischoff, E. 677<sub>1</sub>  
 Bison 500  
 Bissing, F. W. von 266 540<sub>2</sub>  
 Black bull 431 f. 437 ram 407 407<sub>1</sub> sheep  
     407<sub>4</sub>  
 Blanchet, A. 232<sub>1</sub>  
 Blass, F. 686<sub>2</sub>  
 Blinkenberg, C. 390 392<sub>1</sub>  
 Bloch, I. 554<sub>2</sub>  
 Bloch, L. 106<sub>2</sub> 106<sub>1</sub> 698<sub>1</sub> 766<sub>2</sub>  
 Blue globe 33 41 ff. *nimbus* 33 f. 40 f.  
     patina of bronzes at Delphoi 761  
     vault 262 ff.  
 Blumner, H. 622<sub>10</sub> 723;  
 Boar, ungilded, sacrificed to Kore 668  
     wild 157 645 651 f. 663<sub>2</sub>  
 Boat, solar 355 357 f. 358;  
 Bochart, S. 533<sub>6</sub> 581<sub>1</sub> 584<sub>6</sub>  
 Bode, G. H. 324<sub>1</sub> 419  
 Boeckh, A. 270<sub>1</sub> 415<sub>2</sub>  
 Boehlau, J. 93 ff.  
 Boetticher, A. 292;  
 Boetticher, C. 339; 374, 535<sub>2</sub> 649<sub>1</sub> 697;  
     768<sub>6</sub>  
 Bohm, R. 118<sub>1</sub>  
 Boisacq, E. 242<sub>2</sub> 285<sub>2</sub> 290<sub>2</sub> 328<sub>1</sub> 537<sub>1</sub> 634;  
     681<sub>1</sub> 687<sub>6</sub> 697<sub>1</sub> 730;  
 Boissard, J. J. 714<sub>1</sub>  
 Boissonade, J. F. 115;  
 Boll, F. 758<sub>6</sub>  
 Bolte, 537<sub>1</sub>  
 Bondurand, E. 570<sub>1</sub>  
 Bones burnt 286 of Europe in wreath 525  
     of Trajan brought back to Rome 553  
 Bonhote, J. L. 257<sub>2</sub>  
 Bonitz, H. 727<sub>5</sub>  
 Bormann, E. 276; 614<sub>1</sub> 614<sub>2</sub> 614<sub>3</sub>  
 Bormann, R. 292;  
 Bosanquet, R. C. 15 150<sub>2</sub> 160<sub>2</sub> 163<sub>1</sub> 471<sub>1</sub>  
     480 483<sub>11</sub> 526<sub>2</sub> 587<sub>1</sub> 660<sub>2</sub> 785  
 Bose, E. 485;  
 Bothe, F. H. 648<sub>1</sub>  
 Bottiger, C. A. 218<sub>6</sub>  
 Bouché-Leclercq, A. 188<sub>1</sub> 503; 654<sub>1</sub> 750;  
     754 755<sub>11</sub> 758<sub>6</sub> 758 ff.  
 Bourguet, E. 762<sub>6</sub> 762<sub>4</sub>  
 Bourmet, P. 703 703<sub>2</sub>  
 Boutin 378  
 Bradley, H. 242;  
 Bramble 470  
 Bran in rites of Sabazios 392;  
 Branch of sacred tree 87 90 f.  
 Brand, J. 287<sub>1</sub>  
 Brandis, C. A. 625;  
 Brasiers, Hellenistic 318 f.  
 Brauchitsch, G. von 231;  
 Braun, E. 129<sub>3</sub> 150<sub>4</sub> 466<sub>6</sub> 475 512; 697;  
     699<sub>6</sub>  
 Bréal, M. 285;  
 Breasted, J. H. 632; 635<sub>1</sub>  
 Breastplates of priests of Zeus *Sabazios*  
     391 f.  
 Breasts, goddess clasping her 589<sub>1</sub>, muti-  
     lated 391<sub>2</sub>  
 Breuil, H. 703<sub>1</sub> 703<sub>2</sub> 703;  
 Brizio, E. 698<sub>1</sub>  
 Bronze, *cire perdue* method of casting;  
     723 f. 725; cows 446 gong 592<sub>6</sub>, hands  
     391 plates or pyramids 615 ff. sky 632;  
 Bronze and the planets Aphrodite 626,  
     Hermes 625 f. Kronos 626<sub>6</sub>, Zeus 626<sub>6</sub>  
 Bronze-age remains 334 497 ff. 506 ff.  
     513<sub>12</sub> 619<sub>1</sub> 620<sub>2</sub>  
 Bronzes from Argos 441<sub>6</sub> 446 Athens  
     336<sub>6</sub>, Calaceite 333 Dodona 336<sub>6</sub>, Egypt  
     360 f. Eleutherai 336<sub>6</sub>, Etruria 204  
     622 f. 766 ff. Gallia 96 ff. 288 f. Idaean  
     Cave 644 f. Kameiros 330 ff. 335 336<sub>6</sub>,  
     Mt Lykaion 84 ff. Olympia 37<sub>1</sub> 331<sub>1</sub>  
     331<sub>2</sub> 331<sub>3</sub> 334 f. 336<sub>6</sub>, Paramythia 762;  
     Syria 572 ff. 581 592<sub>6</sub> (?) Trundholm  
     334<sub>2</sub>  
 Brook, miraculous 545; See also Spring  
 Brown, A. C. L. 243;  
 Brown, R. 242<sub>6</sub>  
 Browne, E. G. 240<sub>1</sub>  
 Browne, W. G. 378 380 383 390<sub>1</sub>  
 Bruchmann, C. F. H. 8; 455, 758<sub>1</sub>  
 Bruckner, A. 119<sub>6</sub> 130; 533<sub>2</sub>  
 Brugmann, K. 1<sub>1</sub> 681<sub>1</sub>  
 Brugsch, H. 206<sub>1</sub> 341, 348<sub>2</sub> 348<sub>6</sub> 360<sub>1</sub>,  
     388 f.  
 Brunn, H. 70  
 Buck, C. D. 16<sub>2</sub> 171<sub>1</sub>  
 Buckler, W. H. 782  
 Bucranium 279 515 See also Bull's head  
 Budge, E. A. Wallis 188<sub>2</sub> 206<sub>1</sub> 230; 241<sub>2</sub>,  
     263<sub>1</sub> 314<sub>1</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> 314<sub>3</sub> 315<sub>1</sub> 315<sub>2</sub> 315<sub>3</sub>,  
     315<sub>4</sub> 315<sub>5</sub> 315<sub>6</sub> 316<sub>1</sub> 316<sub>2</sub> 311<sub>1</sub> 311<sub>2</sub> 311<sub>3</sub>,  
     346<sub>1</sub> 346<sub>2</sub> 346<sub>3</sub> 347<sub>1</sub> 360<sub>1</sub> 362<sub>2</sub> 362<sub>3</sub> 363<sub>1</sub>,  
     431<sub>1</sub> 431<sub>2</sub> 435<sub>1</sub> 435<sub>2</sub> 435<sub>3</sub> 436 436<sub>1</sub> 437  
     515 632; 635<sub>12</sub>  
 Bugge, S. 677<sub>1</sub>  
 Bull Ahu 645 Apis 431 ff. 633 635 Bacchus,  
     Bacis, Bouchis 436 f. 635 Minotaur  
     465 ff. 635 Mnevis 431 f. 635 Onophris  
     437  
 Bull of Apollon 586; Athena 534 Dionysos  
     441 f. 457 f. 502 f. 506<sub>2</sub> 715<sub>6</sub>, Gilgames  
     645 Hera 467 Jupiter *Dolosus* 604 f.  
     Jupiter *Helioptitanus* 567 ff. Mithras  
     502<sub>2</sub> 516 ff. Phanes 311 398<sub>1</sub> *Poseidon*  
     464 Selene 537 f. Teub 605 f. Zagreus  
     398 647 Zeus 467 472 499 511<sub>1</sub> 567 ff.



- Bull in Assyria 581 645 Crete 401 464 ff.  
472 483<sub>10</sub> 499 521 ff. Egypt 430 ff. 784  
Kolchis 499 Marathon 467 499<sub>1</sub> Persia  
581 Syria 567 ff. Troy 533
- Bull with crescent above it 587 637<sub>1</sub> with  
crescent on flank 540<sub>1</sub> 637<sub>1</sub> 637<sub>2</sub> with  
star on flank 540<sub>2</sub> 620<sub>1</sub> with two stars  
over horns and neck 637<sub>1</sub> with three  
horns 639 with rosette between horns  
619 619<sub>1</sub> cp. 576<sub>1</sub> with triangle on  
forehead 432 638 638<sub>2</sub> with wings 576<sub>1</sub>  
581
- Bull and crane 482<sub>1</sub>  
— and moon 431 455<sub>1</sub> 455<sub>2</sub> 455<sub>3</sub> 455<sub>4</sub>  
456<sub>1</sub> 518<sub>2</sub> 537 f. 539<sub>1</sub> 619<sub>1</sub>  
— and sun 430 ff. 468 ff. 472 521 ff. 543  
544<sub>1</sub> 549 ff. 577 ff. 619<sub>1</sub> 620 633 635 784
- Bull as altar 784 as dance-theme 481 495  
carried 448 503 ff. 784 caught by Hera-  
kles 467 499 charged with fertilising  
force 500 514 ff. 533 633 ff. 717 f. 779  
dragged 506<sub>1</sub> hung on olive-tree 533  
kept at Hierapolis in Syria 592<sub>1</sub>  
paraded at Athens 715<sub>1</sub> 716<sub>1</sub> possessing  
prestige among cattle-breeding peoples  
634 779 slain by Theseus 467 499<sub>1</sub>
- Bull-cult compared with ram-cult 430 717  
779 in relation to river-cult 483<sub>10</sub> pre-  
valent throughout Levant 633  
— of Celts 639<sub>2</sub> of Dinka 508 ff. of  
Hittites 636 639 ff. 784 in India 637  
in Moravia 638 f. in Spain 637
- Bulle, H. 82<sub>1</sub> 761<sub>1</sub>  
Bullen, F. T. 771<sub>10</sub>
- Bull-fights of Athens 497 Crete 497 ff.  
Egypt 431 f. 433 France 498 Mykenai  
497 Orchomenos in Boiotia (?) 497  
Spain 498 Tiryns 497
- Bull-roarer 650<sub>1</sub>
- Bulls, black 431 f. 437 526<sub>1</sub> bronze 176<sub>1</sub>  
639 641 ff. of changing colours 436  
radiate 472 white 467 522 537 f.
- Bulls, humped, at Hierapolis in Syria  
587 at Magnesia on the Maeandros 483  
504 at Pergamon 119 f. at Tarsos 596
- Bulls, man-headed 298 620<sub>1</sub>  
• Bulls, cup-bearers of Poseidon called 442
- Bulls' ears 649; genitals 649; testicles  
431 516<sub>1</sub> 518
- Bulls' forepart worn by kings of Egypt  
496 by dancer (?) 704<sub>1</sub> on coins of  
Phaistos 661<sub>1</sub>
- Bulls' head 335 458 482<sub>1</sub> 482<sub>2</sub> 507 596 634<sub>1</sub>  
642<sub>1</sub>
- Bulls' hide in Rhodian myth 643, made  
into drums 650<sub>1</sub> made into glue 648 f.  
649<sub>1</sub> sold 715<sub>1</sub> worn by Argos 458 f.  
459, wrapped round dead 533
- Bulls' horns 374 398<sub>1</sub> 502 508 ff. 511<sub>1</sub>  
combined with double axe 635 com-  
pared with horns of moon 539, grasped  
492 ff. cp. 511<sub>1</sub> See also Cow's horn
- Bunte, B. 678<sub>1</sub>  
Buondelmonti, C. 158  
Burchardt, H. 379
- Burchner, L. 55<sub>1</sub> 482<sub>1</sub> 729<sub>2</sub>  
Buresch, K. 234<sub>2</sub> 234<sub>1</sub>  
Burgess, J. 768<sub>1</sub>  
Burial beneath altar 519 in 'Dipylon'  
cemetery 766<sub>1</sub> in Labyrinth 484<sub>1</sub> cp.  
472 in ox-hides hung on trees 533 in  
*pitheos* 469; tabooed 648<sub>1</sub>
- Burkitt, F. C. 175<sub>1</sub> 550<sub>1</sub> 555<sub>1</sub> 555<sub>2</sub> 599  
Burmann, P. 727<sub>1</sub>  
Burnet, J. 28<sub>1</sub>  
Burning on wheel 209 f.  
Burnouf, E. 180<sub>1</sub>  
Burrows, R. M. 660.  
Burton, R. F. 240<sub>1</sub> 240<sub>2</sub>  
Bury, J. B. 253<sub>1</sub> 763<sub>1</sub>  
Buskins, calf in 659  
Busolt, G. 761<sub>1</sub>  
Butin See Boutin  
Butler, H. C. 519<sub>1</sub>  
Butterfly 532<sub>1</sub> 598<sub>1</sub>  
Buttmann, P. 452<sub>1</sub>  
Bybilakis, E. 175<sub>1</sub>  
Byrne, F. D. 404<sub>1</sub>
- Cabré, J. 333<sub>1</sub>  
Caduceus at Heliopolis in Syria 564 ff.  
between *cornua copiae* 535<sub>1</sub> grasped  
by eagle 564 f. in rites of Zeus *Meili-*  
*chine* 422<sub>1</sub> with ram's heads 430<sub>1</sub>
- Caetani-Lovatelli, Countess E. 427<sub>1</sub>  
Cahen, E. 497<sub>1</sub> 498<sub>1</sub> 733<sub>1</sub> 733<sub>2</sub>  
Cailliard, F. 378 ff. 384<sub>1</sub>  
Calder, W. M. 193<sub>1</sub>  
Caldron as prize at Argive festival 446.  
— of apotheosis 420<sub>1</sub> 675 for Demos 785  
for attendants of Dionysos 785 for sons of  
Melikertes 674 674<sub>1</sub> 679 for sons of  
Pelous 419<sub>10</sub> for Pelias 245 679 for  
Pelops 419<sub>10</sub> 679 in rites of Leukothea  
420<sub>1</sub> 674 f.
- Calf, bronze figure with face of 723<sub>1</sub>  
golden 236 581 in buskins 659 of  
changing colour 470 (see also Bull.  
Cows) sacrificed to Moloch 723<sub>1</sub> See  
also Bull. Cattle. Cows
- Camerarius 522<sub>1</sub>  
Campana, G. P. 425<sub>1</sub>  
Campbell, J. F. 178<sub>1</sub>  
Campbell, L. 438 f.  
Canino, Prince de 218 513<sub>1</sub>  
Cannibalism See Omophagy  
Capart, J. 267  
Capitan, L. 703<sub>1</sub> 703<sub>2</sub>  
Carapanos, C. 86<sub>1</sub>  
Carnival-plays of northern Greece 694 f.  
699  
*Canna* or Gallic trumpet 569  
Canoy, H. 171<sub>1</sub>  
Carolides, P. 706<sub>2</sub>  
Carpet in Dionysiac procession 565  
Cart-wheels, old-fashioned 214<sub>2</sub>  
Cartailhac, E. 703<sub>1</sub>  
Catter, J. B. 272 272<sub>10</sub> 272<sub>11</sub> 272<sub>12</sub> 455<sub>1</sub>  
Casamhon, I. 259  
Cassas, L. F. 556<sub>1</sub>

- Cattle of sun-god stolen by Alkyoneus 410 610 Autolykos 639 f. Hermes 410 Odysseus 640
- Cave at Anazarbos 597<sub>1</sub> in Boiotia 524 at Brasia 674<sub>1</sub> at Byčiskála 638 f. on Mt Dikte 150<sub>1</sub> 647 in Dordogne 500 703 in Enboia 462 on Mt Ide in Crete 135 150 150<sub>1</sub> 529 in Naxos 164 f. at Rome 677<sub>1</sub> at Thera 144 of earth-goddess 670 699 of Mithras 516 ff. of Trophobios 524 of Zeus 135 150 150<sub>1</sub> 529 647
- Cavedoni, V. C. 194<sub>1</sub>
- Cedar 558<sub>1</sub> (1)
- Ceiling vaulted like sky 264 with gilt stars on blue ground 751 f.
- Cerquand, J. F. 242
- Cesnola, L. P. di 723<sub>2</sub>
- Chalcolithic remains 512<sub>1</sub> 513<sub>1</sub>
- Chamois-dancers on ' *baton de commandement* ' 703
- Chantepe de la Saussaye, P. D. 185<sub>1</sub>
- Chapot, V. 571<sub>2</sub>
- Charikles, D. A. M. 183<sub>2</sub>
- Chariot, evolution of snake-drawn 227 evolution of solar 333 ff.
- Chariot of Artemis 244 f. Demeter 228 ff. 231<sub>1</sub> Dioskouroi 763 Elias, St 183<sub>1</sub> Eros 200<sub>1</sub> Hades 230<sub>1</sub> Helios 180 200<sub>1</sub> 226 f. 231<sub>1</sub> 238 248 259<sub>1</sub> (2) 293 293<sub>1</sub> 336 f. 338<sub>2</sub> 358<sub>1</sub> 392<sub>1</sub> 419 752 783 Luna 517<sub>1</sub> Men 642<sub>1</sub> Minerva 712<sub>1</sub> Nemesis 270 f. Pelops 260<sub>1</sub> Phaethon 337 419 Selene 449 (1) 358<sub>1</sub> 456 499 (1) 537 f. 752 Sol 517<sub>1</sub> Zeus 187<sub>1</sub> 338 338<sub>2</sub> 783 f.
- Charoteers who came to an untimely end 225<sub>1</sub> who lost a wheel 225<sub>1</sub>
- Chariot-throne 213 ff. 216<sub>1</sub> 232 f. 338<sub>2</sub>
- Charvet, J. 271
- Cheese, cakes of 421
- Chesney, Lieut.-Col. 589
- Chest, golden lamb in 405
- Children sacrificed to Moloch 723<sub>1</sub>
- *sin patre*. Korymbas 106<sub>1</sub>
- Chipiez, C. 416<sub>1</sub> 417<sub>1</sub> 476<sub>2</sub> 501<sub>2</sub> 594<sub>1</sub> 599<sub>1</sub> 619<sub>1</sub> 622<sub>1</sub> 623<sub>1</sub> 636<sub>2</sub> 636<sub>1</sub> 636<sub>1</sub> 611<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>1</sub> 704<sub>1</sub> 723<sub>2</sub>
- Christ, W. 31<sub>2</sub> 191<sub>1</sub> 259<sub>1</sub> 444<sub>1</sub> 617<sub>1</sub> 657<sub>1</sub> 722<sub>1</sub> 731<sub>1</sub>
- Christmas compared with Lenala 681 granted upon Saturnalia 693<sub>1</sub>
- Chryselephantine statues 2<sub>1</sub> 134 622
- Cicorius, C. 60<sub>1</sub>
- Claude, G. O. F. J. B. Conte de 708<sub>1</sub> 709<sub>1</sub> 713<sub>2</sub>
- Clarke, E. D. 173<sub>1</sub>
- Clarke, Somers 515<sub>1</sub>
- Clay, A. T. 549<sub>1</sub> 580<sub>1</sub>
- Clay in rites of Sabazios 392<sub>1</sub> in rites of Zagreus 655<sub>2</sub> 662 See also Gypsum. Mud
- Clermont-Ganneau, C. 8<sub>1</sub> 232 f. 420<sub>1</sub> 519 f. 551<sub>2</sub> 574<sub>1</sub> 724<sub>1</sub>
- Cloud in semblance of Hera 198
- Cobet, C. G. 198<sub>2</sub>
- 'Cock,' priest at Hierapolis in Syria called 592<sub>1</sub>
- Cocks as part of Lycian symbol 300 on statue of Apollon at Amyklai 713<sub>1</sub> on wheel-base 331<sub>1</sub>
- Coban-en, A. von 619<sub>1</sub>
- Cohen, H. 713<sub>1</sub> 713<sub>1</sub> 714<sub>1</sub> 714<sub>2</sub> 714<sub>1</sub> 714<sub>2</sub> 715
- Collignon, M. 57<sub>1</sub> 118<sub>1</sub> 475<sub>1</sub> 494<sub>1</sub> 703<sub>1</sub> 704<sub>1</sub>
- Collitz, H. 667<sub>1</sub> 669<sub>2</sub> 729<sub>2</sub> 730<sub>1</sub> 762<sub>1</sub>
- Colossal building-stones at Barabek 562 ff. used in fertility-magic (1) 563<sub>1</sub>
- Colossal statues Antiochos I of Kommagene at Nemroud Dagh 744 f. Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes at Nemroud Dagh 744 ff. Artagnes Herakles Ares at Nemroud Dagh 744 746 Helios at Rhodes 35<sub>1</sub> Herakles at Tarentum 36 Kommagene at Nemroud Dagh 744 f. Zeus at Olympia 2 f. 35 f. 42 Zeus at Tarentum 35 Zeus *Oromiades* at Nemroud Dagh 744 ff.
- 'magnify' the god 563<sub>1</sub>
- Colossal temples of Zeus 563 f.
- Colour of Poseidon's hair 2<sub>1</sub> of ritual garb 422 592<sub>1</sub> 648 of royal robes 58 of Zeus' hair 2<sub>1</sub>
- Colours: blue for black 2<sub>1</sub> blue for purple 58 blue globe 33 41 ff. blue mantle 33 56 ff. blue *nimbus* 33 ff. purple cloak 107<sub>1</sub> 592<sub>1</sub> purple for red 58 purple waist-bands 109 red bust of wine-god 715<sub>1</sub> red tor blood 58 scarlet cloak 523 white clothing 592<sub>1</sub> 648<sub>1</sub>
- 'Colts,' priestess of Demeter and Kore called 442 784 priestesses of the Leukippides called 442 priest or priestess in Ptolemaic Egypt called 442
- Combe, T. 232<sub>1</sub>
- Commelin, H. 469<sub>1</sub>
- Compagetti, D. 481<sub>1</sub>
- Compasses, invention of 724 f.
- Constable, G. 99<sub>1</sub>
- Constellation—754 f. 770 f. See also Zodiac
- Contenson, L. de 604
- Conway, R. S. 660<sub>2</sub>
- Conze, A. 110 118 120<sub>1</sub> 319<sub>1</sub> 769<sub>1</sub> 769<sub>1</sub>
- Cook, A. R. 508 f. 510<sub>1</sub>
- Cook, E. N. 771<sub>1</sub>
- Cook, S. A. 555<sub>1</sub> 582<sub>1</sub>
- Corn, patch of sacred (1) 559
- Corn, wreath of 745 ep 222
- Corn-crake (1) 344<sub>1</sub>
- Corn-cups 686 (1) 746 (1) 213 ff. 222 228 f. 397<sub>1</sub> 503<sub>1</sub> 518 552 558<sub>1</sub> 565 569 572 581<sub>2</sub> 580 595 f. 598<sub>2</sub> 617<sub>1</sub> 711 745 748
- Cornford, F. M. 139<sub>1</sub> 275<sub>2</sub> 420<sub>1</sub> 649<sub>1</sub> 650<sub>1</sub> 679 688<sub>1</sub> 723<sub>1</sub> 785 f.
- Corn-mother and corn-daughter 397 397<sub>1</sub>
- Cornucopia of Achelous 502<sub>1</sub> Amalthaea 501 f. Atargatis (1) 551<sub>1</sub> Barabekhaman 598<sub>1</sub> Berenike III (1) 709<sub>1</sub> Dionysos 503<sub>1</sub>

- Cornu copiae* (cont.)  
 670 Fortuna 272 goat-man 704; Herakles 502, Iakchos 670 Isis 271 Kabeiroi (?) 108 Kommagene 745 Mercurius 714 Neilos 361 pantheistic Zeus 361 Plouton 502, (?) 504; Ploutos 220 670 Tyche 698; 709 f. 715 wife of Ptolemy Philometor Soter 111 (?) 709; Zeus 501 f. 598; cp. 361
- Courby, F. 784
- Cousin, G. 18 ff.
- Couve, L. 475; 494, 654.
- Cow suckles Zeus 660 665 785 tended like woman in child-bed 659 with moon on flanks 540 f. 740 See also Bull, Calif. Cattle
- Cow and moon 432, 455 f. 521 ff. 587 f. 543 625, 626 739 f.
- and sun 523
- \* Cow-herd, Gortymians called 471 priest of Apollon called 442, priests of Dionysos called 441 457 f. priests of Hekate called 442, priests of Zagreus and the Kometes called 442.
- Cowley, A. L. 233
- Cow's head, silver 523 619; with stars on horns etc. 619.
- Cow's horn 501 See also Bull's horns
- Cow's, bronze 331 638, black 441 470 golden 441 581<sub>2</sub> cp. 523 three-colored 470 variegated 468 violet 441 470 white 440 445 446 451 462 467 470
- Cows of Hera 445 675, Hios 468 f. Io 236 438 ff. 462 739 Kaimos 469 539 ff. Pasiphae 461 ff. 740 Selene 537 f. 625; 626
- Cows, hekatomb of 447 sacrifice of 446 votive representations of 308 331 446 wooden effigies of 464 ff. 522 f. 740
- \* Cows, children at Hierapolis in Syria called 442; 593, priestesses of Hera called (?) 441 451 453 453; worshippers of Dionysos called (?) 441 f. 784
- Cradle 530, 534
- Cram, R. A. 768.
- \* Crane, Delian dance called 481 f.
- Cranes and bull 482.
- and solar disk (?) 482.
- Crescent and star 235.
- Creuzer, F. 63, 65 428, 438; 498; 604; 707.
- Criobolium* 717.
- Cripps, J. M. 173.
- Croiset, A. and M. 451; 452; 734<sub>11</sub>
- Crook 709 See also *Lagobolion*
- Crooke, W. 326.
- Cross, 'Celtic' 291 *cruciansata* 590 f. 606.
- Cross-roads 421 422.
- Crow, eight-handed 304, of Kronos, the planet 626, three-legged 304.
- Crowfoot, J. W. 587.
- Crown, radiate 19 41, 60, 188 517, turreted 598, worn by priest 22 cp. 354
- Crown of Ariadne 492 f. Hera 532 624 Iupiter 41; 289; Nemesis 275 281 Sol 517, Theseus 492 f. cp. pl. xl. 4 Tyche 598, Zeus 19 188 736.
- Crucifixion 211 693.
- Crusius, O. 539; 722.
- Crypt at Barabek 564
- Crystal of Selene 625 f.
- Cuckoo 134 f. 532
- Cumont, E. 592, 611; 641; 641.
- Cumont, F. 59<sub>11</sub>, 60, 190; 190; 191; 191; 192; 230, 238, 443; 502, 516; 518; 533; 565; 571, 582; 592, 598; 604; 607; 607; 607; 608; 608; 610; 631 641 f. 642; 706; 717; 742; 746; 746; 748; 754 754; 754; 754; 758.
- Cupel, G. 131 457.
- Cups, royal, decked with animal forms 406 406.
- Curle, J. 289.
- Curtin, J. 321.
- Curtius, A. W. 549; 715; 715.
- Curtius, E. 301
- Curtius, G. 115.
- Cypress-grove 558 (?) 558; 648 f. 649.
- Cypress-tree 134 517, 558 (?)
- Cypress-wood, coffin of 558; root of 558; 648 sceptre of 558.
- Dahnhardt, O. 172, 183; 184; 184.
- Dalton, O. M. 36, 41; 51, 100, 745.
- Dance, cyclic 480; *geranos* 481 f. *kordax* 480 labyrinthine 479 ff. rope 480 square 480.
- Dancers, goat-like 697 ff. 711 horse-like (See Horse-creatures) ram-like 704.
- Dance-themes, mythical 481 495 f.
- Daumet, H. 102; 111.
- Dates 378 745.
- Davies, G. S. 60.
- Davis, E. J. 594.
- Davis, F. Hadland 530, 768.
- Davis, Miss G. 437<sub>10</sub> 651<sub>1</sub>
- Dawkins, R. M. 92; 100; 163; 216; 660; 694 694.
- Dead, cult of the 93 ff. 458 508 ff. 523 737, 742 ff.
- Decharme, P. 33.
- Dechelette, J. 225; 289; 289; 332; 333; 337; 478; 507 f. 507; 508.
- Deecke, W. 476.
- Deismann, G. A. 233.
- Delamare, J. 195 269.
- Delatte 785
- Delbet, J. 636; 636; 636.
- Delchaye, H. 168.
- Dell, J. 612 612; 614; 614; 614; 615; 615.
- Demargne, J. 150; 729.
- Demoulin, H. 457.
- Deschamps, G. 18 ff.
- De-jardins, E. 616; 616.
- Desor, E. 381
- Dessau, H. 59<sub>11</sub> 353; 366; 607; 608; 608; 608; 609; 609; 609; 611; 630 630; 630; 630; 630; 630; 633; 633; 753.
- Deubner, L. 169; 678; 697.
- De-Vit, V. 100; 156; 609; 609.
- Dew daughter of Zeus by Selene 732; son of Aer by Mene 732; thickest at full moon 733

- 'Diablotins' on 'bâton de commande-ment' 703  
 Diadem, priestly 354 cp. 22  
 Diels, H. 480, 664<sub>1</sub>  
 Dieterich, A. 18<sub>5</sub>, 53<sub>1</sub>, 165 f. 168<sub>2</sub>, 188<sub>1</sub>, 299<sub>6</sub>, 339, 396, 442, 581, 592<sub>6</sub>, 655<sub>2</sub>, 675 f. 680, 687;  
 Dieulafoy, M. 745<sub>1</sub>  
 Dillon, E. 624<sub>1</sub>  
 Diltney, K. 655<sub>1</sub>  
 Dindorf, L. 355<sub>2</sub>, 622<sub>10</sub>  
 Dindorf, W. 452<sub>2</sub>, 457<sub>2</sub>, 583<sub>1</sub>  
 Disk, magic 285<sub>1</sub>  
 Disk, solar 205 ff. 291 ff. 341, 569 (?) 571, 617 (?) 620  
 — in pediment 259, 292 ff.  
 Dithyramb 680 ff. 733  
 Dittenberger, W. 17<sub>2</sub>, 362<sub>6</sub>, 420<sub>6</sub>, 442<sub>2</sub>, 442<sub>2</sub>, 668<sub>2</sub>, 715<sub>6</sub>, 716<sub>6</sub>, 717<sub>2</sub>, 727<sub>1</sub>, 729<sub>2</sub>, 729<sub>2</sub>, 742<sub>2</sub>, 744<sub>2</sub>, 746<sub>1</sub>, 746<sub>2</sub>, 746<sub>2</sub>, 748<sub>1</sub>, 762<sub>1</sub>  
 Divination at Ammonoion 355, 357 at Baral-bek 357, 552 f. at Hierapolis in Syria 357 in Kypros (?) 654<sub>1</sub>  
 — by fire 657<sub>1</sub> by stars 758 ff.  
 Divining-glass 128  
 Divining-rod 282<sub>2</sub>  
 Divining-rods 745<sub>1</sub> (?)  
 Divining-wheel 285  
 Divinity of king (see King) of queen 591<sub>2</sub> of Zeus 14  
 Djinn 571  
 Dobree, P. P. 686<sub>1</sub>  
 Dodwell, E. 101<sub>1</sub>, 101<sub>1</sub>  
 Doerpfeld, W. 480<sub>1</sub>, 513<sub>2</sub>, 533<sub>2</sub>, 751<sub>2</sub>  
 Dog 455<sub>2</sub>, 542<sub>1</sub>, 542<sub>2</sub>, 677<sub>1</sub>, 698<sub>1</sub>, 704<sub>2</sub>, 709, 712<sub>2</sub>  
*Dolama* 766 ff.  
 — structures resembling 767<sub>1</sub>  
 Dolphins 346, 344, 472, 570<sub>1</sub> (?) 721  
 Domaszewski, A. von 554<sub>1</sub>, 598<sub>2</sub>, 598<sub>2</sub>, 610<sub>2</sub>, 616<sub>1</sub>, 616<sub>2</sub>, 617<sub>2</sub>, 618<sub>1</sub>  
 Donbart, B. 281<sub>2</sub>, 282<sub>1</sub>, 282<sub>2</sub>, 282<sub>2</sub>, 282<sub>2</sub>  
 Donaldson, T. L. 44<sub>2</sub>, 293<sub>2</sub>, 558<sub>2</sub>, 567<sub>2</sub>  
 Donne, W. B. 555 f.  
 D'Ooge, M. L. 708<sub>1</sub>  
 Dottin, G. 639<sub>2</sub>  
 Doublet, G. 519<sub>6</sub>  
 Doves of Aphrodite 39<sub>1</sub>, 741 of Aphrodite, the planet 625, 626, 626<sub>1</sub> of Semiramis 583 of Zeus at Dodona 39<sub>1</sub>, 364, 367 of Zeus in Oasis of Siwah 364 f. 367 f.  
 — on Hittite pillar-altar 587<sub>1</sub> on ram's head 364, 365; (?) 368 on standard at Hierapolis in Syria 583 f. 586 f. on standards of Assyrian kings (?) 584<sub>1</sub>  
 — feed Zeus 182 sacrificed to Moloch 723<sub>1</sub> worshipped in Syria 583<sub>1</sub>, 584<sub>1</sub>, 593<sub>1</sub>  
 'Doves,' priestesses of Zeus called (?) 443  
 Dowers 282<sub>2</sub>  
 Dragon devouring its own tail 192<sub>1</sub> slain by St George 178<sub>2</sub>, 782  
 Dragons flee from Mid-summer fires 286  
 Dragon-slayer 178<sub>2</sub>, 540, 782  
 Drama, comic, at Anthesteria (?) 687 f. precedes tragedy at City Dionysia 682 f. later attached to Lenaia 682 f. 689 and Rural Dionysia 689  
 — the origin of 682 f. 687, 690<sub>2</sub>, 785  
 Drama, satyric 695 ff. at Chytroi (?) 688<sub>2</sub> in Crete (?) 534 f. in north Greece (?) 694 in Ionia and Pontos (?) 679<sub>1</sub> at Thebes in Boiotia (?) 654  
 Drama, tragic, based on Dionysiac ritual 680 not of dithyramb 689 ff. but of Lenaia 672 ff. 681 f. precedes comedy at Lenaia 683 later attached to City Dionysia 682 f. and Rural Dionysia 689 at Panathenaia (?) 688<sub>2</sub> in Crete 662 f. 673  
 — the origin of 665 ff. 688, 689<sub>2</sub>, 694 f. 699  
 Dress, change from masculine to feminine 591<sub>2</sub>, 593<sub>2</sub>, Thracian 655  
 Dressel, H. 59<sub>2</sub>  
 Drexler, W. 102<sub>2</sub>, 149<sub>1</sub>, 271<sub>1</sub>, 346<sub>1</sub>, 346<sub>2</sub>, 346<sub>2</sub>, 377<sub>1</sub>, 360<sub>2</sub>, 431<sub>1</sub>, 431<sub>2</sub>, 445<sub>2</sub>, 454<sub>2</sub>, 454<sub>2</sub>, 454<sub>2</sub>, 519<sub>2</sub>, 553<sub>2</sub>, 553<sub>2</sub>, 603<sub>2</sub>, 642<sub>2</sub>, 642<sub>2</sub>, 706<sub>2</sub>, 721<sub>2</sub>, 730<sub>2</sub>, 741<sub>2</sub>, 742<sub>1</sub>  
 Drinking-horn 108, 500  
 Driver, S. R. 445<sub>1</sub>  
 Droop, J. P. 92, 96<sub>2</sub>, 511<sub>2</sub>  
 Drosinos 623  
 Drovetti, B. 379<sub>2</sub>, 387<sub>2</sub>  
 Dubois, J. J. 698<sub>2</sub>  
 Dubois, M. 194 f.  
 Du Cange, C. d. F. 52<sub>2</sub>, 169<sub>2</sub>  
 Ducks 331, 332<sub>1</sub>  
 — as part of Lycian symbol (?) 300 f.  
 Dufour, M. 444<sub>2</sub>  
 Dugas, C. 255<sub>2</sub>  
 Duhm, F. von 58<sub>2</sub>, 59, 59<sub>2</sub>  
 Dummier, F. 525<sub>2</sub>, 730<sub>2</sub>  
 Dumont, A. 95<sub>2</sub>  
 Duplication of Dionysiac festivals 690 ff. of goddess 396 ff.  
 Durand, J. 485<sub>2</sub>  
 Durandus, G. 286 f.  
 Duum, J. 293, 480<sub>1</sub>, 482<sub>1</sub>, 484<sub>2</sub>, 562<sub>2</sub>, 563<sub>1</sub>, 564<sub>1</sub>, 752<sub>2</sub>  
 Du-sand, R. 334<sub>2</sub>, 500 f. 549<sub>2</sub>, 551<sub>2</sub>, 553<sub>2</sub>, 554<sub>2</sub>, 555<sub>2</sub>, 558<sub>2</sub>, 561<sub>1</sub>, 561<sub>2</sub>, 567<sub>2</sub>, 567<sub>2</sub>, 569<sub>1</sub>, 569<sub>2</sub>, 570<sub>1</sub>, 571<sub>1</sub>, 571<sub>2</sub>, 572<sub>2</sub>, 572<sub>2</sub>, 573<sub>1</sub>, 574<sub>2</sub>, 576<sub>1</sub>, 576<sub>2</sub>, 584<sub>2</sub>, 604, 604<sub>1</sub>, 604<sub>1</sub>, 619<sub>1</sub>, 645<sub>2</sub>, 706<sub>2</sub>, 783  
 Dutschke, H. 449<sub>2</sub>  
 Eagle bears caduceus of Hermes 564 f. bears thunderbolt of Zeus 164<sub>1</sub>  
 Eagle of Elagabalos 604 of India 341<sub>2</sub> of Jehovah (?) 232<sub>1</sub> of Sandas 596, 600, 602, 604 of sun-god 565, 600, 602, 604 of Surya 341<sub>2</sub> of Zeus *Lakaios* 83 ff. 88 ff. of Zeus *Masphalatenos* 732 of Zeus *Olympios* 102<sub>2</sub>, 103 f. 117<sub>2</sub> of Zeus *Oromiades* 746, 748 of Zeus *Tirios* 596 of Zeus, the planet 625<sub>2</sub>, 626, 626<sub>6</sub>

- Eagle on altar 713 on branch 90 f. on bull's head 611 f. on column 66 83 on globe 628 in pediment 259 on pillar 34 f. 35<sub>6</sub> 612 on pine-tree 91 on pyramid of Sautas 600 602 604 on pyramidal roof of Zeus *Kólios* 602 on ram's head 365; on rock 90<sub>6</sub> on sceptre 590 596 623 on snake 191 f. on standards 617 on stone of Emesa (?) 604
- Eagle as form of Zeus 105<sub>1</sub> 161<sub>4</sub> placed among stars by Zeus 164<sub>4</sub>
- Eagles kept at Hierapolis in Syria 592<sub>1</sub> look at sun 104<sub>1</sub>
- 'Eagles,' worshippers of Mithras called 443
- Early Iron-age remains 507 638 f.
- Earp, F. R. 485<sub>1</sub>
- Earth-mother as correlative of -ky-father 779 f. differentiated into Demeter and Kore 396 f.
- Earthquakes 3<sub>1</sub> 14<sub>1</sub>
- Eater of this or that, deity described as 657 (*Dionysos Omestes*) 673 (*Dionysos Taurophagos*) 673, (*Dionysos Moschophagos*) 717; (*Zeus Aigophagos*)
- Ebeling, H. 3<sub>1</sub> 14<sub>1</sub>
- Eckhel, J. 152; 235, 373<sub>1</sub> 403 558; 586<sub>4</sub> 706<sub>4</sub> 713; 714, 715<sub>2</sub> 753
- Egg 279<sub>1</sub> 584<sub>6</sub> 785
- Eight years' servitude of Kadmos 540
- Eiresione* 339 341
- Eisele 390 391<sub>1</sub> 391<sub>4</sub> 391<sub>1</sub> 392<sub>4</sub> 399<sub>1</sub> 400<sub>1</sub> 403<sub>6</sub> 425<sub>1</sub>
- Eisler, R. 8<sub>1</sub> 58; 59; 264<sub>1</sub> 358<sub>1</sub> 519; 742<sub>1</sub> 748<sub>4</sub> 783
- Eittem, S. 351<sub>4</sub> 352<sub>6</sub> 429<sub>4</sub> 624<sub>1</sub> 738<sub>12</sub>
- Elderkin, G. W. 475<sub>1</sub>
- Elephants draw Augustus in chariot 548 honorific 768<sub>1</sub> horned 511<sub>1</sub>
- Emasculation 394 f. 591<sub>2</sub>
- Emeralds 355 ff. 583<sub>1</sub>
- Emeralds of Amen-Ra 356 f. of Atargatis 583 of Baral-hammān 355 ff. of Herakles 356 of Melqarth 356 of Zeus 356 of Zeus Ammon 357
- Engelmann, R. 258; 455<sub>1</sub>
- Enneateris* of Poseidon 181<sub>6</sub>
- Entheos*, twofold sense of the word 673
- Enthronement 153 398 646 f. 650 661 710 f.
- Epiphany, carnival-plays at 694
- Erturdt, C. G. A. 198<sub>1</sub>
- Erman, A. 206<sub>1</sub> 206<sub>2</sub> 241<sub>2</sub> 266 316<sub>2</sub> 341<sub>6</sub> 341<sub>1</sub> 347<sub>1</sub> 358<sub>1</sub> 436<sub>1</sub>
- Erman, G. A. 186
- Escher-Burkh, J. 253<sub>2</sub> 414<sub>1</sub> 438<sub>6</sub> 499<sub>6</sub> 524<sub>1</sub> 526<sub>1</sub> 527<sub>1</sub> 531<sub>1</sub> 538<sub>1</sub> 711<sub>6</sub> 737<sub>1</sub>
- Emmich priests 394 ff. 592<sub>6</sub> 593<sub>1</sub> ep. 591<sub>2</sub>
- Euphemism 726
- Euthanasia 450 f.
- Euting, J. 232<sub>1</sub>
- Evans, Sir A. J. 148<sub>2</sub> 148<sub>1</sub> 150<sub>1</sub> 161 f. 401 401<sub>1</sub> 428 473 f. 477 478; 479 479<sub>1</sub> 481<sub>1</sub> 499 499<sub>2</sub> 501 506 f. 602<sub>6</sub> 622<sub>1</sub> 623<sub>1</sub> 643<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>12</sub> 649<sub>1</sub> 660<sub>1</sub> 701<sub>6</sub>
- Evans, Sir J. 620<sub>1</sub>
- Evil eye 720<sub>1</sub> 721
- Faber, T. 674<sub>2</sub>
- Fabricius, E. 118<sub>1</sub>
- Falcon 341
- Falls, J. C. Ewald 784
- Farnell, L. R. 19; 80<sub>1</sub> 102<sub>1</sub> 117<sub>2</sub> 194 f. 258<sub>1</sub> 275 283 f. 391 ff. 396 f. 399<sub>1</sub> 422<sub>2</sub> 422<sub>1</sub> 438<sub>1</sub> 445 453<sub>1</sub> 455<sub>1</sub> 498<sub>1</sub> 498<sub>1</sub> 502<sub>4</sub> 502<sub>1</sub> 504<sub>1</sub> 519<sub>1</sub> 520<sub>1</sub> 524<sub>1</sub> 525<sub>1</sub> 542<sub>1</sub> 543<sub>1</sub> 545 f. 624<sub>1</sub> 624<sub>1</sub> 624<sub>6</sub> 651<sub>1</sub> 659<sub>6</sub> 666 666<sub>6</sub> 667<sub>1</sub> 668<sub>1</sub> 673 678<sub>1</sub> 679<sub>1</sub> 682<sub>1</sub> 684<sub>2</sub> 686<sub>1</sub> 687<sub>1</sub> 687<sub>2</sub> 689<sub>1</sub> 690<sub>4</sub> 692<sub>4</sub> 692<sub>6</sub> 709<sub>2</sub> 713<sub>1</sub> 716 785
- Fawn-skin in rites of Sabazios 392<sub>4</sub> worn by Zeus (?) 736<sub>1</sub>
- Feather head-dress 297 386 387 389 620
- Feet, bare 542<sub>6</sub>
- Felicianus, I. B. 443<sub>1</sub>
- Felkel, Dr 638
- Fennel-stalk as fire-stick of Prometheus 323 in rites of Sabazios 392<sub>4</sub>
- Fennell, C. A. M. 259<sub>6</sub>
- Fergusson, J. 490<sub>1</sub> 768<sub>6</sub>
- Fertility-rites 258 394 ff. 684 ff. 703 f.
- Fick, A. 63 100<sub>1</sub> 148<sub>1</sub> 156<sub>1</sub> 242<sub>1</sub> 345 f. 400<sub>2</sub> 531<sub>1</sub> 537<sub>1</sub> 639 642 f. 690<sub>4</sub>
- Figs 688<sub>1</sub>
- Fire-cone 569<sub>1</sub> (?)
- Fire beneath sacred oak 365 burns hand of Zeus 702<sub>1</sub> in rite of purification or initiation 211<sub>1</sub> kindled at midsummer 180 285 ff. 338 f. 341 525 on head of Egyptian king 496 on portable hearth or altar 338<sub>1</sub> stolen by Prometheus 323 ff. touched by Satyr 702<sub>6</sub>
- Fire-bearers at Hierapolis in Syria 592<sub>1</sub>
- Fire-drill 325 ff.
- First-fruits 669<sub>1</sub>
- Fischer, W. 81<sub>6</sub>
- Fish 279<sub>4</sub> 472<sub>6</sub> 583<sub>4</sub> 588 592<sub>1</sub> 687<sub>1</sub> 725
- Fleeces, black 407<sub>4</sub> 646 668 f. coloured 403 f. 406 419 golden 403 ff. 405 ff. 412 ff. 414 ff. 420 ff. of Zeus 422 ff. cp. 348 417 419 ff.
- Flogging as religious rite (?) 211 of boy (?) 659<sub>1</sub> of Saturnus' victim (?) 693<sub>1</sub> of Satyr 659<sub>2</sub> of young women etc. 677<sub>4</sub> on wheel 209 f.
- Flood at Hierapolis in Syria 584<sub>1</sub> 591<sub>1</sub>
- Flour sacrificed to Moloch 723<sub>1</sub>
- Flowers on coin of Argos 624<sub>1</sub> on coin of Hierapolis in Syria 587<sub>1</sub> on sheath of Jupiter *Hithopollitanus* 569 572 (?) 573 575 (?) 576 (?) strown on mountain for Zeus and Hera (?) 348<sub>1</sub>
- Flute-player 504 699<sub>1</sub> 700 700<sub>1</sub>
- Fly 469; 532 See also Butterfly, Gaddy
- Foerster, R. 230<sub>1</sub>
- Footprints of Nandi 637 of Sisyphos' cattle 639
- Forster, T. 678<sub>1</sub>
- Forrer, R. 41<sub>1</sub> 41<sub>1</sub> 178<sub>1</sub> 488<sub>1</sub> 507<sub>1</sub> 638<sub>1</sub> 638<sub>2</sub> 724<sub>6</sub>
- Forster, E. S. 660<sub>2</sub>
- Fossey, C. 420<sub>1</sub>

- Foucart, P. 16<sub>1</sub> 16; 16, 17<sub>1</sub> 17; 19; 730<sub>6</sub>  
 Foucher, A. 293;  
 Fougères, G. 253;  
 Foundation-myths of Ammoneion 363 ff.  
   367 f. Cretan town(?) 468 Dodona  
   363 ff. 367 Gordyene 237 Ilion 468 f.  
   Ione or Iopolis 236 f. Tarsos 236  
   Thebes in Boiotia 469 539 ff.  
 Foundation-sacrifice 450  
 Fountain of the Sun 368 381 f.  
 Fowler, W. Waide 3; 271 f. 285; 285;  
   469<sub>1</sub> 678<sub>1</sub> 693<sub>1</sub> 712; 786  
 Fox-skins 655<sub>1</sub>  
 Frankel, C. 696<sub>1</sub> 697<sub>1</sub> 697;  
 Frankel, M. 119<sub>1</sub> 442<sub>1</sub>  
 Fraubeiger, H. 556<sub>2</sub> 564<sub>1</sub>  
 Frazer, J. G. 1; 12 13<sub>1</sub> 17; 23<sub>1</sub> 59; 66 f.  
   75<sub>1</sub> 79<sub>1</sub> 79<sub>1</sub>; 79<sub>1</sub> 121; 137 ff. 175<sub>1</sub> 177<sub>1</sub>  
   178<sub>1</sub> 231; 260; 278; 283<sub>2</sub> 286 287 f. 287<sub>1</sub>  
   288; 324<sub>1</sub> 325; 326 f. 326<sub>1</sub> 330 343<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>1</sub>  
   345 394<sub>1</sub> 395 397<sub>1</sub> 422; 430<sub>1</sub> 445; 449;  
   450; 467<sub>2</sub> 469<sub>1</sub> 491 f. 496; 496; 522; 524  
   535<sub>1</sub> 540; 541 554<sub>1</sub> 594<sub>1</sub> 595<sub>1</sub> 601 601;  
   609; 622<sub>1</sub> 646<sub>2</sub> 649<sub>1</sub> 650<sub>1</sub> 650<sub>1</sub> 671 671<sub>1</sub>  
   673; 673; 674; 676 676; 686<sub>1</sub> 692<sub>2</sub> 693<sub>1</sub>  
   708<sub>1</sub> 710; 711; 711<sub>1</sub> 726<sub>1</sub> 727<sub>1</sub> 736; 775;  
 Frickenhaus, A. 86; 445; 454<sub>1</sub> 624<sub>1</sub> 666<sub>1</sub>  
   667<sub>1</sub> 671 671<sub>2</sub> 671<sub>1</sub> 671<sub>1</sub> 671<sub>1</sub> 684<sub>2</sub>  
   686; 686; 707 707<sub>1</sub>  
 Friedrichs, K. 268<sub>2</sub> 535<sub>2</sub> 708<sub>1</sub>  
 Friedhof 178<sub>1</sub>  
 Friedländer, L. 168<sub>1</sub>  
 Friedländer, P. 453;  
 Fritze, H. von 533<sub>2</sub>  
 Frobenius, L. 313;  
 Froehner, W. 552; 698<sub>1</sub> 713<sub>1</sub>  
 Frothingham, A. L. 645; 645<sub>1</sub> 645;  
 Fruits, astringent, and Zeus, the planet  
   626<sub>1</sub>  
 Funeral feast 662 737<sub>1</sub> pars 469; 766<sub>1</sub>  
 Furtwängler, A. 36 36; 87<sub>1</sub> 99; 202<sub>1</sub> 202<sub>2</sub>  
   204<sub>2</sub> 216<sub>2</sub> 216; 220; 222<sub>1</sub> 226<sub>1</sub> 251<sub>1</sub> 252<sub>1</sub>  
   252<sub>2</sub> 268<sub>2</sub> 271<sub>1</sub> 274 292<sub>1</sub> 319 350; 357<sub>2</sub>  
   357<sub>1</sub> 362; 474<sub>1</sub> 474<sub>1</sub> 495<sub>1</sub> 499<sub>1</sub> 499<sub>1</sub> 499;  
   526<sub>1</sub> 623<sub>1</sub> 670<sub>1</sub> 696<sub>1</sub> 697<sub>1</sub> 697<sub>1</sub> 701<sub>2</sub> 701;  
   702 703<sub>1</sub> 704<sub>1</sub> 704<sub>1</sub> 721<sub>1</sub> 741; 761<sub>1</sub> 764;  
   764<sub>1</sub> 766<sub>1</sub> 767<sub>1</sub> 769<sub>1</sub> 769<sub>2</sub>  
 Gabrici, E. 512;  
 Gad-fly 439 441 532  
 Gaedechens, R. 764<sub>1</sub>  
 Gaidoz, H. 197; 267<sub>1</sub> 285; 286<sub>1</sub> 288  
 Gaisford, T. 423<sub>1</sub>  
 Galeozzo, Commendatore 698<sub>1</sub>  
 Ganschmütz, R. 783  
 Gardner, E. A. 226<sub>1</sub> 708<sub>1</sub> 768<sub>1</sub>  
 Gardner, P. 194<sub>1</sub> 204 232 254<sub>1</sub> 281<sub>1</sub> 296;  
   301; 304<sub>1</sub> 402 449; 467<sub>2</sub> 527<sub>1</sub> 599<sub>1</sub> 600;  
   624<sub>1</sub> 624<sub>1</sub> 670; 674<sub>1</sub> 710; 712<sub>1</sub> 712<sub>1</sub> 712;  
   713<sub>1</sub> 720<sub>1</sub> 783  
 Garnett, Miss L. M. J. 104<sub>1</sub> 175<sub>1</sub> 450;  
 Garrucci, R. 598<sub>1</sub> 620<sub>1</sub> 764<sub>1</sub> 785  
 Garrutang, J. 87<sub>1</sub> 136 362; 584 584<sub>2</sub> 586;  
   587<sub>1</sub> 595 595<sub>1</sub> 598<sub>1</sub> 600<sub>1</sub> 604<sub>1</sub> 605<sub>1</sub>  
   635<sub>1</sub> 636; 636; 636; 639; 640<sub>1</sub>  
 Gateways, Chinese 768<sub>1</sub> Egyptian 205 f.  
   Hittite 636 Indian 768<sub>1</sub> Japanese 768<sub>1</sub>  
   Phoenician 205 f. Syrian 564 f  
   — protected by winged disk 206 turn  
   trees into temples 768<sub>1</sub>  
 Gauckler, P. 477<sub>1</sub> 551<sub>2</sub> 785  
 Geldart, E. M. 239;  
 Gelenius, S. 73;  
 Gelzer, H. 136  
 Georgenkis, G. 450;  
 Gerber, A. 102;  
 Gerhard, E. 60<sub>1</sub> 212<sub>1</sub> 223; 226<sub>1</sub> 298<sub>1</sub> 330;  
   358; 368; 429<sub>1</sub> 468; 494<sub>1</sub> 535 623<sub>1</sub> 627  
   628<sub>1</sub> 628<sub>1</sub> 696; 713<sub>1</sub> 725; 735<sub>1</sub> 766; 766<sub>1</sub>  
   766; 766; 767<sub>1</sub> 768<sub>2</sub> 768<sub>2</sub> 768<sub>1</sub> 768<sub>1</sub> 770;  
   770<sub>1</sub>  
 Gerhard, G. A. 442;  
 Gerland, G. 239; 523;  
 Gesenius, W. 308  
 Giant, corpse of 744<sub>1</sub>  
 Gilbert, O. 343; 420; 547<sub>1</sub> 578; 690<sub>1</sub> 771  
   777<sub>1</sub>  
 Gildersleeve, B. L. 254<sub>1</sub>  
 Giles, H. A. 768<sub>1</sub>  
 Giles, P. 24; 104; 107; 221 f. 423<sub>2</sub>  
 Ginsburg, C. D. 232<sub>1</sub> 233  
 Ginzell, F. K. 690;  
 Gnathus Cambrensis 678  
 Gnaud, J. 681<sub>1</sub> 686;  
 Globe, blue 33 41 ff. surmounted by cross  
   52 surmounted by Victory 52 winged  
   235<sub>2</sub>  
 Glover, T. R. 168<sub>2</sub>  
 Glue of bull's hide 648<sub>1</sub>  
 Gnechm, F. 268<sub>1</sub> 268<sub>1</sub> 713<sub>1</sub> 713; 781  
 Goat as sacred animal in Crete 401 501  
   703<sub>1</sub> among Dinka tribes 509 at Ikaria  
   678 711 at Mendes 347;  
 Goat of Apollon 712; Dionysos 702 673 ff  
   688; 706 ff. 713 Teub(?) 605<sub>1</sub> Zeus  
   112; 150 501 529<sub>1</sub> 665 706 ff.  
 Goat sacrificed as human being 711 by  
   *Hyperos* 677<sub>1</sub> in clothes of maiden 711,  
   to Artemis 711<sub>1</sub> to Dionysos 709 to  
   St Elias 186 to Teub 641<sub>1</sub> to Vedovis  
   711 717; to Zeus 347 717;  
 Goats danced round 678 711 devoured  
   665 f. hung on trees 592<sub>1</sub> ridden by  
   Cupid 713 by Dionysos 713 by Eros  
   354 713; by Jupiter 713 f.  
 Goats, wild (*capra*) 501 704<sub>1</sub> See also  
   Chamois  
 'Goats,' *Hyperos* called 677<sub>1</sub>  
 Goats, foreparts of, on wheel-base 331  
   worn by dancers 703<sub>1</sub>  
 Goat's horn 501  
 Goat-creatures: Satyroi 696 ff. 702 Tity-  
   roi(?) 704<sub>1</sub>  
 Goat-skin inflated (*ἀσσωλαριον*) 689<sub>1</sub> sty-  
   lised 701 worn by Bakchai 665; 704  
   worn by dancers 703<sub>1</sub> worn by *Hyperos*  
   677<sub>1</sub>  
 God and worshipper bearing the same  
   name 395;  
 Godwin, T. 723<sub>1</sub>

- Gottling, K. W. 307<sub>n</sub>  
 Goetz, F. L. 421<sub>n</sub>  
 Gold in relation to Helios 625 f. 626<sub>n</sub> cp.  
 336 to Zeus 626<sub>n</sub> 632 to Zeus, the  
 planet 626<sub>n</sub> See also Mines  
 Golden bust of M. Annus Verus 715 calf  
 made by Aaron 581 calf sacrificed by  
 Zeus 581 calves -et up by Jeroboam  
 581 statue of Adad 582 f. statue of  
 Atargatis 582 f. statue of Hera 582 f.  
 statue of Zeus 582 f. tablets from  
 Orphic graves 650, 675 ff. thunderbolt  
 from A-hui 581  
 Gomme, G. L. 239<sub>1</sub>  
 Gong 592<sub>n</sub>  
 Gonzenbach, L. 786  
 Goose 274<sub>1</sub>  
 Gordon, General, of Calness 441<sub>n</sub>  
 Gorlay, A. 268<sub>1</sub>  
 Gow, A. S. F. 485<sub>1</sub>  
 Gryphall 53<sub>1</sub>  
 Graef, B. 204<sub>1</sub> 475<sub>1</sub> 476<sub>1</sub> 706<sub>1</sub> 707<sub>1</sub>  
 Grial, the Holy 243  
 Grailot, H. 766<sub>2</sub>  
 Granger, F. 581<sub>1</sub>  
 Grapes 4<sub>1</sub> 371 400 502 504<sub>n</sub> 518<sub>n</sub> 595 f.  
 598, 602 670<sub>1</sub> 745 748  
 Gray, G. B. 500<sub>1</sub>  
 Green, E. W. 432, 515  
 Griffin 223 270 276 281 297<sub>1</sub>  
 Griffith, A. S. 206<sub>1</sub> 241<sub>1</sub>  
 Grumm, J. 184, 185 f. 197<sub>1</sub> 268<sub>1</sub> 287<sub>1</sub> 321,  
 321<sub>1</sub> 739<sub>1</sub>  
 Grum, W. 312<sub>1</sub> 313, 320 323  
 Grove of Ares 416 417<sub>1</sub> of Aigos 458 of  
 Diana 273 ff. of Nemesis 273 ff. of  
 Rhea 619<sub>1</sub> of Zeus 511<sub>1</sub> of Zeus  
 Ammon 16 of Zeus Ammon 364 ff. of  
 Zeus Ninos 365<sub>1</sub> of Zeus Ninos 558<sub>1</sub>  
 Gueber, H. A. 194<sub>1</sub> 712<sub>1</sub> 712<sub>1</sub> 713<sub>1</sub>  
 Grunau, C. von 379<sub>1</sub>  
 Grundy, G. B. 175<sub>n</sub>  
 Gruppe, O. 1, 9<sub>1</sub> 16<sub>1</sub> 23, 58<sub>1</sub> 63<sub>n</sub> 78 80<sub>1</sub> 81<sub>1</sub>  
 99<sub>1</sub> 104<sub>1</sub> 107<sub>1</sub> 111<sub>1</sub> 111<sub>1</sub> 111<sub>1</sub> 112<sub>1</sub> 137<sub>1</sub>  
 149<sub>1</sub> 168<sub>1</sub> 169<sub>1</sub> 188<sub>1</sub> 191<sub>1</sub> 212<sub>1</sub> 226<sub>1</sub>  
 227<sub>1</sub> 227 f. 228<sub>1</sub> 233<sub>n</sub> 237<sub>1</sub> 238 257<sub>1</sub>  
 271<sub>1</sub> 273 290<sub>1</sub> 292<sub>1</sub> 310<sub>1</sub> 311<sub>1</sub> 331<sub>1</sub> 333<sub>1</sub>  
 343<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>1</sub> 344 448<sub>1</sub> 351<sub>1</sub> 352<sub>1</sub> 353  
 353<sub>1</sub> 360<sub>1</sub> 391<sub>1</sub> 395<sub>n</sub> 402<sub>1</sub> 422<sub>1</sub> 422<sub>1</sub> 435  
 438<sub>1</sub> 438<sub>1</sub> 446<sub>n</sub> 453<sub>n</sub> 455 455<sub>1</sub> 462<sub>1</sub>  
 463<sub>1</sub> 464 469 480 502<sub>1</sub> 502<sub>1</sub> 502<sub>1</sub> 504<sub>1</sub>  
 519<sub>1</sub> 522<sub>1</sub> 531<sub>1</sub> 532<sub>1</sub> 538<sub>1</sub> 539<sub>1</sub> 542<sub>1</sub>  
 543<sub>1</sub> 603<sub>1</sub> 604<sub>1</sub> 622<sub>1</sub> 624<sub>n</sub> 624<sub>1</sub> 624<sub>1</sub> 626<sub>n</sub>  
 640<sub>1</sub> 640<sub>1</sub> 642<sub>1</sub> 642<sub>1</sub> 650<sub>1</sub> 666<sub>1</sub> 673<sub>1</sub> 677<sub>1</sub>  
 679<sub>1</sub> 690<sub>1</sub> 692<sub>1</sub> 692<sub>1</sub> 710<sub>1</sub> 713<sub>n</sub> 733 735<sub>1</sub>  
 738 739<sub>1</sub> 754 758<sub>n</sub> 759<sub>n</sub> 760 763<sub>1</sub> 771  
 Guter, J. 714<sub>1</sub>  
 Gubernatis, A. de 395<sub>1</sub> 429<sub>1</sub> 456<sub>1</sub> 549<sub>1</sub>  
 622<sub>1</sub>  
 Guillaume, E. 636<sub>1</sub> 636<sub>1</sub> 636<sub>1</sub>  
 Gull 241<sub>1</sub> 344<sub>1</sub>  
 Gundel, W. 548<sub>n</sub>  
 Gurhitt, W. 570<sub>1</sub> 572<sub>1</sub> 573<sub>1</sub> 576<sub>1</sub>  
 Gypsum, image of, containing heart 662  
 Orphic votives smeared with 655<sub>1</sub>  
 Gypsum (cont.)  
 Titans smeared with 656<sub>n</sub> 679 See  
 also Clay  
 Haddon, A. C. 214<sub>1</sub> 291<sub>1</sub> 478<sub>1</sub>  
 Hahn, J. G. von 171<sub>1</sub> 197<sub>1</sub> 239 343<sub>1</sub> 412  
 414 414<sub>1</sub>  
 Haigh, A. E. 248<sub>1</sub> 479<sub>1</sub> 666<sub>1</sub> 667<sub>n</sub> 683<sub>1</sub>  
 699<sub>1</sub>  
 Hair dedicated at puberty 23<sub>n</sub> 593<sub>n</sub> to  
 Artemis 24<sub>n</sub> to Dymnian Nymphs  
 144 to Hippolytos 593<sub>n</sub> to Zeus *Pana-*  
*maros* 23 ff. to Zeus *Téleus* and Ar-  
 temi 25<sub>1</sub>  
 Hair, hero's life in 344 hero's strength in  
 343<sub>1</sub> mode of wearing 23<sub>n</sub> 93 peculiar  
 432 436 f.  
 Halbherr, F. 526<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>1</sub>  
 Hall, H. R. 297<sub>1</sub> 354<sub>1</sub> 362<sub>1</sub> 362<sub>1</sub> 363<sub>1</sub> 472  
 515<sub>1</sub> 632<sub>1</sub> 635<sub>1</sub> 636<sub>1</sub>  
 Halliday, W. R. 211<sub>1</sub> 654<sub>1</sub>  
 Hamdy Bey 742 744 745<sub>1</sub> 746<sub>1</sub> 748<sub>1</sub> 748<sub>1</sub>  
 748<sub>1</sub> 748<sub>1</sub> 750<sub>1</sub>  
 Hamilton, J. 379 382<sub>1</sub> 387  
 Hamilton, Miss M. 167<sub>1</sub> 168<sub>1</sub> 171<sub>1</sub> 172<sub>n</sub>  
 172<sub>1</sub> 172<sub>1</sub> 173<sub>1</sub> 175<sub>1</sub> 175<sub>1</sub> 179<sub>n</sub> 180 180<sub>n</sub>  
 181<sub>1</sub> 182 f. 338<sub>1</sub> 338<sub>n</sub>  
 Hands, A. W. 232<sub>1</sub>  
 Hanging 211 726  
 Han-en 690<sub>1</sub>  
 Hansen 282<sub>1</sub>  
 Hares 526<sub>1</sub>  
 Harpe 441<sub>1</sub>  
 Harper, E. T. 579<sub>1</sub> 579<sub>1</sub>  
 Harris, J. Rendel 157<sub>1</sub> 169<sub>1</sub> 172<sub>1</sub> 177<sub>n</sub> 645  
 651<sub>1</sub> 663<sub>1</sub> 664<sub>1</sub> 760<sub>1</sub> 763<sub>1</sub> 771 775  
 Harrison, Miss J. E. 24<sub>n</sub> 37<sub>1</sub> 84<sub>1</sub> 206<sub>1</sub> 240  
 259<sub>1</sub> 329<sub>1</sub> 330<sub>1</sub> 337<sub>1</sub> 351 358<sub>1</sub> 422<sub>1</sub> 423<sub>1</sub>  
 423<sub>1</sub> 426<sub>1</sub> 427<sub>1</sub> 453<sub>n</sub> 458<sub>1</sub> 459 459<sub>1</sub> 467<sub>1</sub>  
 469<sub>1</sub> 474<sub>1</sub> 483<sub>n</sub> 500<sub>1</sub> 512<sub>n</sub> 512<sub>1</sub> 533<sub>1</sub> 644<sub>n</sub>  
 649<sub>1</sub> 649<sub>1</sub> 650<sub>n</sub> 650<sub>1</sub> 652<sub>1</sub> 655<sub>1</sub> 670 670<sub>n</sub>  
 670<sub>1</sub> 681<sub>1</sub> 687<sub>1</sub> 696<sub>1</sub> 697<sub>1</sub> 698<sub>1</sub> 707<sub>1</sub> 708<sub>1</sub>  
 720<sub>1</sub> 723<sub>1</sub> 768<sub>n</sub>  
 Hartland, E. S. 554<sub>1</sub> 759<sub>n</sub>  
 Hartmann, R. 592<sub>n</sub>  
 Hartung, J. A. 634 63<sub>n</sub>  
 Hartwig, P. 307<sub>n</sub> 697 698<sub>1</sub> 702  
 Hasbick, F. W. 112<sub>1</sub> 391<sub>1</sub>  
 Hassenstein, B. 379<sub>1</sub>  
 Haug, F. 178<sub>n</sub> 619<sub>1</sub>  
 Haupt, M. 149<sub>1</sub>  
 Hauser, A. 129<sub>1</sub>  
 Hauser, F. 129<sub>1</sub> 425<sub>1</sub> 425<sub>1</sub> 426 426<sub>1</sub> 427<sub>1</sub>  
 474<sub>1</sub> 474<sub>1</sub> 526<sub>1</sub> 697<sub>1</sub> 698<sub>1</sub> 701<sub>1</sub> 783  
 Haussonnier, B. 483<sub>1</sub>  
 Haubel, F. 774<sub>1</sub>  
 Hauvette-Besnault, A. 549<sub>1</sub> 550<sub>1</sub>  
 Hawk in Agye mythology 440  
 Hawk of Apollon 241 626<sub>n</sub> of Helios 240 ff.  
 626<sub>n</sub> of Horos 241 341 of Jehovah (?)  
 232<sub>1</sub> of Julian 783 of Kneph 241<sub>1</sub> of  
 Osiris 241 of Ra 241 of Seker 241  
 'Hawks,' worshippers of Mithras called  
 443  
 Hazzidakis, J. 161

- Head, B. V. 19 70 91, 117, 208, 232 235,  
251 275, 281, 296, 305, 305, 306,  
353, 372, 372, 402 403, 449, 463, 463,  
478, 495, 497, 503, 504, 504, 527, 530,  
531, 531, 535, 538, 542, 548 548, 548,  
548, 571, 581, 586, 590, 590, 590, 596,  
598, 599, 599, 600, 602, 602, 623, 624,  
624, 637, 637, 652, 660, 660, 660, 661,  
706, 713, 715, 720, 720, 729, 732, 742,  
752, 752, 753 753, 753, 753, 785  
Headlam, W. 58,  
Heart of Liber in image of gyp-um 662  
Hearth, cult of 330 portable 338,  
Heberdey, R. 597,  
Hecker, A. 455,  
Heiss, A. 309, 637,  
Helbig, W. 57, 57, 57, 99, 202, 204, 243,  
312, 427, 471, 476, 476, 659, 725,  
Helmet 235 571 575 f. 618 f. horned  
511,  
Hemsterhusius, T. 526,  
Henderson, G. 178,  
Henninius, H. C. 289,  
Henry, V. 639,  
Henzen, W. 567, 753,  
Hepding, H. 394, 395, 399, 717,  
Heracleian knot 398  
Hermann, G. 559,  
Hermolaus Barbarus 693,  
Heron 341, 344  
Héron de Villefosse, A. 119, 288, 289,  
Herrlich 203,  
Herrmann, P. 57, 202, 203, 464, 465, 670,  
698, 713,  
Hertlein, F. 178,  
Hertz, W. 81, 81,  
Herwerden, H. van 235, 421, 468, 531,  
531, 547, 686,  
Hettner, F. 100, 178, 289,  
Heuzey, L. 101, 101, 102, 103, 111, 113,  
114 580,  
Heydemann, H. 47, 466, 499, 502, 512,  
592, 697, 698, 701, 702,  
Heyne, C. G. 726, 735,  
Hicks, E. L. 443, 597,  
*Itieropoioi* at Delos 669, Mykonos 668  
Hild, J. A. 678,  
Hill, G. F. 19, 22, 69, 70, 192, 281, 281,  
281, 304, 305, 307 356, 478, 527, 530,  
534, 545, 571, 599, 600, 602, 621, 768,  
Hiller, E. 366,  
Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 117, 141 142,  
143, 144 372, 686, 705, 784  
Hind (?) of Isis 620  
Hind, head of, on 'bâton de commande-  
ment' 703  
Hirschfeld, G. 210, 552, 667,  
Hirschfelder, W. 268,  
Hirt, H. 1, 1, 244, 291, 430, 484,  
Hitzig, H. 622,  
Hoek, K. 524 539,  
Hoernes, M. 291, 325, 430, 507, 512,  
Häschel, D. 701,  
Hofer, O. 18, 18, 18, 19, 20 20, 20, 74,  
75 149, 164, 297, 343, 344, 351, 369,  
Hofer, O. (*cont.*)  
425, 503, 504, 519, 595, 604, 642, 711,  
726, 726, 741,  
Hoffmann, G. 519,  
Hoffmann, O. 16 107, 111, 400, 527, 681,  
Hogarth, D. G. 150, 146 478, 571, 577,  
582, 588, 589 591, 640,  
Hogg, H. W. 190,  
Holder, A. 273,  
Holland, H. 101 103,  
Holland, R. 343, 725,  
Holzinger, C. von 299, 547,  
Hommel, F. 741,  
Homolle, T. 417, 482, 729, 761,  
Honer 469 469, 470 591,  
Hope, T. 501  
Hopf, L. 242, 242, 264 264,  
Hopfner, T. 783 f.  
Hopkins, E. W. 240, 329, 333,  
Hornemann, F. C. 377, 378 383 384,  
Horns as ritual furniture 506 ff. 649, form-  
ing altar 482 513 784 grasped 499 ff.  
harden corn 502, in earthenware 513,  
in stone 513, of altar 507 (see also  
Altar, horned) of bull and of moon  
539, of consecration 506 ff. 649 of  
Seleukos 511,  
Horoscope of Antiochos I of Kommagene  
748 750  
Horses destroy heroes 75 hung into sea  
by Illyrians 181, by Rhodians 181,  
honourific 768, horned 511, kept at  
Hierapolis in Syria 592, solar 333 ff.  
used in *taurokathäpsia* 497 f.  
Horses of Demeter 231, of Helios 231,  
332 f. 784 of Hera 231, of Zagreus  
398 of Zeus 338, 784  
Horses on 'bâton de commandement' 703  
Horses sacrificed to Helios 180 332 f.  
338, to Jupiter *Menzana* 180, to the  
winds 180, to Zeus *Talavitas* (?) 181,  
'Horses,' officials of the Iobakehoi called  
442 officials of the *orgeina* of Euponia  
etc. called 442  
Horse-amulets 336  
Horse-creatures: Satyroi 696 701 f. Si-  
lenoi 696 f. 699 701 f.  
Hoskins, G. A. 379  
Houghton, W. 265  
Hound, golden 720, See also Dog  
Housman, A. E. 727,  
Hovelacque, A. 745,  
How, W. W. 362,  
Huddleston, J. H. 250 f. 251, 252, 512,  
Hulsen, C. 53, 194, 244, 608, 608, 610,  
611, 768,  
Hult, Mrs. C. S. 178,  
Hultsch, F. 16, 54,  
Human sacrifice 70 ff. 75 76 ff. 245, 415 ff.  
465, 491 519 651 652 ff. 657, 659, 659,  
675 693, 695 722 723, substitutes for  
417 651 659 659, 661 f. 695 711 (?) 711,  
Humann, K. 118 139 606, 606, 742 742,  
744, 744, 744, 744, 745, 746, 746, 746,  
746, 748, 748, 748, 748, 750, 750, 750,



- Hunt, A. S. 190<sub>1</sub>  
 Hutton, Miss C. A. 86<sub>1</sub>  
 Hyacinth 625 f.
- Ideler, S. 378<sub>1</sub>  
 Ihn, M. 273<sub>h</sub>  
 Ilberg, J. 345<sub>1</sub>  
 Imhoof-Blumer, F. 68<sub>1</sub>, 68<sub>2</sub>, 69<sub>1</sub>, 69<sub>2</sub>, 70<sub>1</sub>, 117<sub>1</sub>, 278<sub>2</sub>, 297<sub>2</sub>, 298<sub>1</sub>, 449<sub>1</sub>, 467<sub>2</sub>, 503<sub>1</sub>, 527<sub>1</sub>, 535<sub>1</sub>, 542<sub>1</sub>, 586<sub>2</sub>, 586<sub>3</sub>, 586<sub>4</sub>, 586<sub>5</sub>, 590<sub>1</sub>, 590<sub>2</sub>, 590<sub>3</sub>, 597<sub>1</sub>, 598<sub>1</sub>, 600<sub>2</sub>, 600<sub>3</sub>, 600<sub>4</sub>, 602<sub>1</sub>, 604<sub>1</sub>, 623<sub>1</sub>, 637<sub>1</sub>, 642<sub>1</sub>, 670<sub>1</sub>, 674<sub>1</sub>, 704<sub>h</sub>, 706<sub>1</sub>, 706<sub>2</sub>, 710<sub>1</sub>, 713<sub>1</sub>, 742<sub>1</sub>, 742<sub>2</sub>, 753<sub>2</sub>, 785<sub>1</sub>  
 Immerwahr, W. 63<sub>h</sub>, 73<sub>h</sub>, 76<sub>2</sub>, 372<sub>1</sub>  
 Immisch, O. 107<sub>2</sub>, 241<sub>1</sub>, 650<sub>1</sub>  
 Immortality conferred by milk of Hera 624  
 Impaling 211  
 Impersonation of Adonis by priestly kings or princes 651 of Aphrodite by Iobakchoi 679<sub>17</sub> of Bakchai by women 657<sub>1</sub> of Boukoloi by dancers 679<sub>1</sub> of Demeter by empress etc. 228 228<sub>1</sub> of Dionysos by Antinoos 714<sub>1</sub> by Iobakchoi 679<sub>17</sub> by king (?) 709<sub>1</sub> by priest 710 of Dio-kouroi by Aristomenes and friend 764<sub>1</sub> of Epiktestis by woman 537 of Hera by heroines (?) 248 453 f. by priestesses 22 453 f. of Herakles by king (?) 709<sub>1</sub> of Iupiter by emperors 43<sub>1</sub>, 46 f., 276<sub>1</sub>, 751<sub>1</sub> by triumphing general 58 f. of Kabeirot by emperors 108<sub>1</sub>, 715<sub>2</sub> of Kore by Iobakchoi 679<sub>17</sub> of Korymbantes by dancers 679<sub>1</sub> of Mithras by king (?) 742<sub>1</sub> of Palaimon by Iobakchoi 679<sub>17</sub> of Panes by men and boys 657<sub>1</sub> of Satyroi by dancers 679<sub>1</sub> by men and boys 657<sub>1</sub>, 696 ff. of Titanes by dancers 679<sub>1</sub> of Triptolemos by emperor etc. 228 228<sub>1</sub> of Tyche by king 744 746<sub>h</sub> of Zagreus by human victim (?) 657 of Zeus by emperors 278 547 f. 781 (?) by great man 280 by heroes 139 (?) 247 f. (?) 527<sub>1</sub> (?) 737 (?) by kings 57 f. 279 f. 742<sub>1</sub>, 748 ff. by poet 131 131<sub>2</sub> by priest 22 by prince 51 547  
 Impregnation by means of dew 733 by means of fire 651<sub>h</sub>  
 Inauguration of kings in Tireconnell 678  
 Incubation 407<sub>1</sub>, 503 522<sub>1</sub> cp. 593<sub>h</sub>  
 Inghirami, F. 707<sub>2</sub>  
 Initiates as husbands of the deity 394 ff. 649<sub>1</sub> as wives of the deity 396 become one with their deity (*ἐνθεοί*) 673  
 Initiation at Eleusis (?) 423 ff. by fire (?) 211<sub>1</sub> in rites of Sabazios 392<sub>1</sub> of Zagreus 648 ff. of Zeus *Idaios* 648 ff.  
 Initiation of the Dioskouroi 219 ff. of Herakles 219 ff.  
 Iron, double axe of 648 f. meteoric (?) 632<sub>1</sub> sky made of 632<sub>1</sub> tabooed 649<sub>1</sub> terrestrial in relation to celestial 632<sub>1</sub>  
 See also Mines
- Iron and the planet Ares 625<sub>1</sub>, 626 626<sub>1</sub>, and the planet Hermes 626<sub>1</sub>, and Iupiter *Dolichennus* 630 ff.  
 'I-land-stones' 703 f. cp. 500  
 Ivy worshipped as Dionysos 671<sub>h</sub>  
 Ivy-leaves or -sprays 565 654 671 707<sub>2</sub>  
 Ivy-wreath in rites of Dionysos 374 671<sub>h</sub>, 672 672<sub>1</sub>, 672<sub>2</sub>, 697<sub>1</sub>, 699<sub>h</sub>, 707<sub>2</sub>, 715 of Liber 693<sub>1</sub> of Orphic Dionysos (?) 655 of Sabazios (?) 392<sub>1</sub>  
*Ignis*-wheel 226 243 253 ff., 296 342 783
- Jablon-ki, P. E. 432<sub>1</sub>  
 Jackdaw of Ares, the planet 626<sub>1</sub>  
 Jacobs-son, J. K. G. 773<sub>1</sub>  
 Jacoby, F. 72<sub>1</sub>, 73<sub>1</sub>  
 Jahn, O. 59<sub>1</sub>, 60<sub>1</sub>, 60<sub>2</sub>, 63<sub>1</sub>, 95<sub>1</sub>, 253<sub>1</sub>, 336<sub>1</sub>, 512<sub>1</sub>, 526<sub>1</sub>, 530<sub>1</sub>, 531<sub>1</sub>, 634<sub>1</sub>, 640<sub>1</sub>, 696<sub>1</sub>, 698<sub>1</sub>  
 Jaisle, K. 763<sub>1</sub>, 764<sub>1</sub>, 766<sub>2</sub>, 772<sub>1</sub>, 775 775<sub>2</sub>, 775<sub>3</sub>, 775<sub>4</sub>, 775<sub>5</sub>  
 Jal, A. 775<sub>1</sub>  
 James, E. B. 588<sub>1</sub>  
 Jameson, R. 305<sub>1</sub>  
 Jan, L. 73<sub>1</sub>, 234<sub>1</sub>, 436<sub>1</sub>  
 Janiform deity on coins of Mallos 297 f.  
 Jastrow, M. 207<sub>1</sub>, 237<sub>1</sub>, 549<sub>1</sub>, 553<sub>1</sub>, 576<sub>1</sub>, 578 f., 578<sub>1</sub>, 580 f. 580<sub>2</sub>, 581 603<sub>1</sub>, 606<sub>1</sub>, 644<sub>1</sub>, 644<sub>2</sub>, 645<sub>1</sub>, 645<sub>2</sub>, 755<sub>1</sub>, 756<sub>2</sub>, 756<sub>3</sub>, 756<sub>4</sub>, 756<sub>5</sub>, 771<sub>2</sub>  
 Jebb, R. C. 198<sub>1</sub>, 324<sub>1</sub>, 502<sub>1</sub>  
 Jenner, Mis H. 40<sub>1</sub>, 233<sub>1</sub>  
 Jennings-Bramley, W. 379<sub>1</sub>  
 Jensen, P. 579 579<sub>1</sub>, 595 755<sub>1</sub>, 759<sub>1</sub>, 771<sub>2</sub>  
 Jeremias, A. 230<sub>1</sub>, 549<sub>1</sub>, 553<sub>1</sub>, 576<sub>1</sub>, 579<sub>1</sub>, 605<sub>2</sub>, 639<sub>1</sub>, 645<sub>1</sub>, 645<sub>2</sub>, 756<sub>1</sub>, 771<sub>2</sub>  
 Jessen, O. 17<sub>1</sub>, 32 107<sub>1</sub>, 290<sub>1</sub>, 541<sub>1</sub>, 542<sub>1</sub>, 640<sub>1</sub>, 670<sub>2</sub>, 695<sub>1</sub>, 706<sub>1</sub>, 721<sub>1</sub>  
 Jevons, F. B. 211<sub>1</sub>, 397<sub>1</sub>  
 Johns, C. H. W. 553<sub>1</sub>, 577<sub>1</sub>, 632<sub>1</sub>  
 Joly, N. 325<sub>1</sub>, 326<sub>1</sub>  
 Joinard 379<sub>1</sub>  
 Jones, H. Stuart 659<sub>1</sub>  
 Jordan, H. 53<sub>1</sub>, 58<sub>1</sub>, 194<sub>1</sub>, 271<sub>1</sub>, 608<sub>2</sub>, 608<sub>3</sub>, 608<sub>4</sub>, 611<sub>1</sub>, 677<sub>1</sub>, 712<sub>1</sub>, 714<sub>1</sub>, 768<sub>1</sub>  
 Jordan, W. 379<sub>1</sub>, 380<sub>1</sub>  
 Judeich, W. 149<sub>1</sub>, 666<sub>1</sub>, 668<sub>1</sub>, 726<sub>1</sub>, 727<sub>1</sub>  
 Julius, L. 708<sub>1</sub>  
 'Jupiter-columns' 178<sub>1</sub>  
 Jurgiewicz, V. 63<sub>h</sub>
- Kabbadias, P. 360<sub>1</sub>, 360<sub>2</sub>, 361  
 Kaegi, A. 329<sub>1</sub>  
 Kaibel, G. 5<sub>1</sub>, 453<sub>1</sub>  
 Kalkmann, A. 204<sub>1</sub>  
 Kan, A. H. 601<sub>1</sub>, 601<sub>2</sub>, 606<sub>1</sub>, 607<sub>1</sub>, 607<sub>2</sub>, 607<sub>3</sub>, 607<sub>4</sub>, 608<sub>2</sub>, 608<sub>3</sub>, 608<sub>4</sub>, 609<sub>1</sub>, 609<sub>2</sub>, 609<sub>3</sub>, 610<sub>2</sub>, 610<sub>3</sub>, 610<sub>4</sub>, 611<sub>1</sub>, 611<sub>2</sub>, 611<sub>3</sub>, 612<sub>1</sub>, 612<sub>2</sub>, 614<sub>1</sub>, 614<sub>2</sub>, 615<sub>1</sub>, 615<sub>2</sub>, 615<sub>3</sub>, 616<sub>1</sub>, 616<sub>2</sub>, 617<sub>1</sub>, 618<sub>1</sub>, 619<sub>1</sub>, 619<sub>2</sub>, 620<sub>1</sub>, 620<sub>2</sub>, 628<sub>1</sub>, 628<sub>2</sub>, 629<sub>1</sub>, 630<sub>1</sub>, 630<sub>2</sub>, 630<sub>3</sub>, 631<sub>1</sub>, 631<sub>2</sub>, 633<sub>1</sub>, 633<sub>2</sub>  
*Kandidatus* 608<sub>1</sub>  
 Karo, G. 646<sub>1</sub>, 762<sub>1</sub>  
 Kay, C. de 240<sub>1</sub>  
 Kekulé von Stradonitz, R. 86<sub>1</sub>, 279<sub>1</sub>, 280<sub>1</sub>, 598<sub>1</sub>

- Keller, O. 222<sub>6</sub> 273<sub>6</sub> 347<sub>1</sub> 527<sub>1</sub> 600<sub>2</sub> 600<sub>1</sub> 600<sub>1</sub> 604<sub>1</sub> 623<sub>1</sub> 704<sub>1</sub> 785  
 Kemble, J. M. 287<sub>1</sub>  
 Kennett, R. H. 425<sub>1</sub> 599  
 Kenyon, F. G. 67<sub>1</sub> 190<sub>2</sub> 234<sub>1</sub> 234<sub>1</sub>  
*Keraethes* 506  
*Keratesseis* 506  
 Kerler, D. H. 182<sub>1</sub> 775<sub>1</sub>  
 Kern, O. 109 f. 176<sub>1</sub> 222 f. 225<sub>6</sub> 339<sub>1</sub> 441<sub>1</sub> 442<sub>1</sub> 450<sub>1</sub> 502<sub>1</sub> 664<sub>1</sub> 671<sub>6</sub> 681<sub>1</sub> 690<sub>1</sub> 704<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>2</sub>  
*Kestis* of Aphrodite *Ourania* 583 of Atargatis 583  
 Kid. Adonis-worshipper as 675 Dionysos as 674 f. Dionysos-worshipper as 675 ff. Orphic votary as 675 ff. 785 represented on altar 707 See also Goat  
 Kiepert, H. 610<sub>1</sub> 611<sub>1</sub>  
 King, L. W. 262<sub>1</sub>  
 King as priest 8 595 641<sub>1</sub> 651 called Zeus 247 (?) 545<sub>1</sub> 547 (?) 662 737 (?) divinity of 131 139 547 f. 587 held responsible for weather and crops 79 pretends to be animal 678 cp. 496 put to death in time of drought etc. 79 substitute for life of 79 f. 651  
 Kings of Corinth regarded as embodiments of Zeus (?) 247 f. 737 of Egypt masked as lions, bulls, snakes etc. 496 of Pontos swear by Tyche *Bastilos* and Men *Pharnikou* 642 of Tinnonell, inauguration of 678  
 Kingsley, Miss M. H. 323<sub>1</sub>  
 Kips, A. 118<sub>1</sub>  
 Kirchhoff, A. 233<sub>1</sub>  
*Kiste* of Demeter 425 of Dionysos 565 684<sub>1</sub> of Iupiter *Helopolitannus* (?) 552<sub>2</sub> of Sarapis 360  
 Klapproth, H. J. von 186<sub>1</sub>  
 Klein, W. 92<sub>1</sub> 494<sub>1</sub> 696<sub>1</sub> 710<sub>1</sub>  
 Klement, K. 170<sub>1</sub>  
 Kluegmann, A. 202<sub>1</sub> 202<sub>2</sub> 712<sub>1</sub> 712<sub>2</sub>  
 Kluge, F. 243<sub>1</sub> 775<sub>1</sub>  
 Knaack, G. 310<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>1</sub> 453<sub>1</sub> 453<sub>2</sub>  
*Knickauf* 204<sub>1</sub> 296  
 Knuckle-bone as symbol at Tausos 596  
 Koch, M. 118<sub>1</sub>  
 Koehler, R. 786  
 Koehler, U. 667<sub>1</sub>  
 Koldewey, R. 512<sub>1</sub>  
 Kondylakes, I. D. 163  
 Kontopoulos, K. 83  
 Korios, A. 16<sub>1</sub> 16<sub>2</sub>  
 Kornemann, E. 550<sub>1</sub>  
 Koerte, A. 4<sub>2</sub> 53<sub>1</sub> 136  
 Koerte, G. 53<sub>2</sub> 261<sub>1</sub> 261<sub>2</sub> 262<sub>1</sub> 699<sub>1</sub> 702  
 Korthitner, F. N. 230<sub>1</sub> 555<sub>1</sub> 723<sub>1</sub>  
 Koumoutos, K. 81 81<sub>1</sub> 81<sub>2</sub> 82<sub>1</sub> 83 83<sub>2</sub> 84 87 87<sub>1</sub> 87<sub>2</sub>  
 Kramer, G. 16<sub>1</sub> 16<sub>2</sub> 16<sub>3</sub> 667<sub>1</sub>  
*Kratér* in rites of Sabazios 392<sub>1</sub>  
 Krause, E. 485<sub>1</sub> 488 489 489<sub>1</sub> 489<sub>2</sub> 489<sub>3</sub> 489<sub>4</sub>  
 Krencker, D. 562<sub>2</sub>  
*Krokopia* of Ap-syrtos 680 Liber 661 f. Pelias 245 679 Pelops 679 ram 245  
*Krokopia* (cont.)  
 Romulus 656<sub>2</sub> 694<sub>1</sub> Zagreus 657 ff. 694<sub>1</sub> cp. 661 f.  
 Krtschmer, P. 400<sub>1</sub> 696<sub>1</sub> 696<sub>2</sub> 697<sub>1</sub> 697<sub>2</sub> 697<sub>3</sub>  
 Kroll, W. 264<sub>1</sub> 758<sub>1</sub>  
*Któs* 634<sub>1</sub>  
 Kubitschek, W. 268<sub>1</sub> 633<sub>1</sub> 714<sub>1</sub>  
 Kugler, F. X. 755<sub>11</sub> 756<sub>1</sub>  
 Kuhn, A. 242 313<sub>1</sub> 323 325 329<sub>1</sub> 330<sub>1</sub> 330<sub>2</sub> 333<sub>1</sub> 333<sub>2</sub>  
 Kuhn, E. 287<sub>1</sub>  
 Kuhnert, E. 696<sub>1</sub> 697<sub>1</sub> 701<sub>1</sub> 702<sub>1</sub>  
 Kumanudis, S. A. 668<sub>1</sub>  
 Kuster, E. 784  
 Kuster, L. 362<sub>1</sub> 675  
 Labatut, E. 634<sub>1</sub>  
 Laborde, A. de 226<sub>1</sub>  
 Labyrinth, distribution of 490 evolution of 472 ff. as design on state robes of emperors 484 as mosaic in *basilica* at Orleansville 484 as mosaic etc. in continental churches 485 f. 490 as stone maze in northern Europe 488 ff. as turf maze in Great Britain 486 ff. 490 See also Index I  
 Lady Day compared with City Dionysia 681  
 Lafaye, G. 188<sub>1</sub> 209 ff.  
 Lagarde, P. de 746<sub>2</sub>  
 Lagercrantz, O. 697<sub>1</sub>  
*Lagobolon* 736<sub>1</sub> See also Crook  
 Lagrange, M. J. 496<sub>1</sub> 508<sub>1</sub>  
 Laistner, L. 199<sub>1</sub>  
 Lajard, F. 208 209<sub>1</sub> 262<sub>1</sub> 558<sub>1</sub> 558<sub>2</sub> 572<sub>1</sub> 577<sub>1</sub> 590<sub>1</sub> 590<sub>2</sub> 605<sub>2</sub> 649<sub>1</sub>  
 Lalanue, G. 500  
 Lamb, golden 405 ff. 430 467 purple 405 f. 467 scarlet 404 white 763  
 Lambropoulos, A. 624<sub>1</sub>  
 Lamp, perpetual 170  
 Lanz, A. 496<sub>1</sub>  
 Langdon 580<sub>1</sub> 580<sub>2</sub>  
 Lancel 377<sub>1</sub> 377<sub>2</sub> 377<sub>3</sub> 377<sub>4</sub> 377<sub>5</sub> 378<sub>1</sub> 378<sub>2</sub> 378<sub>3</sub>  
 Langlois, V. 597<sub>1</sub>  
 Lanzoni, R. 346<sub>1</sub> 347<sub>2</sub> 348<sub>1</sub> 448<sub>1</sub> 431<sub>1</sub> 431<sub>2</sub> 437<sub>1</sub> 497<sub>2</sub> 515<sub>1</sub>  
 Lucher 432<sub>1</sub>  
 Lufeld, W. 608<sub>1</sub>  
 Lütjehmann, H. 705<sub>1</sub>  
 Latschew, W. 668<sub>1</sub>  
 Lauer, J. F. 64<sub>1</sub>  
 Lemaire, L. de 632<sub>1</sub>  
 Lemaire, See Bay  
 Lawson, J. C. 81<sub>1</sub> 115<sub>1</sub> 168<sub>2</sub> 171<sub>1</sub> 173<sub>1</sub> 175<sub>1</sub> 338<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>1</sub> 412<sub>2</sub> 450<sub>1</sub> 694  
 Layard, A. H. 207<sub>1</sub> 207<sub>2</sub> 577<sub>1</sub>  
 Lead figures from Barabek 570<sub>1</sub> divining wheel 285 in relation to Hermes, the planet 626<sub>1</sub> to Kronos, the planet 625 f. 626<sub>1</sub>  
 Leaf, W. 25<sub>1</sub>  
 Leake, W. M. 371<sub>1</sub>

- Leap, Lencadian 344 ff. Trojan 483.  
 Le Bas, P. 193 642, 730, 742.  
 Lee, S. 550.  
 Leemans, C. 623.  
 Legrand, A. 666, 697.  
 Lehmann, P. 750.  
 Leumann-Haupt, C. F. 188; 188; 233, 584.  
 Lenoir, C. 212; 214 216 218 223, 335, 699, 754.  
 Lenoir, F. 173, 175, 227, 227, 402 423 426, 465, 569, 659, 666, 707.  
 Leonhard, W. 394, 641.  
 Leonine deities 571.  
 Leopard 398.  
 Lepsius, C. R. 233 362 387, 523.  
 Leroux, G. 474.  
 Leubuscher, R. 81.  
 Lévesque, P. C. 254.  
 Levezow, C. v. 714.  
 Levy, I. 106, 188.  
 Levv, M. A. 555.  
 Lidzbarski, M. 519.  
 Lightning, ball- (?) 773.  
 Lightning as the arrows of Ilya 184 as the eye of Kyklopes (?) 313, as the eye of Zeus 196, as the lance of Ilya 184 in relation to the sun 578 f. 578.  
 Lightning, man struck by, thought lucky 186 or divined 459.  
 Lightning-charm 259.  
*Liknon* in rites of Demeter and Persephone 426 of Sabazio 392.  
 Lilies in relation to Ammon 623 Aphrodite 623 Hera 624 Iupiter *Dolicheneus* 616 621 ff. ep. 620 Persephone 624, Selene (?) 336 Timä 622 f. Zeus 622 f. 736, Zeus, the planet 624 ff.  
 Limbs, votive 645 f. 646.  
 Lincoln, F. W. 268.  
 Lindsay, W. M. 677.  
 Lion, hono. 768, lunar 456 f. solar 230 f. 235 (?) 771, 625, 626 star-spangled 748 750 winged and horned 599 f.  
 Lion, fore-part of, worn by dancer 704, by kings of Egypt 196 metamorphosis into 687.  
 Lioness 429, 599, 603.  
 Lions of Atargatis 553 Chupa 526, Gen-narios 571, Gilgames 645 Helios 625, 626 Kike 242, Mother of the gods 553 Nemea 456 f. Phanes 311 398, Zagreus 398 Zeus 398, Zeus, the planet 626.  
 Lions kept at Hierapolis in Syria 592, represented at Nemrud Dagh 746 748 at Tarsos 596.  
 'Lions' and 'Lionesses,' worshippers of Mithras called 443.  
 Lion-skin on which Herakles sits 426.  
 Lippert, P. D. 538.  
 Litters, gods carried on 552 609.  
 Littmann, E. 519, 519, 520.  
*Lituo* 86 f. 904, 636 636, 641.  
 Lobeck, C. A. 234, 311, 311, 311, 321, 398, 421, 457, 625, 647, 647, 656.  
 Loe-cheke, G. 617, 618, 619, 620 620, 620.  
 Louches, G. D. de 309.  
 Lommel, Miss H. L. 214.  
 Lotus-buds 645 770 770.  
 Lotus-column 768 770.  
 Lotus-flower 574.  
 Lotus-work 336.  
 Love-charm 253 ff.  
 Low, I. 725.  
 Lucius, E. 168.  
 Luckenbach, H. 761.  
 Ludwig, A. 67, 626, 631.  
 Ludwig, E. 282, 282.  
 Lupke, T. von 556, 556, 556, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564.  
 Lu-chan, F. von 742 748.  
 Luyne, Honore d'Albert duc de 232, 599, 622, 707.  
 Lycian symbol 299 ff. 342.  
 Maass, E. 144 169, 175, 321, 350, 442, 667, 785 f.  
 McLean, J. R. 217, 291, 305, 306, 371, 532, 601, 661.  
 MacCulloch, J. A. 239, 321, 639.  
 Macdonald, G. 102, 232, 278, 463, 497, 527, 601.  
 Macdonell, A. A. 240, 329, 333, 341, 718.  
 Mackay, E. 472, 507, 619.  
 Mackrodt 68, 113.  
 McLean, N. 555, 599, 782.  
 Macpherson, J. R. 177.  
 Maerdy, T. 442, 745.  
 Madden, F. W. 293, 296.  
 Madden 625, 626.  
 Maddox, H. E. 325.  
 Maeander-pattern 475 ff.  
 Magic 11 ff. as an expression of will-power 11 f. in relation to personality 12, not prior to religion 13, 776 in Homeric poems 14.  
 Magical encls-243 dances 703 f. disks 285, 783 drums (?) 650, horn (?) 500 rattles (?) 512, ring 329, shield (?) 512, stones 445, 563, wand 441.  
 Magician, role of 12 Zeus as 14, 758 776.  
 Mahaffy, J. P. 772.  
 Mai, A. 324.  
 Malan, S. C. 178.  
 Malton, L. 550, 372, 782.  
*Mama* 12, 634.  
 Mannhardt, W. 63, 63, 287 287, 288, 233, 523, 677.  
 Marellus, Count de 197.  
 Mar, sacrifice of white, in Tucconell 678.  
 Maret, R. R. 9, 12, 27.  
 Mariette, A. 434.  
 Marindin, G. E. 482, 717, 733.  
 Markland, J. 553.  
 Marquand, A. 292, 480, 751.

- Marriage of Dionysos with *Basilinna* at Athens 672<sub>0</sub>, 686 709 f. of Hittite father-god with mother-goddess 604<sub>10</sub>, of Kadmos with Harmonia 540 of Phrygian mother-goddess with worshipper 394 ff. of Sky and Earth in Crete 526 ff. 543 in Greece 733 in India 718, of Sun and Moon in Crete 521 ff. 543 of Zeus with Europe in Crete 526 ff. 543 with Hera at Argos 22, in Crete 522 f. on Mt Ide 708, at Panamara 21 f. of Zeus *Sabazios* with worshipper 396
- Marshall, F. H. 81, 285, 336 628<sub>2</sub>
- Martin, T. H. 772, 773
- Martin, E. 758<sub>2</sub>
- Marzocchi, O. 610<sub>1</sub>
- Masks in Carnival-plays 694 at Rural Dionysia (?) 688, in Satyr-plays 700, 701, cp. 697, in Tragedy 678, votive, from Anthedon (?) 697
- Masks of Dionysos 671 of Minotaur 490 ff. of Zeus 56<sub>1</sub>
- Maspero, Sir G. 197, 208, 262<sub>6</sub>, 308, 314<sub>0</sub>, 315, 315<sub>0</sub>, 316, 341 341<sub>1</sub>, 341<sub>0</sub>, 341, 350<sub>0</sub>, 362, 362, 363, 387, 432, 434<sub>11</sub>, 496 553, 576, 579 635<sub>12</sub>, 636<sub>2</sub>
- Matz, F. 153, 222 708<sub>1</sub>, 709<sub>1</sub>
- Mau, A. 57, 203, 465<sub>0</sub>
- Maundrell, H. 588
- Maury, L. F. A. 64, 66, 103<sub>2</sub>
- May-day festival, Carnival-plays at 120<sub>1</sub>, 694 miller and sweep at 689 690<sub>0</sub>, *protomani* at 338 f.
- May-garland 338 ff. 492 525
- May-pole 291 339 526<sub>0</sub>
- Mayer, M. 76, 227, 289, 298, 302, 320 344, 410, 462 497, 655, 671 722, 723, 727, 733<sub>10</sub>, 734
- Mayor, J. B. 366<sub>2</sub>
- Mayor, J. E. B. 59, 283<sub>0</sub>
- Maze evolved from *enastika* 476 f. See also Labyrinth
- Megalithic remains 490
- Meineke, A. 280, 280<sub>1</sub>, 461<sub>0</sub>, 660, 702, 717<sub>2</sub>
- Meissner 207<sub>0</sub>
- Mekler, S. 726<sub>1</sub>
- Meltzer, H. 355 ff. 361<sub>7</sub>
- Menant, J. 209
- Mercklin, L. 726
- Merkel, R. 727<sub>1</sub>
- Merry, W. W. 320<sub>0</sub>
- Messerschmidt, L. 594<sub>1</sub>, 604<sub>10</sub>
- Metamorphosis into animal sometimes implies animal-priesthood 453 into birds 727 See also Shape-shifting
- Metamorphosis into ant 533<sub>0</sub>, babe 398 f., bear 422 bull 393 398 f., 438 f., 458 f., 464 468 472 499 527<sub>0</sub>, 535<sub>1</sub>, 537<sub>11</sub>, 541 647 660 f., 681<sub>1</sub>, 736 739 f., cow 438 ff., 445 451 453 453<sub>2</sub>, 455, 462 470 532 540 f. (?) 549, 675, 739 f. dog 455, dove 367 583, eagle 164, 279, 311 527<sub>1</sub> (?) 532 544<sub>0</sub>, 755, fish 279, 584<sub>0</sub>, fly (?) 532 533<sub>0</sub>, gad-fly (?) 532<sub>10</sub>, goat
- Metamorphosis (*cont.*)
- 674 f. goose 279, 760, gull 241<sub>11</sub>, hawk 241 342 725, heron 344 horse 398 kid 671 f. lamb (?) 412 414 leopard 398, lion 398 398<sub>1</sub>, man with bull's horns 398<sub>1</sub>, partridge 342 f. 726 ff. peacock 440, puppy 455, quail 544, rain 411 ram 370<sub>1</sub>, 418<sub>0</sub>, 419 422 f., 428 430 467 (?) 675, Satyr 734 ff. sea-eagle 344 serpent 112, 113 270, 279, 358 f. 392 394 396 398 398<sub>1</sub>, 401 402 (?) 403 428 shepherd 104 star 544, 760 778 stone 440, stranger 79, swan 279, 760, 763, 770 tiger 398 vulture 106 working-man 79, wryneck 440, youth 398 Zeus 398 f. 647
- Metempsychosis 687<sub>0</sub>
- Meteorites 520, 521<sub>0</sub>
- Meyer, E. 19, 64, 71, 190, 237, 308, 345<sub>1</sub>, 347, 354, 354<sub>1</sub>, 354<sub>2</sub>, 435 553, 553<sub>1</sub>, 595<sub>1</sub>, 604, 616, 722<sub>0</sub>
- Meyer, E. H. 1, 199, 321, 333<sub>2</sub>
- Meyer, L. 273, 299, 328<sub>1</sub>, 345, 438, 534, 634, 687<sub>0</sub>
- Meyer, R. M. 333<sub>1</sub>
- Meyer, W. 485, 496<sub>2</sub>
- Mice eat gold 632, eat iron 632, in rites of Zeus *Sabazios* 424 f. cp. pl. xxvii pursued by Glaukos 469
- Michaelis, A. 42 128, 173, 204, 502, 760<sub>1</sub>, 769<sub>2</sub>
- Michel, C. 424, 668, 672, 715, 716, 762<sub>2</sub>
- Michel, K. 175<sub>1</sub>
- Mid-summer fires 180 285 ff. 338 f. 341 525
- Migliorini, A. M. 338, 741<sub>2</sub>
- Migne, J. P. 106<sub>2</sub>
- Milani, L. A. 53, 53, 467, 592, 645<sub>1</sub>, 645<sub>0</sub>, 704<sub>2</sub>
- Milchhofer, A. 145 704<sub>0</sub>
- Miles, C. A. 693<sub>1</sub>
- Miliatakis, S. 527<sub>1</sub>
- Milk of Hera confers immortality 624 in Dionysiac rites (?) 676 f. in rites of *Iup-rei* 677, in Orphic rites 675 ff. 785 ritual boiling of 676 785 f.
- Miller, W. 480<sub>1</sub>
- Miller 638
- Millin, A. L. 501<sub>0</sub>, 590<sub>1</sub>
- Millingen, J. 625<sub>1</sub>
- Minerva, G. 39, 671
- Mines, gold- 632 cp. 418 iron- 630 ff. silver- 631 f.
- Mint 257<sub>2</sub>
- Minutoli, H. von 366, 379 382, 383 384 385 387
- Monnet, T. E. 558
- Mirror as toy of Liber 661 held by eagle on Mt Olympos 104
- Mirrors, Etruscan 204 622 f. 623, 735<sub>1</sub>, 766 ff. Greek 247
- Mithraic cult modified into solar monotheism 166 myth reconstructed from monuments 516 ff.
- Mosk, E. 116<sub>2</sub>

- Möller, H. 541<sub>2</sub>  
 Mommsen, A. 220<sub>1</sub> 421 672<sub>1</sub> 673 676<sub>1</sub> 681<sub>2</sub>  
     681<sub>1</sub> 682<sub>2</sub> 683<sub>2</sub> 683<sub>1</sub> 683<sub>1</sub> 684<sub>1</sub> 686<sub>2</sub> 686<sub>1</sub>  
     686<sub>1</sub> 687<sub>1</sub> 687<sub>1</sub> 689<sub>1</sub> 693 693 733 734<sub>1</sub>  
 Mommsen, Th. 103<sub>1</sub> 109<sub>1</sub> 608<sub>1</sub> 630<sub>1</sub> 690<sub>2</sub>  
     693<sub>1</sub> 712<sub>1</sub> 782  
 Moudhilder or Mondsichel 507  
 Montagn, H. 712<sub>1</sub>  
 Montelius, O. 620<sub>1</sub>  
 Montfaucon, B. de 192<sub>1</sub> 235<sub>1</sub> 235<sub>2</sub> 268<sub>2</sub>  
     289<sub>1</sub> 450<sub>1</sub>  
 Months, intercalary, in *aktuturis* 692  
     in *trictoris* 690 ff.  
 Montezum 572<sub>1</sub>  
 Moon as cow 236 470(?) 521 ff. as eye  
     of Horos 315 of Nut 314 of Zeus 197  
 Moon called by many names in France,  
     Germany, Greece 739 identified with  
     Zeus 197 cp. 400<sub>1</sub> 730 ff. 731<sub>1</sub> in rela-  
     tion to Zeus 730 ff. regarded as mascu-  
     line 730<sub>1</sub>  
 Moon, man in the 470  
 Moon and bull 431 455<sub>1</sub> 455<sub>2</sub> 455<sub>3</sub> 455<sub>4</sub>  
     456<sub>1</sub> 518<sub>2</sub> 539  
 Moon-charm(?) 253  
 Mordtmann, J. H. 742<sub>1</sub>  
 Morell, A. 538<sub>1</sub> 785  
 Moret, A. 496  
 Morgan, J. de 205<sub>1</sub>  
 Morin-Jean 620<sub>1</sub>  
 Mosaic at Athens 480 at Brading 56<sub>1</sub> 782  
     at Palermo 735<sub>1</sub> from Pompei 56<sub>2</sub>  
     from Sarsina 56<sub>2</sub> of Minotaur 477<sub>1</sub>  
     484 ff. 489 ff.  
 Moser, G. H. 457<sub>1</sub>  
 Mosso, A. 479<sub>1</sub> 497<sub>1</sub> 507<sub>1</sub> 513<sub>12</sub>  
 Mother-kin, shift from, to father-kin  
     396  
 Moulton, J. H. 10<sub>1</sub> 190<sub>1</sub> 190<sub>2</sub> 240<sub>1</sub> 741<sub>1</sub>  
     744<sub>1</sub> 745<sub>1</sub> 746<sub>2</sub> 781  
 Mountain as birth-place of Zeus 148 ff.  
     731<sub>1</sub> 776 as burial-place of Zeus 157 ff.  
     777 cp. 742 ff. as marriage-place of  
     Zeus 154 ff. 776 f. as throne of Zeus  
     124 ff. 776 dedicated to Zeus 102<sub>1</sub> 520<sub>2</sub>  
     represented by pyramid(?) 603 by  
     zikkurat 603  
 Mountain-cults of Hathor 515 of Zeus  
     117 ff. 776 cp. 399  
 Mourning for Isis 581<sub>12</sub> for ram 318  
 Mouse See Mice  
 Movers, F. C. 603<sub>1</sub>  
 Mud, bull-shine of 508 ff. See also  
     Clay  
 Mueller, D. 320<sub>1</sub> 322 741<sub>1</sub>  
 Mulberry-tree 470  
 Mules 448<sub>1</sub> 696<sub>1</sub>  
 Müller, C. 72<sub>1</sub> 72<sub>2</sub> 74<sub>1</sub> 302<sub>1</sub> 367<sub>1</sub> 452<sub>1</sub> 541<sub>1</sub>  
 Müller, G. A. 178<sub>1</sub>  
 Müller, H. D. 63<sub>1</sub> 459  
 Müller, K. O. 64<sub>1</sub> 66<sub>1</sub> 228<sub>1</sub> 345 345<sub>2</sub> 616<sub>1</sub>  
     619<sub>1</sub> 698<sub>1</sub>  
 Müller, L. 90 92<sub>1</sub> 301 371<sub>1</sub> 373 373<sub>12</sub>  
     502<sub>1</sub>  
 Müller, S. 289<sub>1</sub> 430  
 Müller, W. Max 635<sub>12</sub>  
 Muncker, T. 419<sub>1</sub>  
 Mumo, N. Gordon 291<sub>1</sub> 302<sub>1</sub> 305<sub>1</sub> 482<sub>1</sub>  
 Munsterberg, R. 617<sub>2</sub> 617<sub>1</sub> 618<sub>1</sub> 618<sub>2</sub>  
 Mure, Col. W. 155 f.  
 Murray, A. S. 494<sub>1</sub>  
 Murray, G. 14<sub>1</sub> 15<sub>1</sub> 15<sub>2</sub> 258<sub>1</sub> 634 649<sub>1</sub> 650<sub>1</sub>  
     67<sub>12</sub> 680 f. 680<sub>1</sub> 686<sub>1</sub> 695 f. 705  
 Mu-grave, S. 459<sub>1</sub>  
 Ma-mus, M. 677<sub>1</sub>  
 Myers, F. W. H. 283<sub>1</sub>  
 Myes, J. L. 472<sub>10</sub>  
 Myrth 591<sub>2</sub>  
 Myrtle-wreath at Argive festival 446, at  
     Hellotia 525 of Europe 525 of Hera-  
     kles 220  
 Mysteries at Atria 219 ff. in Crete 402  
     646 ff. 690 ff. at Eleusis 219 ff. 609 on  
     Mt Helikon 672 on Mt Kithairon 672  
     at Melite 219 ff. in Mykonos 668 on  
     mountains of Odrysai and Thracians  
     672 on Mt Olympo 107 110 f. at  
     Panamara 21 in Phrygia 390 ff. at  
     Tralleis 535<sub>1</sub>  
 Mysteries of Demeter 443 668 of Deo 650,  
     of Dionysos 166 441 f. 457 672 690  
     692 f. of Hera 21 of Io 535<sub>1</sub> of Mithras  
     442 f. 516 ff. of Morge 646 of Orpheus  
     166 654 ff. 695 of Pythagoreans 166 of  
     Sabazios 113 390 ff. 650<sub>1</sub> of Semele  
     695, of Zeus at Tralleis 535<sub>1</sub> of Zeus  
     Idaios, the mountain-mother, and  
     Zagreus 402 648 ff. 663 ff.  
 Mysteries denounced by Herakleitos 667<sub>1</sub>  
     tended to overthrow cult of Olympians  
     166  
 Mystics See Initiates  
 Naber, S. A. 461<sub>1</sub>  
 Nail-driving on Graeco-Phoenician vase  
     724<sub>1</sub>  
 Nails, bronze 719 723 f. tabooed 649  
 Names of animals borne by priests and  
     priestesses 441 ff. 451 cp. 675 ff.  
 Names, new, given to officials of Eleu-  
     sian mysteries 609 to performers in  
     rites of Iobakchoi 679<sub>17</sub> to priests of  
     Iupiter *Dolichenus* 609  
 Narcissus 625 f.  
 Nauck, A. 461<sub>1</sub> 461<sub>2</sub> 537<sub>11</sub> 648<sub>1</sub> 726<sub>1</sub>  
 Naville, E. 206<sub>1</sub> 348<sub>1</sub> 358<sub>1</sub>  
 Negelein, J. von 66<sub>1</sub>  
 Neolithic remains 489<sub>1</sub> 512<sub>1</sub> 513<sub>12</sub>  
 Neubauer, A. 232<sub>1</sub> 233  
 Neumann, F. 586<sub>1</sub>  
 Neutripasta 591<sub>1</sub>  
 Neustadt, E. 492 529<sub>1</sub> 784  
 Newton, Sn C. T. 129<sub>1</sub>  
 New Year, Carnival-plays at 694  
 Nicole, G. 496<sub>1</sub> 700<sub>1</sub>  
 Niemann, G. 120<sub>1</sub> 140  
 Nilles, N. 180<sub>1</sub> 182<sub>1</sub>  
 Nilsson, M. P. 18<sub>1</sub> 18<sub>2</sub> 20<sub>1</sub> 21 21<sub>12</sub> 446<sub>1</sub>  
     447<sub>1</sub> 498<sub>1</sub> 498<sub>2</sub> 498<sub>3</sub> 525 525<sub>2</sub> 526<sub>1</sub> 533<sub>2</sub>  
     534 554<sub>1</sub> 667<sub>1</sub> 668<sub>2</sub> 669<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>2</sub>

- Nimbus* 250 571 751<sub>2</sub> (?) blue 33 f. 40 f.  
radiate 517<sub>0</sub> 572<sub>1</sub> 620 ep. 544<sub>3</sub>  
Norton, R. 589  
Nurses of Dionysos 111 111<sub>0</sub> 674 f. 674,  
785 of Hera 445 of Zeus 111 f. 529 f.  
(See also *Zeus Myths*)  
Nutt, A. 244<sub>0</sub>  
Nuttall, Z. 478<sub>8</sub>
- Oak, evergreen (*φηγός, ilex*) 364 400<sub>1</sub> 472  
727<sub>1</sub> (?) wild (*πρόμαλος*) 533 other  
species of 365<sub>1</sub>  
Oak-tree in Cretan Plain 533 in Crete  
472 527<sub>1</sub> at Dodona 364 f. 368<sub>1</sub> 369 at  
Gortyna 472 in Oasis of Siwah 364 f.  
401 in Phrygia 400<sub>1</sub> 401  
Oak-tree of Ares 416 417<sub>14</sub> of the earth-  
mother 1; of Perdix (?) 727; of Zeus 1;  
of Zeus Ammon 364 f. 401 of Zeus  
*Eumaios* 400<sub>1</sub> 401 of Zeus *Egleios* 71  
76 f. 87 of Zeus *Neios* 364 f. 368<sub>1</sub> 369  
Oak-tree, kinship of Arcadians with 77  
on *sarcophagus* of Kleobis and Biton  
449  
Oak-wreath of Jupiter 41;  
Oaken spear of Kadmos 540  
O'Donnell, E. 782  
Odours on head of Egyptian king 496  
Oehler, F. 282<sub>1</sub>  
Ogres 313, 321, 657 f.  
Ogress 313,  
Ohnefalsch-Richter, M. 553; 598<sub>1</sub> 649<sub>1</sub>  
723<sub>2</sub> 724<sub>1</sub>  
*Óklasma* 700<sub>1</sub>  
Olek, F. 649<sub>1</sub>  
Oldenberg, H. 333;  
Olearius, A. 186  
Olive-branch as *arséne* 339  
Olive-tree in Oasis (?) 365 at Tyre 530.  
Olive-tree of Athena at Troy 533 of Io  
440 of Telete (?) 535  
Olivieri, A. 750<sub>2</sub> 758<sub>0</sub>  
Olympians, worship of, shaken by three  
great movements 165 ff.  
Omophagy 108 f. 648<sub>1</sub> bovine 650 659 ff.,  
673 695 lucine 665 f. human 465<sub>1</sub> 491  
554 (?) 651 ff. 657<sub>1</sub> 661 f. 679 (?) 694<sub>1</sub>,  
695 porcine (?) 664<sub>1</sub>  
— becomes mere banquet 695  
*Omphalos* in Ammonion 355 ff. 521<sub>0</sub> at  
Athens (?) 670, at Chalkis sub Libano  
521<sub>0</sub> at Delphi 262<sub>1</sub> at Selenkeia  
Pana 521<sub>0</sub> at Tyre 356  
O'Neill, J. 177<sub>0</sub>  
Oppé, A. P. 60 132,  
*Orchestra* at Athens 480 at Knossos 479 f.  
490 at Taormina 480 f. at Thorikos  
480  
Orelli, J. C. 753<sub>2</sub>  
*Orca* 12<sub>1</sub>  
Oriental cults tended to overthrow worship  
of Olympians 166  
Osi, P. 513<sub>12</sub> 645<sub>1</sub>  
Osgan Effendi 742 744<sub>1</sub> 745<sub>2</sub> 746 748<sub>1</sub>  
748<sub>2</sub> 748<sub>3</sub> 748<sub>4</sub> 750<sub>1</sub>
- Otherworld-visit, the, in Celtic tales 239  
243 f. 303 in Greek tales 239 239<sub>1</sub> in  
Indian tales 239<sub>0</sub> in a Mongolian tale  
239, in *The Thousand and One Nights* 2  
Otto, W. 272<sub>0</sub>  
Overbeck, J. 34; 37<sub>1</sub> 91, 96 99<sub>1</sub> 117<sub>0</sub>, 128<sub>0</sub>,  
128<sub>1</sub>, 223, 226<sub>1</sub>, 261<sub>1</sub> 361 f. 371, 374 403;  
418<sub>1</sub>, 426<sub>0</sub>, 459<sub>1</sub>, 472<sub>1</sub>, 512<sub>2</sub>, 520<sub>2</sub>, 526<sub>1</sub> 547;  
604<sub>1</sub>, 611<sub>0</sub>, 612<sub>2</sub>, 616<sub>1</sub>, 616<sub>2</sub>, 619, 623<sub>1</sub> 624<sub>1</sub>,  
666<sub>1</sub> 670; 707<sub>2</sub> 708<sub>1</sub> 709<sub>0</sub>, 712<sub>2</sub>, 712<sub>3</sub>, 712<sub>4</sub>,  
713<sub>0</sub>, 713<sub>1</sub>, 714<sub>1</sub>, 714<sub>2</sub>, 736<sub>0</sub>, 752<sub>2</sub> 753<sub>1</sub>  
Overbeck, J. J. 555<sub>1</sub>  
Owner-marks on cattle of Sisypheos 639;  
Oxen, white 448 white with golden horns  
410 See also Bulls, Cattle, Cows  
Oxen burned for the procreation of bees  
514 f. 518<sub>2</sub>, 532 devoured by Bakchoi  
665 (see also Omophagy, bovine) lifted  
on route for sacrifice etc. 503 ff. raised  
over altar 503<sub>1</sub> sacrificed to Athena  
533 540 to Attus 717<sub>2</sub> to Dionysos 469<sub>1</sub>,  
659 711 715<sub>0</sub>, 716<sub>0</sub>, to Gaia 541 to Hera  
446 f. 451 to Luna 455, to Mithras  
516 ff. to Moloch 723<sub>1</sub> to Poseidon  
717<sub>2</sub> ep. 506; to Zeus 82 338<sub>2</sub> 467 511,  
545 717 717<sub>2</sub> suspended on olive-tree  
533 to kill, a capital offence 469  
‘Oxen,’ children called 593<sub>0</sub>  
Ox-herds 643; See also ‘Cow-herds,’  
Ox-hide See Bull’s-hide  
Ozanam, A. F. 184<sub>1</sub>
- Pacho, J. R. 373<sub>0</sub>  
Paget, R. E. F. 205<sub>1</sub>  
*Pai-fang* or *Pai-lou* 768<sub>1</sub>  
Palace, Labyrinth as 474 f. of Ammonian  
king 369 ep. 389 of Hades 259<sub>1</sub> 296<sub>1</sub>  
of Kieon 296<sub>1</sub> of Lykouros 259<sub>1</sub> of  
Zeus 111 disks or shields suspended  
in 296 wheels suspended in 259<sub>1</sub> 296  
Palaeolithic remains 500 70<sub>1</sub> 705 711  
‘Palettes,’ Egyptian 358; 619<sub>1</sub>  
Pallat, L. 480<sub>1</sub>  
Palm-tree 500 (?) 592<sub>0</sub>  
Palmer, J. 622<sub>10</sub>  
Panofka, F. 32, 108<sub>1</sub> 199 320 330<sub>1</sub> 337  
357<sub>1</sub> 466<sub>0</sub>, 610<sub>1</sub> 708<sub>1</sub>  
Pan-pipes 441<sub>1</sub>  
Panthoistic types 361 429<sub>1</sub>  
Panthos 599<sub>1</sub>  
Panthoress 566  
Pantinus 657<sub>1</sub>  
Panzer, F. 288<sub>1</sub>  
Papadimitiou, G. A. 123<sub>1</sub>  
Papadakes, A. 163  
Papadopoulos-Kerameus 176<sub>1</sub>  
Parthen, R. 507  
*Parthenon* 727  
Parthey, G. 233 353 362 369<sub>1</sub> 377<sub>1</sub> 377<sub>2</sub>,  
377<sub>3</sub> 377<sub>4</sub> 377<sub>5</sub> 377<sub>6</sub> 378<sub>2</sub> 378<sub>3</sub> 378<sub>4</sub>,  
378<sub>5</sub>  
Partridge 726 ff.  
Paruta, P. 91<sub>1</sub>  
Pashley, R. 147 158 ff.  
Passow, A. 112<sub>2</sub>

- Patroni, G. 202.  
 Paucker, C. von 301  
 Peacock 440.  
 Pears (?) 745  
 Pear-tree 453.  
 Pediments decorated with moon and star-  
   628 with snakes or n-hy figures 293.  
   449 with solar symbols 292 ff. 392.  
   637 (?) with wreath 627  
 Pect, T. E. 513<sub>1</sub>.  
 Pellegrini, G. 698<sub>1</sub>  
 Pellerin, J. 586<sub>1</sub>  
 Penka, K. 401  
 Pennethorne, J. 752.  
*Perdurum* 727  
 Perdrizet, P. 1011 269 271; 400- 554<sub>1</sub>  
   565<sub>2</sub> 572<sub>2</sub> 574<sub>1</sub> 574<sub>1</sub> 642<sub>1</sub> 720<sub>1</sub>  
 Pernice, E. 495<sub>1</sub> 742.  
 Perrot, G. 446<sub>1</sub> 447<sub>1</sub> 476 501 594; 599.  
   619<sub>1</sub> 622<sub>2</sub> 623<sub>1</sub> 636 636, 636, 641 645.  
   704, 723.  
 Petavius, D. 461<sub>1</sub> 461.  
 Peter, R. 271; 285<sub>1</sub>  
 Petersen, E. 671, 684, 686.  
 Petrie, Sir W. M. Flinders 266 346, 363  
   472<sub>1</sub>, 507, 619<sub>1</sub> 632  
 Pettazzoni, R. 109.  
 Peyrony, D. 703<sub>1</sub> 703.  
 Pfuhl, E. 339 422, 733  
*Phalana* 836  
*Phallós* 53, 107 f. 258<sub>1</sub> (?) 351, 394 f. 396<sub>1</sub>  
   429<sub>1</sub> 534<sub>1</sub> 591<sub>1</sub> 591<sub>1</sub> 592, 623 634; 649;  
   682 f. 684 ff. 688 690, 693<sub>1</sub> 784 combined  
   with bull's head 634; ending in ram's  
   head 429<sub>1</sub> ithyphallic equine figures  
   696 f. ithyphallic human figures 697 ff.  
 Philpot, Mrs J. H. 530.  
*Phoenix* 341  
 Phylakrou, K. K. 781  
 Physical explanation of myths 410  
 Picard, C. 785  
 Piccolomini 625.  
 Piccolos, N. 196  
 Pickard-Cambridge, A. W. 667, 683, 699.  
 Pietschmann, R. 346; 347, 347; 347, 350<sub>1</sub>  
   350<sub>1</sub> 354<sub>1</sub> 354<sub>1</sub> 434<sub>1</sub> 437; 623.  
 Pigeon 587<sub>1</sub>  
 Pig eaten sacramentally in Crete (?) 664<sub>1</sub>  
   nurtures infant Zeus 150 653 785  
   sacrificed to Demeter 668 669; to Zeus  
   *Bonós* 668 717, to Zeus *Enboulós*  
   669, 717, to Zeus *Lólatos* 82 tail of,  
   pulled to scare *Lólatos* 774 used for  
   purification at Eleusis 426 worshipped  
   at Praesos 653 See also Boar, Sow  
 'Pig,' priestess of Demeter and Kore  
   called (?) 784  
 Pileher, E. J. 232<sub>1</sub> 236<sub>1</sub>  
 Pillar on couch 662 behind throne 34  
   520 f. beside throne 34 f. on throne  
   147 f. ep. 662 (pillar-thrones) beside  
   tree 535 ff. 646.  
 Pillar of Dionysos 671 672, of St George  
   177, 178, of Hera 453, 463 (?) of Io  
   237<sub>1</sub> of Judas 184 of Mother of the  
   gods 148<sub>2</sub> of Zeus as described by  
   Euhemerios 662 of Zeus at Tarentum  
   35 of Zeus on well-mouth at Naples  
   34 f. of Zeus in Pompeian painting 34  
   of Zeus on Roman gem 35 of Zeus on  
   Attic vase 279<sub>1</sub> of Zeus on Apulian  
   vases 36 ff. 409 of Zeus on Campanian  
   vase 39 f.  
 Pillars, two, of Esmun 354 of Zeus  
   *Lokatos* 66 83 f. linked together 767,  
   surmounted by stars etc 767, with  
   serpents twisted round them 354  
 Pillar-altar of Hittites 587<sub>1</sub>  
 Pillar-thrones of Crete 662 of Tyre 732  
 Pimpinel 626 ep. 627  
 Pinchos, T. G. 262.  
 Pineau, L. 450.  
 Pijo, J. 412, 412, 414.  
 Piper, F. 60, 168, 179.  
 Pi-tole-i, E. 374, 374<sub>1</sub>  
 Pizzati 222  
 Planck, M. 325;  
 Plane-tree 278 f. 285 404 f. 526 ff. 535 (?)  
   evergreen 526 526, 526<sub>1</sub>  
 Planets, animals assigned to 625, 626  
   626, minerals assigned to 625 f. 625,  
   626, vegetables assigned to 625 f. 625,  
   626, seven 664.  
 Planets attributed to different deities by  
   Babylonians 755 755<sub>1</sub> by Greeks 756  
   by Romans 755 f. classified as good,  
   bad, both; diurnal, nocturnal, both;  
   masculine, feminine, both 758  
 Plasma 357<sub>1</sub>  
 Plaumann, G. 361.  
*Plenochs* 424  
 Plough of Argos 458, of Demeter 224 f.  
   of Homogiros 459<sub>1</sub> of Osiris 223 of  
   Triptolemos 223 ff. 458, 782 of Zeus  
   *Dios* 42 400  
 Ploughing, ritual 224<sub>1</sub>  
 Plume on head 297  
 Pococke, R. 503<sub>2</sub> 556<sub>1</sub> 588  
 Polites, N. G. 81, 114, 115, 159, 162, 169,  
   171, 171, 175, 178 180<sub>1</sub> 180, 183<sub>1</sub> 183,  
   195 197, 239, 774 782  
 Pollak, L. 336<sub>1</sub>  
 Pomegranates 95 f. 134 281, 305<sub>1</sub> 745  
   745<sub>1</sub>  
 Pomegranate-flower 596 623<sub>1</sub> (?)  
 Pontow, H. 761 f. 761, 764.  
 Ponton d'Amecourt 268.  
 Pontremoli, E. 118<sub>1</sub>  
 Poplar, fruitful, in Idaean Cave 529  
   white, in rites of Sabazios 392<sub>1</sub>  
 Poppy 426 503, 565  
 Porcher, E. A. 350.  
 Posnansky, H. 269<sub>2</sub> 270, 270<sub>1</sub> 270<sub>1</sub> 270;  
   271; 271<sub>1</sub> 272<sub>1</sub> 275<sub>2</sub> 279<sub>1</sub> 280;  
 Pott, A. F. 107<sub>2</sub> 329<sub>1</sub> 330<sub>1</sub>  
 Potter, J. 290.  
 Potter's wheel, invention of 724 f. 724<sub>1</sub>  
 Potter, E. 95, 423, 471, 491, 600, 619<sub>1</sub>  
   692.

- Poulsen, F. 255, 645<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>2</sub> 762<sub>2</sub>,  
 Pouqueville, F. C. H. L. 177<sub>0</sub>  
 Pourtales-Gorgier, Comte de 218  
 Poynter, A. M. 480<sub>1</sub>  
 Predynastic remains in Egypt 619<sub>1</sub>  
 Preller, L. 64<sub>1</sub> 111<sub>1</sub> 259<sub>1</sub> 271<sub>1</sub> 279<sub>1</sub> 358<sub>1</sub>,  
 498<sub>2</sub> 635<sub>2</sub> 655<sub>2</sub> 677<sub>1</sub> 712<sub>1</sub> 714<sub>1</sub> 731<sub>1</sub>  
 Priellwitz, W. 5<sub>1</sub> 16<sub>1</sub> 273<sub>1</sub> 285<sub>2</sub> 299<sub>2</sub> 328<sub>1</sub>,  
 345<sub>1</sub> 534<sub>1</sub>  
 Premerstein, A. von 275<sub>1</sub> 275<sub>2</sub> 447<sub>4</sub>  
 Prentice, W. K. 519<sub>1</sub> 519<sub>2</sub> 519<sub>3</sub> 520<sub>1</sub>  
 Preuner, A. 709<sub>1</sub>  
 Prevost, F. 484<sub>1</sub>  
 Priests and priestesses with animal names  
 441 ff. 451 453 453<sub>2</sub> 592<sub>2</sub> 705 784 with  
 new names 609  
 Pringsheim 427  
 Prinz, H. 392<sub>2</sub> 402<sub>2</sub> 526<sub>2</sub> 606<sub>2</sub> 644  
 Prost, A. 178<sub>0</sub>  
 Pro-titulation, religious 550, 554 554<sub>2</sub>  
*Protomani* 338 f.  
 Prott, H. von 535<sub>2</sub> 667<sub>1</sub> 668<sub>2</sub>  
 Prott, J. von 442<sub>7</sub> 526<sub>1</sub> 668<sub>1</sub> 669  
 672<sub>4</sub>  
 Psichari, J. 175<sub>0</sub>  
 Puchstein, O. 110 512<sub>2</sub> 550<sub>0</sub> 555<sub>2</sub> 555<sub>3</sub>,  
 556 556<sub>2</sub> 556<sub>3</sub> 556<sub>4</sub> 556<sub>5</sub> 558<sub>1</sub> 559<sub>2</sub> 560<sub>1</sub>  
 561<sub>1</sub> 562<sub>1</sub> 563<sub>1</sub> 563<sub>2</sub> 564<sub>2</sub> 565<sub>2</sub> 566<sub>2</sub> 567<sub>2</sub>  
 570<sub>1</sub> 570<sub>2</sub> 606<sub>1</sub> 606<sub>2</sub> 742 742<sub>2</sub> 744<sub>1</sub> 744<sub>2</sub>,  
 744<sub>3</sub> 744<sub>4</sub> 745<sub>2</sub> 746<sub>1</sub> 746<sub>2</sub> 746<sub>3</sub> 746<sub>4</sub> 748<sub>1</sub>  
 748<sub>2</sub> 748<sub>3</sub> 748<sub>4</sub> 750 750<sub>1</sub> 750<sub>2</sub>  
 Purification by fire (?) 211<sub>1</sub> by pig 426 by  
 ram-skin 422 f. 646 (?) by thunder-  
 stone 646 by water 559 646 (?)  
 Purity, ceremonial 648<sub>1</sub> 651 684 ff.  
 Purser, L. C. 686<sub>3</sub>  
 Pycraft, W. P. 257<sub>2</sub>  
 Pyramid represents mountain (?) 603  
 Pyramids at Amaseia (?) 602<sub>2</sub> at Hawara  
 472 at Kaisareia in Kappadokia (?)  
 603<sub>2</sub> in Kibkia 602 at Sikyon 520<sub>2</sub> at  
 Taros (?) 603 at Tegea 520<sub>2</sub>  
 Pyramids of Iupiter *Dolichenus* 520<sub>2</sub> 615 ff.  
 632 of Sandas 600 602 604 of Zeus  
*Kisnos* 602 of Zeus *Medichos* 520<sub>2</sub>  
 of Zeus *Pisnos* 520<sub>2</sub> of Zeus *Patrius*  
 520<sub>2</sub> of Zeus *Storpaos* 520<sub>2</sub> of Zeus  
*Stratos* (?) 602<sub>2</sub>  
 Pyre of Herakles (?) 600 ff. of Roman  
*consecratio* 602<sub>2</sub> of Sandas 600 ff. of  
 Zeus *Stratos* 602<sub>2</sub>  
 Quail in myths of Asteria or Asterie 544<sub>0</sub>,  
 of Delos 544<sub>0</sub> of Leto 544<sub>0</sub> of Ortygia  
 544<sub>0</sub> of Poseidon 544<sub>0</sub> of Zeus 544<sub>0</sub>  
 Quail-hunt 535<sub>0</sub>  
 Quandt, W. 630<sub>1</sub>  
 Queens of Athens married to Dionysos  
 672<sub>2</sub> 686 709 f. of Egypt buried in  
 cow-shaped *sarcophagi* 523 of Knossos  
 married to bull (?) 522 f.  
 Ram-making 14<sub>1</sub> 65 76 87 182 f. 264 357<sub>1</sub>,  
 420<sub>1</sub> 512<sub>0</sub> 650<sub>1</sub>  
 Ralston, W. R. S. 184 185 530<sub>0</sub>  
 Ram, black 407 646 cp. 668 f. golden 121  
 403 ff. 414 ff. 419 430 467 purple  
 403 ff. 419 467 saffron 404 white 419  
 421 f. (?) 467 with Aps-like marks 636<sub>1</sub>  
 Ram as fountain-jet 429<sub>1</sub> funeral 407 429<sub>1</sub>  
 gelded by Zeus 391 in 'Minoan' art  
 347 procreative 429 f. 635<sub>1</sub> 717 779  
 ridden by Eros 354 sacrificed to Attis  
 717<sub>2</sub> to Moloch 723<sub>1</sub> to Zeus 39 348  
 407 ff. 416 f. 420 ff. 717<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>2</sub> 779  
 cp. 75<sub>2</sub> sleeps on one side 429 testi-  
 cles of 392<sub>2</sub> 394 395<sub>2</sub> votive 331 331<sub>1</sub>  
 Ram in Armenia 407<sub>2</sub> in Crete 401 402<sub>2</sub>,  
 in Egypt 346 ff. 401 in Etruria 403 in  
 Greece 351 f. 405 ff. in India 395<sub>2</sub> in  
 Italy 403 ff. in Phrygia 390 ff. 407<sub>2</sub>  
 Ram and dove 364 f. 368  
 — and eagle 365<sub>2</sub>  
 — and serpent 401 429<sub>1</sub> 782 (?)  
 — and sun 346 ff. 401 419 421 f. 428 ff.,  
 467  
 Ram's head and dove 364 f. 368 and eagle  
 365<sub>2</sub> as footstool of Iupiter *Dolichenus*  
 612 of Zeus *Sabaios* 391 f. 426 as arm  
 of throne for Zeus etc. 407<sub>1</sub> beside  
 foot of Herakles as Eleusinian initiate  
 426 on *Mundbilder* 507  
 Ram's horns affixed to altar 513 dove  
 between 364 f. cp. 368  
 Rams of Amen 347 390 of Attis 429<sub>1</sub> of  
 Ba'al-hammân 354 598<sub>1</sub> of Eros 351  
 of Hermes 429<sub>1</sub> of Khnemu 347 of  
 Phanes 311 398<sub>1</sub> of Phrixos 414 ff.  
 430 of Zeus 346 ff. 361 371 ff. 390 ff.  
 401 417 428 ff. 429<sub>1</sub> 731<sub>1</sub>  
 Ram-cult compared with bull-cult 430  
 717 779 Graeco-Libyan, related to  
 Thracio-Phrygian (?) 401 ff. 778  
 Ram-headed dancers 704<sub>1</sub>  
 Ram-skin used for incubation 407<sub>1</sub> for  
 initiation 423 ff. for purification 422 f.  
 646 (?) in Macedonian pillar-cult 428  
 worn as chain 429<sub>1</sub> worn by wor-  
 shippers of Zeus 420 422 worn by  
 Zeus 347 f. 419  
 Ramsay, Sir W. M. 4<sub>2</sub> 136 137 139 139<sub>1</sub>,  
 193<sub>1</sub> 594<sub>1</sub> 706<sub>2</sub>  
 Rapp, A. 333<sub>1</sub> 333<sub>2</sub> 451 526<sub>1</sub> 666<sub>1</sub>  
 Rapson, E. J. 329<sub>1</sub> 637<sub>1</sub> 718<sub>1</sub>  
 Rasche, J. C. 538<sub>1</sub> 548<sub>1</sub> 558<sub>1</sub> 567<sub>1</sub> 586<sub>1</sub>,  
 602<sub>2</sub> 647<sub>2</sub> 647<sub>3</sub> 700<sub>1</sub> 713<sub>1</sub> 714<sub>1</sub> 714<sub>2</sub>,  
 753<sub>2</sub> 784  
 Rassam, Hormuzd 262  
*Ratapa* (?) 703<sub>1</sub>  
 Rationalism of Greek philo-ophy tended  
 to overthrow worship of Olympians  
 165 f.  
 Rationalistic explanations of Perdix and  
 Polykaste 728 Talos 719, 723 f. the  
 golden lamb of Atrous 405 409<sub>1</sub> the  
 golden ram of Phrixos 418 418<sub>1</sub> 784  
 the procession in ram-skins up Mt  
 Pelion 420 the rape of Europe 539  
 Rattles 592<sub>1</sub> 661 f.  
 Raven as messenger of Sun 518



- Ravens feed Elijah 182  
 'Ravens,' worshippers of Mithras called 443  
 Rawlinson, G. 209 316  
 Rawlinson, H. C. 580;  
 Rebirth, ritual of 675 ff. 679 705 785  
 Reed (?) of Prometheus 324  
 Reglung, K. 784  
 Rehm, A. 733;  
 Reichel, A. 444 497 f. 499;  
 Reichel, W. 93 139 144 f. 172; 521;  
 Reichhold, K. 474 474 526<sub>1</sub> 696; 697;  
 721;  
 Reid, J. S. 659;  
 Reinach, A. J. 150;  
 Reinach, S. 38<sub>1</sub> 75; 99 130 172 193 200;  
 200<sub>1</sub> 200 200 202 205 216 259 288;  
 289 289 339 360<sub>1</sub> 375 424 430 459;  
 467 471 476 482 494 501 521 547;  
 572 572 598 604 610 611 616 616;  
 620 624 638 638 639 640 642 659;  
 696 696 697 698 699 701 701 703;  
 707 708 708 709 713 724 736 741;  
 742 748 750 763 764 782  
 Reinach, T. 602 637 637 637 637 742;  
 752 753;  
 Re-incarnation of Apis 435 of Osiris 435  
 of the dead in vegetation (?) 687  
 Reisch, E. 121 480 521 680 702;  
 Reisinger, E. 622 724;  
 Reiske, J. J. 601;  
 Rejuvenation of Demos 785 of Medea  
 244 f. of Pelias 244 f. 419 679 See  
 also *Kreolopia*  
 Religion, not subsequent to magic 131  
 Renan, E. 206 f.  
 Renouf, Le Page 206;  
 Resurrection 647 695 705 785  
 Revolving Castle 243 f. 303  
 Rhode, J. G. 745;  
 Rhomaios, K. A. 520;  
 Rhombos. See Bull-roarer  
 Rhys, Su J. 197; 243 243; 244 244;  
 Ribbeck, O. 667  
 Rice and Zeus, the planet 626;  
 Richter, O. 768;  
 Ridder, A. de 86 223 226 231 465;  
 574 576 576 707;  
 Ridgeway, W. 93 418 463 674 689;  
 694 702;  
 Riemann, O. 444;  
 Riess, A. 178;  
 Riess, E. 581 754 758;  
 Rings, magic 329, 'Minoan' 646, of  
 Kaberon 329, of Kyklops 329, of  
 Prometheus 329;  
 Rizo 742;  
 Rizzo, G. E. 426 426 427 427 427;  
 Robecchi-Bricchetti, L. 379;  
 Robert, C. 47 47 48 49 60 64 249;  
 249 250 251 259 343 358 410 494;  
 498 635 640 640 671 673 698 725;  
 734  
 Roberts, D. G. 725;  
 Roberts, E. S. 194 292;  
 Robertson, D. S. 649; 686;  
 Robert-Tornow, W. 469; 514;  
 Robinson, D. M. 782  
 Robinson, E. 177;  
 Robinson, E. 226;  
 Rochette, R. 47 48 49 199 200 200;  
 200 259 260 261;  
 Rock, Mithras emerging from 518;  
 Rocks, Ambrosial, at Tyre 530;  
 Rodd, Sir Rennell 162;  
 Rodenwaldt, G. 204  
 Rods of Persians 338 of Rhadamanthys  
 330; See also *Barsom*  
 Roeder, G. 348;  
 Roehl, H. 88; 194;  
 Rohde, E. 239 441 687;  
 Rohden, H. von 150 425 426 426 427  
 Roheim, G. 782  
 Rohlf, G. 367 379 380 380 380 381  
 381 381 382 382 382 385 386 386;  
 387 388 389 390 390 390;  
 Rolland, E. 257 357;  
 Römer, F. 616 616;  
 Ronzevalle, S. 554 567 569 569 782  
 Roscher, W. H. 63 65 65 68 68 68 81;  
 99 242 244 313 319 321 435 455  
 456 456 523 524 537 f. 538 543 640;  
 642 642 720 727 732 733 734 738 f.  
 738 738;  
 Roscoe, J. 523 676;  
 Rosenmüller, E. F. C. 533;  
 Roses 517 625 f. 625;  
 Ross, L. 455  
 Rosbach, O. 269 270 271 272 275;  
 279 500 703;  
 Rossi, G. B. de 41 51 51;  
 Rost 207;  
 Rouse, W. H. D. 23 25 84 171 397;  
 428 762;  
 Rouvier, J. 574 581  
 Roux, H. 57;  
 Rubensohn, O. 223 223 227;  
 Ruge, W. 631;  
 Ruhken, D. 677;  
 Sachau, E. 233;  
 Sacrifice before marriage 653 on birthday  
 746 on coronation-day 746; on home-  
 coming 652 f. 653;  
 Sacrificial victim burnt 722 723 flung  
 from height 344 ff. 593 722; cp. 725;  
 hung on tree 543 592 land on carpet  
 of grass 745 raised above altar 503;  
 See also Human sacrifice, Animals  
 sacrificed to Zeus, and the various  
 species of animals concerned  
 Sathon ran 404 robes 422  
 Satho, E. 87 256 258 292 511 515;  
 689;  
 Saints worshipped in place of gods and  
 demigods 167 ff.  
 Sakellarios, A. A. 343;  
 Sabs, A. von 727;  
 Salt in Oasis of Siwah 380 f.  
 Salzmann, A. 330

- Samatelli, F. 513<sub>12</sub>  
 Sanetis, G. de 147 f. 471<sub>1</sub>  
 Sanders, Sir J. E. 500  
 Sarauw, G. 425  
*Sarcophagi* representing Ixion 204 f.  
 Kleobis and Biton 449 f. Modena  
 249 ff.  
 -- cow-shaped 523  
 'Sardonic smile,' origin of 721 f.  
 Sarre, F. 136  
 Sauley, F. de 478, 478<sub>1</sub>, 558<sub>2</sub>, 558<sub>3</sub>, 558<sub>4</sub>,  
 561<sub>1</sub>, 566<sub>1</sub>, 590<sub>1</sub>, 590<sub>2</sub>  
 Savignoni, L. 147 f. 226  
 Savile, Lord 274<sub>1</sub>  
 Saw, as attribute of sun-god 725<sub>2</sub> in-  
 vention of 725 728  
 Sayce, A. H. 136 233<sub>1</sub>, 594<sub>1</sub>, 595  
 Seafinger, J. J. 393<sub>1</sub>, 453<sub>2</sub>  
 Sceptre, a conventionalised tree 87<sub>1</sub>  
 Sceptre of Agamemnon 406 of Aphrodite  
 291 775 of Atargatis 584<sub>1</sub> 584<sub>2</sub>, 586 of  
 Atrous 406 of Demeter 220 f. 224<sub>1</sub>, 229  
 575 f. of Eurystheus (?) 406 f. of Hera  
 134 532 753 of Hermes 406 of Isis  
 620 of Pelops 406 of Thyestes 406 of  
 Zeus 406 (See also Index I Zeus  
*Attributes*)  
 Sceptre surmounted by cuckoo 134 f.  
 by eagle 251 590 596 by hand 392<sub>1</sub>  
 by lily 623<sub>1</sub> by lotos 796  
 Sceptre-bearer (*αρχιπροφρονοῦσα*) 597<sub>1</sub>  
 Schanz, M. 451<sub>1</sub>, 728  
 Scheffer, J. 419  
 Scheffelowitz, I. 500<sub>1</sub>, 500<sub>2</sub>, 577<sub>1a</sub>, 634<sub>2</sub>  
 Scheil, F. V. 496<sub>1</sub>  
 Schellenberg, C. A. G. 741<sub>1</sub>  
 Scherer, C. 99<sub>1</sub>, 435<sub>1a</sub>, 504<sub>1</sub>  
 Schirmer 493<sub>1</sub>  
 Schlegel, G. 549<sub>1</sub>  
 Schleicher, A. 523<sub>8</sub>  
 Schlemm, Fraulein J. 507<sub>1</sub>  
 Schliemann, H. 446 446<sub>2</sub>  
 Schmidt, B. 67<sub>1</sub>, 114<sub>1</sub>, 162<sub>1</sub>, 162<sub>2</sub>, 163<sub>1</sub>, 165<sub>2</sub>,  
 175<sub>1</sub>, 343 343<sub>1</sub>, 412<sub>2</sub>, 450<sub>1</sub>, 774<sub>3</sub>  
 Schmidt, E. 204<sub>1</sub>, 296<sub>3</sub>  
 Schmidt, F. W. 734<sub>1</sub>  
 Schmidt, J. 329<sub>2</sub>  
 Schmidt, M. 149<sub>1</sub>, 195<sub>3</sub>, 258<sub>1</sub>, 401<sub>1</sub>, 468<sub>2</sub>,  
 471<sub>1</sub>, 527<sub>1</sub>, 656<sub>1</sub>, 667<sub>1</sub>, 732<sub>2</sub>, 753<sub>2</sub>  
 Schmitthenner, C. J. 366<sub>1</sub>  
 Schmitz, W. 634<sub>2</sub>  
 Schneider, O. 257<sub>1</sub>, 674<sub>1a</sub>  
 Schneider, R. von 59<sub>2</sub>  
 Schneidewin, F. G. 259<sub>1</sub>, 366<sub>2</sub>, 406<sub>1</sub>  
 Scholl, R. 428<sub>2</sub>, 442<sub>1</sub>  
 Schonfeld, M. 273<sub>3</sub>, 289<sub>1</sub>  
 Schrader, H. 535<sub>2</sub>, 702<sub>6</sub>  
 Schrader, O. 1<sub>1</sub>, 291<sub>1</sub>, 430<sub>1</sub>, 768<sub>3</sub>  
 Schrammen, J. 118<sub>1</sub>, 118<sub>2</sub>, 120 f.  
 Schreiber, T. 427  
 Schroeder, B. 351<sub>1</sub>  
 Schroeder, O. 259<sub>1</sub>  
 Schubart, J. H. C. 622<sub>1a</sub>  
 Schuchhardt, C. 623<sub>1</sub>  
 Schultz, W. 329<sub>1</sub>  
 Schultze, V. 168<sub>2</sub>  
 Schulz, E. G. 40  
 Schulze, H. 736<sub>1</sub>  
 Schulze, W. 655<sub>2</sub>  
 Schuster, C. 761<sub>1</sub>  
 Schwartz, E. 73<sub>1a</sub>, 652<sub>1</sub>, 653<sub>1</sub>, 738<sub>2</sub>, 765  
 766  
 Schwartz, F. L. W. 456<sub>1</sub>  
 Schwartz, W. 313<sub>3</sub>  
 Schwenck, K. 64<sub>1</sub>, 66<sub>1</sub>, 429<sub>1</sub>  
 Scorpion 516<sub>1</sub>, 518 592<sub>1</sub>  
 Scott-Moncrieff, P. D. 188<sub>2</sub>, 437<sub>1</sub>  
 Scoteagle 344  
 Schollot, P. 81<sub>1</sub>, 321<sub>2</sub>, 523<sub>1a</sub>, 624<sub>1</sub>, 739<sub>1</sub>, 774<sub>1</sub>,  
 775<sub>1a</sub>  
 Seeböhm, H. E. 80<sub>1</sub>  
 Seeliger, K. 238<sub>1</sub>, 240 241<sub>1</sub>, 244<sub>2</sub>, 245<sub>1</sub>, 248<sub>2</sub>,  
 249<sub>2</sub>, 250<sub>1</sub>, 414<sub>1</sub>, 419<sub>1</sub>  
 Seidl, Gusto 604<sub>1</sub>, 611<sub>1</sub>, 612<sub>2</sub>, 616<sub>1</sub>, 616<sub>2</sub>,  
 619 620<sub>1</sub>  
 Selden, J. 723<sub>1</sub>  
 Seidmann, C. G. 509 f.  
 Selmon 107 107<sub>2</sub>  
 Seltman, E. J. 528<sub>1</sub>, 542<sub>2</sub>  
 Serpent as part of Lycian symbol 300  
 called 'string' or 'rope' 726 coiled  
 in ench. 191 f. coiled round female  
 figures 585 785 coiled round pillars 35  
 drawn through lap (*ο δια κοιλίας θεός*,  
 393<sub>1</sub>, 394 totem of, worn by Egyptian  
 kings 496 horned 430<sub>1</sub> in Egyptian  
 religion 784 in Mithraic myth 518 in  
 relation to tree 516<sub>1</sub>, 535 on 'baton de  
 commandement' 703 phallic 396<sub>1</sub>, 784  
 sacred to various deities and heroes  
 392<sub>1</sub>, solar 205 ff., 293 ff., 571 575 spring  
 guarded by 540 teeth of, sown 540  
 winged 217<sub>1</sub>, 226<sub>2</sub>, 230 with ram's head  
 430<sub>1</sub> with two heads 84<sub>1</sub>  
 Serpent of Ammon 358 ff. 401 of Ares  
 540 of Asklepios 361 of Athena 231<sub>1</sub>,  
 of Ceres 403<sub>1</sub>, of Cretan goddess 508<sub>1</sub>  
 of Demeter 425 of Esmun 354 360 of  
 Hermes, the planet 625<sub>1</sub>, 626 of Isis  
 360 of Jupiter 289<sub>1</sub>, of Mithras 516<sub>1</sub>  
 of Nekhebet 206 386 of Nemesis 269  
 271 cp. 279<sub>1</sub> of Phanes 311 398<sub>1</sub> of  
 Sarapis 360 of Tatchut 206 386 of  
 Zagreus 398 of Zeus 102<sub>1</sub>, 113 113<sub>2</sub>,  
 191 f. 279<sub>1</sub>, 398<sub>1</sub> of Zeus-Ammon 358 ff.,  
 401 of Zeus *Sabazios* 392 394 401  
 Serret, K. 742  
 Sethe, K. 341<sub>2</sub>, 346<sub>1</sub>, 346<sub>2</sub>, 346<sub>3</sub>, 347<sub>1</sub>, 349<sub>2</sub>,  
 437<sub>1</sub>  
 Sex, androgynous 310 f. change of 172  
 173 175 176<sub>1</sub>, 396 775<sub>1</sub>  
 Shadow for soul 66 f.  
 Shape-shifting of Dionysos 398 647 of  
 Keten 496 of Proteus 496 of Selené  
 455<sub>2</sub> of Zagreus 398 647 of Zeus 398  
 Sharpe, S. 129<sub>1</sub>  
 Sheep, golden 403 ff. parti-coloured 404  
 purple 403 f. See also Ram  
 Sheep hung on trees 592<sub>1</sub> sacrificed to  
 Moloch 723<sub>1</sub> to Zeus 75<sub>2</sub>

- sheep of Hammon 368 of Helios 409 ff.  
of Sol 404
- Sheep's horns 513<sub>1</sub> See also Ram's horns
- Sheep-skin, mask of 420<sub>1</sub> used for incubation 407<sub>1</sub> 428 cp. 646 used in cult of Zeus at Korkyra (?) 164<sub>3</sub> in Mykonos 668 f. in Naxos (?) 164<sub>1</sub> on Mt Pelion 164 f. cp. in Idaean Cave 646 669 worn over head of worshippers at Hierapolis in Syria 593<sub>1</sub> See also Ram-skin
- Shield, as prize at Argos 446 cult of sacred (?) 512<sub>1</sub> 646<sub>1</sub> in pediment 296<sub>2</sub> oval 569
- Ship, cosmic 358 358<sub>3</sub>
- Shorey, P. 702<sub>1</sub>
- Siecke, E. 178<sub>1</sub> 456 731<sub>1</sub>
- Siegel, C. 171<sub>3</sub>
- Sikes, E. E. 5<sub>3</sub> 211<sub>1</sub> 323<sub>1</sub> 410<sub>10</sub> 453<sub>1</sub> 763
- Silver connected with Selene 626<sub>1</sub> with Zeus 35<sub>2</sub> 615 617 632 with Zeus, the planet 625 f. See also Mnes
- Simpson, W. 197<sub>1</sub> 256 266 f. 267<sub>1</sub>
- Sintenis, C. 280<sub>1</sub>
- Siret, L. 87<sub>1</sub> 508
- Sittig, E. 667<sub>1</sub>
- Sittl, C. 34<sub>1</sub> 46<sub>1</sub> 51<sub>1</sub> 52<sub>1</sub> 279<sub>1</sub> 323<sub>1</sub>
- Siv, J. 53<sub>1</sub> 57<sub>1</sub>
- J. P. 232<sub>1</sub> 235 281<sub>1</sub> 281<sub>1</sub> 305<sub>1</sub>
- G. 619<sub>1</sub>
- ...at, W. W. 243<sub>1</sub>
- Sky, made of bronze 632; made of iron 632<sub>3</sub>
- Sky-father as correlative of earth-mother 779 f.
- Sleep beside river 646 beside sea 646 on ground 593<sub>1</sub> on sheep-skins 407<sub>1</sub> 428 646 See also Incubation
- Smith, A. H. 129<sub>1</sub> 129<sub>1</sub> 132<sub>1</sub> 482<sub>1</sub> 698<sub>1</sub> 752<sub>1</sub>
- Smith, Sir C. 192<sub>3</sub> 199<sub>1</sub> 466<sub>1</sub> 642<sub>1</sub> 654 f. 654<sub>1</sub> 685<sub>1</sub>
- Smith, C. Roach 293<sub>1</sub> 296<sub>2</sub>
- Smith, R. Gordon 530<sub>1</sub>
- Smith, R. Murdoch 350<sub>1</sub>
- Smith, Sir W. 689<sub>1</sub>
- Smith, W. Robertson 63<sub>1</sub> 80<sub>1</sub> 445<sub>1</sub> 469<sub>1</sub> 513<sub>1</sub> 519 520<sub>2</sub> 546<sub>1</sub> 775<sub>1</sub>
- Snake See Serpent
- Sogliano, A. 57<sub>1</sub> 57<sub>1</sub> 57<sub>1</sub> 202<sub>1</sub> 203<sub>1</sub> 465<sub>1</sub>
- Solar worship combined with lunar and stellar worship 543 in relation to worship of storm-god 578 ff. under Aurelian 166 See also Sun and Index I s.v. Helios
- sen, F. 24<sub>1</sub> 534<sub>1</sub> 537<sub>1</sub> 655
- rice-festivals 63<sub>1</sub> 611 cp. 681 and 693<sub>1</sub>
- ...u, W. 168<sub>2</sub>
- verbrodt, J. A. 679<sub>1</sub>
- 656<sub>1</sub>
- igny 641
- at 532<sub>2</sub> as bee 469<sub>1</sub> 514 532
- as butterfly 532<sub>1</sub> as fly 469<sub>1</sub>
- as gad-fly 439 ff. 532 embryo- (?) 703; feminine 396<sub>1</sub> in trees on as (?) 687<sub>1</sub>
- Soutzo, A. 162
- Sow, pregnant, sacrificed to Demeter 668
- suckles Zeus 150 653 785
- Sparrow-hawk 341 387 See also Hawk
- Spearing, H. G. 500<sub>3</sub> 600<sub>1</sub>
- Spelt and Zeus, the planet 626<sub>1</sub>
- Spiegelberg, W. 436<sub>1</sub>
- Spiers, R. Phené 768<sub>1</sub>
- Spinal marrow 514 518
- Spindle of Atargatis 583 586
- Spiral on head 297
- Spiro, F. 622<sub>10</sub>
- Spit-nests 512
- Splanchniptes* 727
- Spon, J. 235
- Spratt, T. A. B. 147 170
- Spring, miraculous, at Dodoni 368 in Oasis of Siwah 368 381 f. See also Brook
- Spring, sacred, at Gortyna 526<sub>1</sub> on Mt Lykaion 76 f. at Nemausus 569 in Sudma 723 on Mt Tabor 643<sub>2</sub> at Thalamai 522 at Ticheos 540
- Squire, C. 243<sub>1</sub> 243<sub>1</sub> 321<sub>1</sub>
- Stackelberg, O. M. von 226<sub>1</sub>
- Stade, B. 235<sub>1</sub> 236<sub>1</sub> 500<sub>1</sub>
- Stae, B. 86<sub>1</sub> 523 535<sub>2</sub>
- Stag of Apollo 36<sub>1</sub> 542<sub>1</sub> on wheel-base 331<sub>2</sub> head of, on *Mondbilder* 507
- 'Stags,' human 67 67<sub>1</sub> 674
- Stage See Theatre
- Stamatakis, P. 623
- Standards of Ashur 207 at Hierapolis in Syria 583 f. 586 f. of Rome 230 f.
- Stark, K. B. 235<sub>2</sub>
- Stars above Aphiudite 575 above Apis 637<sub>1</sub> above Apollo 538<sub>1</sub> above Dioskouoi 36<sub>1</sub> 590 764 ff. above young god 41<sub>1</sub> above Zeus 741 between Dioskouoi 766 ff. in pediment 391<sub>1</sub> on bull 540<sub>1</sub> 620<sub>1</sub> on ceiling 751 f. cp. 262 ff. on globe 49 51 f. 56 on lion 740 750 on mast 761 f. on paddles 762 on robe 58 f. 62 750 on tiara 741 f. 745 748 f. round Augustus 548 round son of Domitia Longina 51 547 round Zeus 51 f. 149 547 ff. cp. 752 ff. 781
- Stars as children of Sun and Moon 523 f. 523<sub>1</sub> 543 739 dedicated after the battle of Argos Potamos 761 f. 771<sub>1</sub> of Salamis 761 771<sub>1</sub> in relation to Zeus 740 ff. 777 f. See also Zodiac, and the names of the constellations in Index I
- Stenotopygy 500
- Stem, H. 348<sub>2</sub> 360<sub>1</sub> 432<sub>1</sub> 432<sub>1</sub> 436<sub>1</sub>
- Stendorff, G. 378<sub>1</sub> 379<sub>1</sub> 379<sub>1</sub> 381<sub>1</sub> 382 382<sub>1</sub> 386 f. 389 390<sub>1</sub>
- Stengel, P. 122<sub>1</sub> 198<sub>1</sub> 503<sub>1</sub> 533<sub>2</sub> 677<sub>1</sub> 684<sub>1</sub>
- Stephani, L. 34<sub>1</sub> 40 212<sub>1</sub> 336 361<sub>1</sub> 373 ff. 374<sub>1</sub> 375<sub>1</sub> 429<sub>1</sub> 493<sub>1</sub> 499<sub>1</sub> 503<sub>1</sub> 521<sub>1</sub> 526<sub>1</sub> 531<sub>1</sub> 539<sub>1</sub> 544<sub>1</sub> 547<sub>1</sub> 598<sub>1</sub> 712<sub>1</sub> 713<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>1</sub>

- Stephanus, H. 649, 697, 753<sub>2</sub>  
 Steuding, H. 482<sub>0</sub>, 706<sub>2</sub>  
 Stevenson 205<sub>1</sub>  
 Stevenson, J. 326  
 Stevenson, S. W. 293, 296<sub>1</sub>  
 St John, Bayle 379 382, 385 390<sub>1</sub>  
 Stokes, G. T. 178<sub>0</sub>, 554<sub>1</sub>  
 Stoll, H. W. 73  
 Stone of Anaius 195, of Elagabalus 520<sub>2</sub>, 604(?) of Kronos 531 54, 154 520<sub>2</sub> of Terminus 53 f. 520<sub>2</sub> of Zeus *Kappôtas* 520<sub>2</sub> of Zeus *Melissus* 164, 520<sub>2</sub> of Zeus *Térmon* 520<sub>2</sub>  
 Stones, deities emerging from 518<sub>0</sub>, 620 622 god seated on 69 70<sub>1</sub> 124 708 goddess seated on 541 623 swallowed by Kronos 53 f. 154 520<sub>2</sub> thrown by Minotaur 720 f. thrown by Talos 719 ff.  
 Stones, gigantic, at Barabek 562 ff.  
 Stones, precious 355 357<sub>1</sub>, 569 569<sub>1</sub> 583 626<sub>0</sub>. See also Beryl, Emeralds  
 Stones, sacred, classification of 520<sub>2</sub>, evolution of 520 f.  
 Stoning 67 719 ff.  
 Storks of St Demetra 174, three on solar disk (?) 482<sub>0</sub>  
 Storm-god, in relation to sun-god 578 ff.  
 Strachan-Davidson, J. L. 17<sub>1</sub>  
 Strong, Mrs E. 474<sub>2</sub>  
 Strube, C. 212<sub>5</sub>, 214<sub>1</sub> 216<sub>1</sub>  
 Struck, A. 171, 175<sub>1</sub> 480<sub>1</sub>  
 Stuart-Glennie, J. S. 27<sub>1</sub> 104<sub>1</sub> 450<sub>1</sub>  
 Studemund, W. 128<sub>7</sub>  
 Studniczka, F. 92 95, 95<sub>1</sub> 148<sub>1</sub> 350<sub>1</sub> 372<sub>10</sub>, 512<sub>1</sub> 513<sub>2</sub>, 513<sub>7</sub> 569<sub>1</sub> 576<sub>2</sub>  
 Stukeley, W. 487 488  
 Sulphur and Zeus, the planet 626<sub>0</sub>  
 Sun as a bird 2064(?) 341 ff. 777 as a boat 358, as a bronze man 719 ff. 777 as a bull 236 490 521 ff. 635 739 f. 777 as a chariot with one wheel 225<sub>1</sub> cp. 333 ff. as a cup 358<sub>2</sub> as a disk 291 ff. 431 435 f. 523 569(?) 571 575 as the eye of Amen-Râ 315 of Horos 315 of Nu 314 of Nut 314 of Râ 314 f. of Tem 315 of the world 197, 522<sub>0</sub> of Zeus 196 f. 313 777 783 as a hawk 240 ff. 342 f. cp. 783 as a horse 333 as a lion 230 f. 240, 571<sub>2</sub> as a lizard 240<sub>2</sub> as a serpent 240<sub>2</sub> cp. 257 as a star 36<sub>0</sub>(?) 477(?) 491 f. (?) 538<sub>1</sub> 604(?) 605<sub>0</sub>(?) cp. 495 as a wheel 197 ff. 225<sub>1</sub> 253 ff. 285 ff. 306, 324 330 ff. 342 483<sub>0</sub> 777 as a wheeled seat 225 342 as a winged disk 205 ff. cp. 342  
 Sun and bull 430 ff. 468 ff. 490 ff. 549 ff. 577 ff. 619<sub>1</sub> 620 639 f. 777  
 — and ram 346 ff. 401 419 421 f. 428 ff. 467 777  
 Sun in relation to lightning 578 f. 578<sub>2</sub> in relation to Zeus 186 ff. sets in east 405  
 Sun-chariot 253 ff.  
 Svoronos, J. N. 149, 298 402 427 427<sub>0</sub>, 427<sub>1</sub> 427<sub>2</sub>, 45<sub>2</sub>, 472<sub>1</sub> 472<sub>2</sub>, 493<sub>1</sub> 494<sub>2</sub> 495<sub>0</sub>, 527<sub>1</sub> 530<sub>2</sub> 535 535<sub>1</sub> 537 541<sub>2</sub> 544<sub>1</sub> 547<sub>2</sub>, 548 548<sub>1</sub> 548<sub>2</sub>, 548<sub>3</sub> 619<sub>1</sub> 620<sub>0</sub> 623<sub>2</sub> 652<sub>2</sub>, 660<sub>2</sub> 660<sub>3</sub> 661<sub>1</sub> 708<sub>1</sub> 709<sub>1</sub> 720<sub>2</sub> 720<sub>3</sub> 720<sub>4</sub>, 729<sub>2</sub> 752<sub>2</sub> 783 785  
 Swainson, C. 257<sub>1</sub> 257<sub>3</sub>  
 Swans and solar wheel(?) 332<sub>1</sub> as part of Lycian symbol(?) 300 f. attribute of Hermes, the planet 626<sub>0</sub> in myth of Leda or Nemesis 279<sub>1</sub> 770 on *baton de commandement* 703  
 Svastika 301 329<sub>1</sub> 336 f. 337<sub>1</sub> 483<sub>11</sub> as revolving sun 478 develops into Labyrinth or Maze 474 ff. 492 develops into meander 483<sub>10</sub>  
 Sweating image of Apollon at Hierapolis in Syria 585  
 Swine in myth of Kirke 242, neither sacrificed nor eaten 593<sub>0</sub>  
 Sybel, L. von 670<sub>2</sub>  
 Syncretism produces various types of solar Zeus 166 349 f. 361 777 ff.  
 Table of Dionysos develops into stage 672 of Semele 695, of Zeus *Ligaios* 83  
 Table Round 243 f.  
 Tablets, Eleusinian 221(?) Orphic 650<sub>0</sub>, 675 ff.  
 Taboo on birth 648<sub>1</sub> bull 717, burial 648<sub>1</sub> goat 717, nails 649 pig's flesh 653 pines(?) 641 she-goat 717;  
 Tamarisk 745<sub>1</sub>  
 Taramelli, A. 160 f.  
 Tattooing 593<sub>0</sub>  
 Taurobolium 717<sub>2</sub>  
 Taurokathápsut 497 ff.  
 Telônia 774  
 Testicles of bull 431 516<sub>1</sub> 518 of Indras 395<sub>2</sub> of ram 392, 394 395<sub>2</sub> of Zeus 392<sub>5</sub>  
 Tet 478<sub>1</sub>  
 Thálamos at Hierapolis in Syria 582 ff.  
 Theatre at Athens 480 667 707 ff. Knossos 479 f. *Lénation* 667 Taumomenion 480 f. Thonikos 180  
 Theatre, *orchestra* of, marked with mazy lines 479 f. oblong 479 f. stage of, developed out of Dionysiac table 672 stage of Phaidros in Athenian 708 ff. pl. xl. *thymele* (?) in 709<sub>1</sub>  
 Thelenat, H. 87 751<sub>0</sub>  
 Theriomorphism 241 304 350 407 419 430 467 507 718<sub>1</sub> 719 720<sub>1</sub>. See also Zoomorphism  
 Thiersch, H. pl. xxxv  
 Thomas, E. 301  
 Thompson, D'Arcy W. 73, 101, 106, 242<sub>2</sub>, 253, 258, 264 341<sub>1</sub>  
 Thompson, M. S. 512<sub>1</sub>  
 Thompson, R. Campbell 80;  
 Thomson, Sir J. J. 772<sub>0</sub>  
 Thorn-bush in the moon 470  
 Thraemer, E. 715<sub>1</sub> 715<sub>0</sub>

- Three cranes, Celtic cult of 482<sub>0</sub>  
 Three-eyed figures in Greek religion and mythology 320 462  
 Thrones of Antiochos I of Kommagene 745 of Apollon *Lukios* (?) 139 of Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes 745 f. of Artagnes Herakles Ares 746 of Artemis *Phothothone* (?) 141 of Baraltas 596 ff. of Danaos 139 of Dionysos 152 f. (?) 398 647 of Hekate 141 f. of Helios 585 of Heta 134 of Kommagene 745 of Midas 139 of Nahat 186 of Pelops 137 ff. of Pl stone (?) 139 of Rhea (?) 147 f. of Neixes 145 of Zagreus 398 647 of Zeus 341, 42 ff. 56 ff. 124 ff. 152 f. 398 407, 521 647 of Zeus *Akhios* 124 of Zeus *Olbios* 125 of Zeus *Triomphos* 744 ff. of Zeus *Trosos* 596 ff.  
 Thrones, rock-cut 135 ff. 776  
 Thunder, mimetic 648 ff. 650<sub>1</sub> subterranean 650<sub>1</sub>  
 Thunderbolt plated with gold 581 silvered 615 See also Index I s. v. Zeus  
 Thunder-stone 646  
 Tietjen, Prof. 750  
 Tiger of Zagreus 398  
 Tillyard, E. M. W. 501<sub>0</sub>, 700<sub>1</sub>, 701<sub>1</sub>  
 Tin in relation to Aphrodite, the planet 625 f. 626<sub>0</sub> to Hermes, the planet 626<sub>0</sub> to Zeus, the planet 626<sub>0</sub>  
 Tischbein, W. 501<sub>0</sub>, 701<sub>1</sub>  
 Tod M. N. 95, 96<sub>1</sub>, 497, 766<sub>0</sub>, 768<sub>0</sub>, 769<sub>1</sub>, 770<sub>1</sub>  
 Toelken, E. H. 366, 384<sub>1</sub>  
 Tonaschek, W. 401<sub>0</sub>  
 Topos 768<sub>0</sub>  
 Topffer, J. 73 74, 655<sub>2</sub>  
*Toran* 768<sub>0</sub>  
 Torches of Apollon *Tenkites* 345, of Cauttes and Cantopates 516<sub>1</sub> of Ceres 403, of Demeter 229 f. of Eumolpos (?) 220 or Heta 449 of Persephone 220 f. 223 f. of Prometheus 324 f. of Rhea 648, 650 of Sol 714  
 Torches carried over mountain 648<sub>1</sub> 650 carried round fields 286 650<sub>1</sub> in bridal processions 651<sub>0</sub> kindled by spring at Dodona 368 stuck round cakes 421  
 Torch-bearer at Athens 669 at Eleusis 220 (?) 221 423 f. 426 f.  
*Torn* 768<sub>0</sub>  
 Torn, C. 474, 613<sub>0</sub>  
 Tortoise (?) 670<sub>0</sub>  
 Torture 209 ff. 662  
 Totemism (?) 63<sub>0</sub>, 77  
 Tragau, C. 276<sub>2</sub>  
 Tragedy, masks of 678; origin of 665 ff. See also Drama  
 Trede, T. 168<sub>2</sub> 178<sub>1</sub> 182<sub>1</sub><sub>2</sub>  
 Trees, animals etc. hung on 533 592<sub>0</sub> bird on (?) 768 corpses hung on 533 of Mithras 516<sub>1</sub> 517<sub>0</sub>, ep. 518<sub>0</sub>, on graves as vehicles for souls (?) 687 on head  
 Trees (*cont.*)  
 of Egyptian king 496 shrine of 472<sub>0</sub>, 646<sub>0</sub> 768<sub>0</sub>  
 'Tree of life' 645  
 Triendenburg, A. 118, 762<sub>0</sub>  
 Tieu, G. 24, 39, 666<sub>1</sub>  
 Trident in folk-tale 344  
 Trietene rites 662 660 ff. 690, 695.  
 Trilobate design 636 636<sub>0</sub>  
 Trimur, Lycian (?) 301 of trees 649; super-sedes *Turopatris* 171  
 Tripods as prize at Argos 446, as prize at Phene 132 as winged vehicle 385 votive, at Olympia 344 f. votive, at Teos 130<sub>1</sub>  
*Trichas* 304 ff. superposed on eagle 304 342 superposed on lion 304 with central wheel 304 with corn-ears 227 307 with *trigonation* 306 f. with winged *trigonation* 307 with palmettes 306 with solar face 307 ff. with wings 306 423  
 Trollope, L. 485, 486<sub>1</sub> 487<sub>1</sub> 487<sub>1</sub> 488<sub>1</sub>  
 Tropea, G. 493<sub>0</sub>  
 'Troy-town,' etc., mazes called 488  
 Tsountas, Ch. 344, 512<sub>1</sub>  
 Tumpel, K. 176, 225<sub>1</sub> 525, 512<sub>1</sub>  
 Turk 341, 414<sub>1</sub>  
 Twidle, A. 771<sub>0</sub>  
 Tylor, E. B. 67<sub>1</sub> 325, 326, 326<sub>1</sub> 426, 523<sub>0</sub>  
*Pampuna* 645 ep. pl. XXXV 650 650<sub>1</sub> 701<sub>1</sub>, 723<sub>1</sub> 736<sub>0</sub>  
 Underworld, Egyptian 358 315 Greek, represented on *sarcophagus* 204 f. on vases 200<sub>0</sub>, 222, souls come up from, at Anthessia 687  
 Ure, P. N. 464<sub>1</sub> 782  
 Uriebs, C. L. 491<sub>1</sub>  
 Uriebs, L. von 249<sub>1</sub> 251  
 Usener, H. 4, 64, 65 170, 175, 176<sub>1</sub> 241<sub>1</sub>, 272 f. 522<sub>0</sub>, 541<sub>0</sub>, 543, 603, 689, 730, 730<sub>1</sub>, 780<sub>1</sub>  
 Usung, J. L. 693<sub>1</sub>  
 Vaghiati, D. 272<sub>1</sub>  
 Valekmaer, L. C. 106<sub>2</sub> 734<sub>1</sub>  
 Vamček, A. 630<sub>7</sub>  
 Vases: Apulian 36 ff. 128 f. 133 200<sub>1</sub>, 221 f. 249 ff. 255 f. 292 ff. 336 f. 358<sub>1</sub>, 374 ff. 375, 512, 521<sub>1</sub> 521<sub>1</sub>  
 — black-figured 213 ff. 231 293 307<sub>0</sub>, 335 336, 358 406 f. 475 f. 493 496 593<sub>0</sub>, 512, 513, 592, 671 696 698, 720<sub>1</sub>  
 — 'Cabine' 654  
 — 'Caeetan' *hydria* 471 513<sub>1</sub>  
 — Campanian 39 f. 202 521<sub>1</sub> 784  
 — Corinthian 494 f. 782  
 — Cypriote 619<sub>1</sub>  
 — 'Cyrenaic' 92 ff. 297<sub>2</sub> ep. 782  
 — 'Dipylon' 255 511 ep. 766<sub>0</sub>  
 — Egyptian 507, ep. 363<sub>2</sub>  
 — Etruscan 476  
 — 'Francos' vase 297, 481<sub>0</sub> 696  
 — Graeco-Phoenician 724<sub>1</sub>

- Stephanus, H. 649, 697, 753.  
 Steuding, H. 182, 706.  
 Stevenson 205.  
 Stevenson, J. 326.  
 Stevenson, S. W. 293, 296.  
 St John, Bayle 379 382, 385 390.  
 Stokes, G. T. 178, 551.  
 Stoll, H. W. 73.  
 Stone of Auainos 195, of Elagabalos 520, 604(?) of Kronos 53 f. 54, 151 520, of Terminus 53 f. 520, of Zeus *Kappōtas* 520, of Zeus *Melōstos* 161, 520, of Zeus *Térmon* 520.  
 Stones, deities emerging from 518, 620 622 god seated on 69 70, 124 708 goddess seated on 541 623 swallowed by Kronos 53 f. 154 520, thrown by Minotaur 720 f. thrown by Talos 719 ff.  
 Stones, gigantic, at Bavalbek 562 ff.  
 Stones, precious 355 357, 569 569, 583 626, See also Beryl, Emeralds  
 Stones, sacred, classification of 520, evolution of 520 f.  
 Stoning 67 719 ff.  
 Storks of St Demetra 171, three on solar disk (?) 492.  
 Storm-god, in relation to sun-god 578 ff.  
 Strachan-Davidson, J. L. 17.  
 Strong, Mrs E. 474.  
 Strube, C. 212, 214, 216.  
 Stuck, A. 171, 175, 480.  
 Stuart-Glennie, J. S. 27, 104, 450.  
 Studemund, W. 428.  
 Studniczka, F. 92 95, 95, 148, 350, 372, 512, 513, 513, 569, 576.  
 Stukeley, W. 487 488.  
 Sulphur and Zeus, the planet 626.  
 Sun as a bird 206 f. (?) 341 ff. 777 as a boat 358, as a bronze man 719 ff. 777 as a bull 286 490 521 ff. 635 739 f. 777 as a chariot with one wheel 225, cp. 333 ff. as a cup 358, as a disk 291 ff. 431 435 f. 523 569 (?) 571 575 as the eye of Amen-Râ 315 of Horos 315 of Nu 314 of Nut 314 of Râ 314 f. of Tem 315 of the world 197, 522, of Zeus 196 f. 313 777 783 as a hawk 240 ff. 342 f. cp. 783 as a horse 333 as a lion 230 f. 240, 571, as a lizard 240, as a serpent 240, cp. 257 as a star 36, (?) 477 (?) 491 f. (?) 538, 604 (?) 605, (?) cp. 495 as a wheel 197 f. 225, 253 f. 285 ff. 306, 324 330 ff. 342 483, 777 as a wheeled seat 225 342 as a winged disk 205 ff. cp. 342.  
 Sun and bull 130 ff. 468 ff. 490 ff. 519 ff. 577 ff. 619, 620 639 f. 777.  
 — and ram 346 ff. 401 419 421 f. 428 ff. 467 777.  
 Sun in relation to lightning 578 f. 578, in relation to Zeus 186 ff. sets in east 405.  
 Sun-charm 253 ff.  
 Svoronos, J. N. 149, 298 402 427 427, Svoronos, J. H. (cont.)  
 427, 427, 455, 472, 472, 493, 494, 495, 527, 530, 535 535, 537 541, 541, 547, 548 548, 548, 548, 619, 620, 623, 652, 660, 660, 661, 708, 709, 720, 720, 720, 729, 752, 783 785.  
 Swainson, C. 257, 257.  
 Swans and solar wheel (?) 332, as part of Lycean symbol (?) 300 f. attribute of Hermes, the planet 626, in myth of Leda or Neme-is 279, 770 on 'baton de commandement' 703.  
*Suastika* 301 329, 336 f. 337, 183, as revolving sun 478 develops into Labyrinth or Maze 474 ff. 492 develops into maevander 483.  
 Sweating image of Apollon at Hierapolis in Syria 585.  
 Swine in myth of Kuke 242, neither sacrificed nor eaten 593.  
 Sybel, L. von 670.  
 Syncretism produces various types of solar Zeus 166 344 f. 361 777 ff.  
 Table of Dionysos develops into stage 672 of Semele 695, of Zeus *Lýkaïos* 83.  
 Table Round 243 f.  
 Tablets, Eleusinian 221 (?) Orphic 650, 675 ff.  
 Taboo on birth 648, bull 717, burial 648, goat 717, nails 649 pig's flesh 653 pines (?) 641 she-goat 717.  
 Tamarisk 745.  
 Taramelli, A. 160 f.  
 Tattooing 593.  
*Taurololium* 717.  
*Taurolakthapsa* 497 f.  
*Telônia* 774.  
 Testicles of bull 431 516, 518 of Indra-s 395, of ram 392, 394 395, of Zeus 392.  
 Tet 478.  
*Thalamos* at Hierapolis in Syria 582 ff.  
 Theatre at Athens 480 667 707 ff. Knossos 479 f. *Lénauon* 667 Tauronemion 480 f. Theikos 180.  
 Theatre, *orchestra* of, marked with mazy lines 479 f. oblong 479 f. stage of, developed out of Dionysiac table 672 stage of Phaidros in Athman 708 ff. pl. xl. *thymele* (?) in 709.  
 Thédemat, H. 87 751.  
 Theriomorphism 241 304 350 407 419 430 467 507 718, 719 720, See also Zo-morphism.  
 Thiersch, H. pl. xxv.  
 Thomas, E. 301.  
 Thompson, D'Acy W. 73, 101, 106, 242, 253, 258, 261 341.  
 Thompson, M. S. 512.  
 Thompson, R. Campbell 80.  
 Thomson, Sir J. J. 772.  
 Thorn-bush in the moon 470.  
 Thuacmer, E. 715, 715.

- Three cranes, Celtic cult of 482<sub>n</sub>  
 Three-eyed figures in Greek religion and mythology 320 462  
 Thonon of Antiochos I of Kommagene 745 of Apollon *Lophos* (?) 139 of Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes 745 f. of Antigone Herakles Ares 746 of Artemis *Prothoona* (?) 141 of Balastris 596 ff. of Danaos 139 of Dionysos 152 f. (?) 398 647 of Hekate 141 f. of Helios 585 of Hera 154 of Kommagene 745 of Midas 139 of Naxos 136 of Pelops 137 ff. of Plutene (?) 139 of Rhea (?) 147 f. of Nerxes 145 of Zagreus 398 647 of Zeus 341, 42 ff. 56 ff. 124 ff. 152 f. 398 407, 521 647 of Zeus *Akaios* 124 of Zeus *Olbios* 125 of Zeus *Dromios* 744 ff. of Zeus *Troisos* 596 ff.  
 Thronos, rock-cut 135 ff. 776  
 Thunder, mimetic 648 ff. 650, subterranean 650<sub>1</sub>  
 Thunderbolt plated with gold 581 silvered 615 See also Index I s. v. Zeus  
 Thunder-stone 646  
 Tietjen, Prof. 750  
 Tiger of Zagreus 398  
 Tillyard, E. M. W. 501<sub>n</sub>, 700<sub>1</sub>, 701<sub>1</sub>  
 Tin in relation to Aphrodite, the planet 625 f. 626<sub>n</sub>, to Hermes, the planet 626<sub>n</sub> to Zeus, the planet 626<sub>n</sub>  
 Tischbein, W. 501<sub>n</sub>, 701<sub>1</sub>  
 Tod, M. N. 95, 96<sub>1</sub>, 497, 706<sub>n</sub>, 768<sub>n</sub>, 769<sub>1</sub>, 770<sub>1</sub>  
 Toelken, E. H. 366, 384<sub>1</sub>  
 Tomaschek, W. 401<sub>n</sub>  
 Topos 768<sub>n</sub>  
 Topffer, J. 73 74, 655<sub>2</sub>  
 Toran 768<sub>n</sub>  
 Torches of Apollon *Lophos* 345, of Antos and Antopatos 516<sub>1</sub> of Ceres 403, of Demeter 220<sub>1</sub>, of Eumolpos (?) 220 of Hera 149 of Persephone 220<sub>1</sub>, 223 f. of Prometheus 321<sub>1</sub> of Rhea 648<sub>1</sub> 650 of Sol 714  
 Torches carried over mountain 648<sub>1</sub> 650 carried round fields 286 650<sub>1</sub> in bridal processions 651<sub>n</sub> kindled by spring at Dodona 368 stuck round cakes 421  
 Torch-bearing at Athens 669 at Eleusis 220 (?) 221 423 f. 426 f.  
 Tort 768<sub>n</sub>  
 Tort, C. 474<sub>2</sub> 613<sub>n</sub>  
 Tortoise (?) 670<sub>n</sub>  
 Torture 209 ff. 662  
 Totemism (?) 63<sub>n</sub>, 77  
 Tragoun, C. 276<sub>2</sub>  
 Tragedy, masks of 678, origin of 665 ff. See also Drama  
 Tiedt, T. 168<sub>2</sub>, 178<sub>1</sub>, 182<sub>1</sub>  
 Trees, animals etc. hung on 533 592<sub>n</sub> bird on (?) 768 corpses hung on 533 of Mithras 516<sub>1</sub> 517<sub>n</sub>, on 518<sub>n</sub>, on graves as vehicles for souls (?) 687, on head  
 Trees (cont.)  
 of Egyptian king 496 shrine of 472<sub>n</sub>, 646<sub>n</sub>, 768<sub>n</sub>  
 Tree of life 645  
 Trendelenburg, A. 118, 762<sub>1</sub>  
 Tieu, G. 24, 39, 666<sub>1</sub>  
 Trident in folk-tale 344  
 Tricene sites 662 640 ff. 690<sub>1</sub>, 695<sub>n</sub>  
 Tricoliate design 636 636<sub>n</sub>  
 Trimty, Lycian (?) 301 of trees 649, superseded Tritopatreis 171  
 Tripods as prize at Argos 446, as prize at Priene 152 as winged vehicle 335 votive, at Olympia 334<sub>1</sub>, votive, at Teos 130  
 Triskel's 304 ff. superposed on eagle 304 342 superposed on lion 304 with central wheel 304 with corn-ears 227 307 with *trachelion* 306<sub>1</sub> with winged *trachelion* 307 with palmettes 306 with solar face 307 ff. with wings 306 423  
 Trollope, E. 485<sub>n</sub>, 486<sub>1</sub>, 487<sub>1</sub>, 487<sub>1</sub>, 488<sub>1</sub>  
 Tropea, G. 493<sub>n</sub>  
 'Troy-town,' etc., mazes called 488  
 Tsountas, Ch. 344, 512<sub>1</sub>  
 Tumpel, K. 176, 225<sub>1</sub>, 525, 542<sub>1</sub>  
 Tusk 341, 411<sub>1</sub>  
 Twidle, A. 771<sub>n</sub>  
 Tylon, E. B. 67<sub>1</sub>, 325, 326, 326<sub>1</sub>, 326<sub>1</sub>, 523<sub>n</sub>  
 Tympana 645 ep. pl. xxxv 650 650<sub>1</sub>, 701<sub>1</sub>, 723<sub>1</sub>, 736<sub>n</sub>  
 Underworld, Egyptian 358 515 Greek, represents (1) on *sarcophagus* 204 f. on vases 200, 222, souls come up from, at Anthesteria 687  
 Ure, P. N. 464<sub>1</sub>, 782  
 Ulrichs, C. L. 464<sub>1</sub>  
 Ulrichs, L. von 249<sub>1</sub>, 250  
 Usener, H. 42 64, 65 170, 175<sub>2</sub>, 176<sub>1</sub>, 241<sub>1</sub>, 272 f. 522<sub>n</sub>, 541<sub>n</sub>, 543, 603<sub>1</sub>, 689<sub>1</sub>, 730<sub>n</sub>, 730<sub>n</sub>, 780<sub>n</sub>  
 Ussing, J. L. 693<sub>1</sub>  
 Vacher, D. 272<sub>1</sub>  
 Valckenael, L. C. 106<sub>2</sub>, 734<sub>1</sub>  
 Vamček, A. 630<sub>1</sub>  
 Vases: Apian 36 ff. 128 f. 133 200<sub>1</sub>, 221 f. 249 ff. 255<sub>1</sub>, 292 ff. 336<sub>1</sub>, 358<sub>n</sub>, 374 ff. 375<sub>2</sub>, 512<sub>1</sub>, 521<sub>2</sub>, 521<sub>1</sub>  
 -- black-figured 213 ff. 231 293, 307<sub>n</sub>, 335 336<sub>n</sub>, 358<sub>n</sub>, 406<sub>1</sub>, 475<sub>1</sub>, 493 496 503<sub>n</sub>, 512<sub>1</sub>, 513<sub>2</sub>, 592<sub>n</sub>, 671 696 698, 720<sub>n</sub>  
 --- 'Cabinet' 654  
 --- 'Caretan' *hydria* 471 513<sub>1</sub>  
 --- Campanian 39 f. 202 521<sub>1</sub>, 784  
 --- Corinthian 494 782  
 --- Cypriote 619<sub>1</sub>  
 --- 'Cyanian' 92 ff. 297<sub>2</sub> ep. 782  
 --- 'Dipylon' 255 511 ep. 766<sub>n</sub>  
 --- Egyptian 507<sub>1</sub> ep. 363<sub>2</sub>  
 --- Etruscan 476  
 --- 'Flamincian' 297<sub>1</sub>, 481<sub>n</sub>, 696  
 --- Graeco Phoenician 724<sub>1</sub>

Vases (*cont.*)

- Lucanian 701;  
 — Middle 'Minoan' 363, ep. 645 f.  
 — Late 'Minoan' 363;  
 — Panathenaic 213, 231,  
 — red-figured 40, 199 216 ff. 223 f. 231  
 279, 307, 358, 423 ff. 465, 474 f. 493 f.  
 499, 501 ff. 513, 513, 513, 513, 521,  
 531, 547 651 f. 671 681, 696 ff. 707  
 721 782  
 — Rhodian *pinakes* 297;  
 — Tanagra 699;  
 — with white ground 526;  
 Vegetation attributed to agency of the  
 dead 687  
 Vine 463 518 553 566  
 Vine-leaves 565 654  
 Vine-staff 553  
 Vine-wreath 374 655 (4) 715  
 Violets 6254  
 Visconti, E. Q. 59  
 Visick, C. H. C. 336  
 Vogne, C. J. M. de 191;  
 Voigt, F. A. 696, 696;  
 Voigt, T. 405;  
 Volleraff, C. W. 461 539- 682;  
 Volney, C. F. 556;  
 Voss, I. 471;

- Wace, A. J. B. 23, 92, 95, 96, pl. ix 114;  
 420, 512, 694 766, 768, 769, 770;  
 Wachsmuth, C. 162, 172;  
 Wackmagel, J. 104  
 Waddington, W. H. 602, 637, 637, 647  
 637, 642, 742, 742, 752, 753  
 Wagner, P. 77;  
 Wagner, E. 178;  
 Wagner, R. 203, 719 726  
 Wamwright, G. A. 172, 507 619;  
 Wartz, T. 523;  
 Walde, A. 1, 87, 273, 541, 630, 630, 641,  
 780;  
 Waldston, Sir C. 441, 446 624;  
 Walker, F. G. 186, 187  
 Walley, E. 186;  
 Wallis, G. H. 274, 274, 274;  
 Walters, H. B. 36, 36, 37, 38, 97 204  
 218, 307, 466, 494 633, 640, 654, 697-  
 701, 724, 724, 736;  
 Walz, C. 622, 657;  
 Wankel, H. 638, 638;  
 Ward, W. H. 526, 576, 605, 606, 606  
 644, 644, 645, 784  
 Warr, G. C. W. 734;  
 Waser, O. 535;  
 Watzinger, C. 129 131 ff. 130 131;  
 Weather-king, the earthly prototype of  
 the heavenly 12  
 Weber, H. 660, 785  
 Week, gods of the 753  
 Wecker, G. 297  
 Weights inscribed *Dios etc.* 37;  
 Weil, R. 232;  
 Weitz, H. P. 360, 361;  
 Weizsäcker, P. 38, 202, 261, 408 f. 700,

- Weleker, F. G. 64, 65, 81, 96 218, 299,  
 336, 358, 373, 410 477, 498, 501, 715,  
 715, 739, 771  
 Wells, J. 362;  
 Welzel, P. 64, 76;  
 Wenger, I. 656, 735, 781  
 Wentzel, G. 181, 446, 665  
 Wer-wolves 801, 782 See also Wolf  
 Weiricke, K. 32 34, 108, 117, 232, 252,  
 373, 410, 453, 493, 501, 538, 541, 542,  
 543, 603, 616, 619, 640, 665, 697 ff.  
 698, 702 713, 714, 725, 735, 740,  
 Wessling, P. 355;  
 Wessly, C. 190, 233 234, 581,  
 Westermann, A. 469, 719;  
 Weston, Miss J. L. 243, 243;  
 What and Zeus, the planet 626;  
 Wheel as ornament 701 701, as punish-  
 ment 209 ff. hanging from roof 259 ff.  
 in divination 285 in Midsummer  
 customs 285 ff. in temples 295 ff. lost  
 by solar hero 227 prophylactic 39  
 259 ff. 296  
 Wheel of Ixion 198 ff. 251 342 of Mytilos  
 225, 260, 408  
 Wheeler, J. R. 92- 708, 709, 710;  
 Whip of Akei 552 of Jupiter *Heliodonta-*  
*nos* 552 of Jupiter 674 of Sol 518, of  
 Zeus *Idaios* 552  
 White, A. Silva 379;  
 White balls 467 522 537, clay 655,  
 clothing 648, cows 440 445, 451 462  
 467 470  
 Wade, S. S. 351, 351, 351, 373, 442, 442,  
 458, 679, 686, 780;  
 Wedemann, A. 205, 206, 206, 341, 346  
 347, 349, 784  
 Wegand, F. 183, 761;  
 Wescher, F. 228, 375, 521, 616 619,  
 698;  
 Weydenitz-Moehndorff, U. von 15 142,  
 279, 451, 547, 669, 733 741;  
 Weyden, U. 750  
 Wilhelm, A. 172 597;  
 Wieser, F. 415  
 Wilken, G. A. 23;  
 Wilkes, A. S. 690;  
 Will-power in relation to magic 12, 14;  
 Wiles in folk-rites 539, on Cretan  
 Penn 534  
 Wilox of Fens 482, ep. 533 of Europe  
 27 ff. 549 of Helike 529 f. 548 f.  
 of Olympus 537 of Prometheus (4) 329,  
 of Tarsus *Tarantulus* 482, of Zeus  
 529 f.  
 White cat as constellation 549;  
 Wiananus, G. 608, 609  
 Wilpert, F. 41;  
 Wilson, F. 337, 478;  
 Winckelmann, G. 426;  
 Winkler, H. 605, 771  
 Wind, eastern 759, fertil smg. attributed  
 to Jupiter the planet 759 impregnating  
 animals 759,  
 Wind 21 697, 746.



- Wine-press 668 672
- Winnefeld, H. 86; 118; 150; 425; 426;  
426; 427 654<sub>6</sub>
- Winter, F. 704; 742<sub>1</sub>
- Wissowa, G. 3; 53; 59; 271; 272; 272<sub>6</sub>  
272; 355; 677; 693; 714; 728;
- Witte, J. de 212; 223; 335; 374; 423 466;  
698; 699; 701<sub>1</sub>
- Woldrich, J. N. 638
- Wolf, hero in form of 99. See also Were-  
wolves
- Wolves attack sheep in Athamantia 416  
destroy sheep of Helios 411
- Wolves in relation to Apollon 586; to  
Ares the planet 625; 626 to Kirke  
242; to Zeus *Lukatos* 63 f. 70 ff. 77 ff.  
96 ff.
- Wolf-skin, deny clad in 96 ff. 99; hero  
clad in 99<sub>1</sub>
- Wolff, G. 522; 567
- Wolters, P. 144 474; 475 f. 535; 570;  
708<sub>1</sub>
- Wood, J. G. 325 325; 326; 326;
- Wood, J. T. 443;
- Wood, R. 556; 565 564;
- Woodcutter 365<sub>2</sub>
- Woodpecker connected with Zeus 237<sub>1</sub>
- (Pieu-) loved by hawk (Kirke)  
241 f.
- Wool, black 135 646 of ram 429; on  
*enesore* 339
- Worshipper and god bearing the same  
name 395; 438; 457; 673 ff. 677; 705  
cp. 441 ff. 451
- Wower, J. 394;
- Wraith, solar 338 ff.
- Wreath of bay 18 69 298; 376 712 729  
731 of coin 745 cp. 222 and 338 of  
flowers 17; 339 622 of flowers and  
coin 338 of hbes 622 f. 622; 623<sub>1</sub>
- Wreath (*cont.*)  
of myrtle 220 446; 525 of oak 41; of  
pomegranate-flowers (?) 623<sub>1</sub>
- Wright, J. 488<sub>2</sub>
- Wright, T. 487 678<sub>1</sub>
- Wright, W. 604<sub>1</sub>
- Wroth, W. 402 527; 533; 534; 542; 567;  
590; 598; 660;
- Wry-neck 253 ff. 440;
- Wundt, W. 9; 67<sub>1</sub>
- Wunsch, R. 109; 178; 188; 285; 361; 763<sub>1</sub>
- Xanthoudides, S. 421; 497<sub>2</sub>
- Year (*ἐνιαυτός*) formerly of eight years'  
(*ἔτη*) duration 540; Roman, originally  
of lunar months (?) 786
- Yorke, V. W. 587; 742-
- Zahn, W. 34; 42; 57<sub>1</sub>
- Zangmeister, K. 627 627; 627; 628; 628;
- Zannoni, G. B. 712;
- Zeller, E. 28; 28; 33; 578;
- Zetler, K. 783
- Ziehen, L. 442;
- Zielinski, F. I. 328;
- Zielinski, T. 84; 89; 366;
- Zikkurat* represents mountain 603
- Zingerle, J. 276; 352<sub>1</sub>
- Zittel, K. A. 381
- Zodiac 58 516; 664; 752 ff. 771 dupli-  
cated 753
- Zoege, G. 268; 659<sub>1</sub>
- Zoism defined 27<sub>1</sub>
- Zoistic conception of bright sky 121  
776 of burning sky 27 ff. of mountain  
102;
- Zolotas, G. I. 537<sub>4</sub>
- Zoomorphism 53; See also Theriomorph-  
ism



Cambridge :

PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

SELECTION FROM THE GENERAL CATALOGUE  
OF BOOKS PUBLISHED BY  
THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

**Themis. A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion.**

By JANE ELLEN HARRISON. With an Excursus on the Ritual Forms preserved in Greek Tragedy. By Professor GILBERT MURRAY. And a chapter on the origin of the Olympic Games. By Mr F. M. CORNFORD. Demy 8vo. With 152 illustrations. 17s. net.

**Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.** By JANE ELLEN

HARRISON, Hon. D.Litt. (Durham), Hon. LL.D. (Aberdeen), Staff Lecturer and sometime Fellow of Newnham College. With 179 figures. Second edition. Demy 8vo. 17s. net.

**Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion. A Study**

in Survivals. By J. C. LAWSON, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.

**The Temples and Ritual of Asklepios at Epidauros and Athens:**

Two Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain. By RICHARD CADEY, M.D., F.R.C.P. Second Edition. Royal 8vo. 3s. net.

**The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore. A study in**

comparative archaeology. By CHR. FLINKENBERG, Ph.D. Demy 8vo. With 36 illustrations and map. 7s. net.

**Euripides the Rationalist. A Study in the History of Art and**

Religion. By A. W. VERRILL, Litt.D. Demy 8vo. Reprinted 1913. 7s. 6d. net.

**A Sketch of Ancient Philosophy from Thales to Cicero.** By

JOSEPH B. MAYOR, M.A. Latin fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**The Political Institutions of the Ancient Greeks.** By BASIL

EDWARD HAMMOND, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College. Demy 8vo. 4s.

**Greek Oligarchies. Their Character and Organization.** By L.

WHIBLEY, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

**The Origin of Tragedy, with special reference to the Greek tragedians.**

By WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, Sc.D., LL.B., Disney Professor of Archaeology and Brierley Reader in Classics in the University of Cambridge. Demy 8vo. With 15 illustrations. 6s. 6d. net.

**Greek Tragedy.** By J. T. SHLEPPARD, M.A. Royal 16mo. Cloth,

1s. net, leather, 2s. 6d. net. Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.

**A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum,**

Cambridge. By ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER, M.A., Vices Professor of Archaeology at University College, London. Royal 8vo. With 41 plates. 7s. net.

**Greek Sculpture and Modern Art.** Two lectures delivered to the

students of the Royal Academy of London. By Sir CHARLES WALDOLEIGH, Litt.D. With an appendix. Demy 8vo. With 78 plates. 7s. 6d. net.

**Essays on the Art of Pheidias, by Sir CHARLES WALDOLEIGH, Litt.D.**

Royal 8vo. With numerous illustrations. 46 plates. Buckram, 30s.

**The Types of Greek Coins. An Archaeological Essay.** By PERCY

GARDNER, Litt.D., F.S.A., Professor of Classical Archaeology, Oxford. With 16 autotype plates. Imp. 4to. Cloth extra, £1 11s. 6d.; Roxburgh (Morocco back), £2 2s.

## SELECTION FROM THE GENERAL CATALOGUE

**Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.** By GUY DICKINS, M.A.  
Volume I. Archaic Sculpture. Crown 8vo. 10s 6d net.

**Scythians and Greeks.** A Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus. By ERIC H. MINNS, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and late Craven Student. Royal 4to. Buckram, gilt top. With 9 coin plates, 9 maps and plans, and 255 illustrations in the text. £3 3s net.

**Prehistoric Thessaly,** Being some account of recent excavations and explorations in North-Eastern Greece from Lake Kopais to the Borders of Macedonia. By A. J. B. WACE, M.A. and M. S. THOMPSON, B.A. Demy 4to. With a map, 6 coloured plates and 151 figures. 18s net.

**Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides.** By JANE ELLEN HARRISON, Hon. LL.D. (Aberdeen), Hon. Litt.D. (Durham). Demy 8vo. With 51 illustrations. 6s net.

**Selections from the Greek Papyri.** Edited with Translations and Notes by GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D. Crown 8vo. 5s net.

**Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway, Sc.D.,** LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge, on his Sixtieth Birthday, 6 August, 1913. Edited by E. C. QUIGGIN, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo. With Photogravure portrait, 17 plates and 71 other illustrations. 25s net.

**Collected Literary Essays, Classical and Modern.** By A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D. Edited by M. A. BAYFIELD, M.A., and J. D. DUFF, M.A. With a memoir and portrait. Demy 8vo. 10s 6d net.

**Collected Studies in Greek and Latin Scholarship.** By A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D. Edited by M. A. BAYFIELD and J. D. DUFF. Demy 8vo. 10s 6d net.

**Essays and Addresses.** By SIR RICHARD JEBB, Litt.D., O.M. Demy 8vo. 10s 6d net.

**Cambridge Compositions, Greek and Latin.** Edited by R. D. ARCHER-HIND, M.A. and R. D. HICKS, M.A., Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. Cloth extra, gilt top. 10s.

**A Book of Greek Verse.** By WALTER HEADLAM, Litt.D., Fellow of King's College. Crown 8vo. 6s net.

**A Companion to Greek Studies.** Edited by LEONARD WHIBLEY, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College. Second edition. Royal 8vo. With 141 illustrations, 5 maps and 4 indexes. 18s net.

**A Companion to Latin Studies.** Edited by Sir J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D., F.B.A., Fellow of St John's College and Public Orator in the University of Cambridge. Second edition. Royal 8vo. With 141 illustrations, 2 maps and 4 indexes. 18s net.

Cambridge University Press

C. F. Clay, Manager: Fetter Lane, London





Central Archaeological Library,

NEW DELHI.

32779.

Call No. 292 / 000

Author—Cook, A

Title—Zona wall

Borrower No.	Date of Issue	Date of Return
Sh K Srinivas	18-3-75	30-3-75
A. Banerjee	18-4-94	25-9-94